

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS





SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

BEARING ON

INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

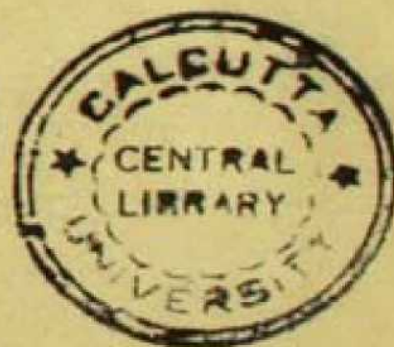
VOLUME I

From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.

EDITED BY

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TO
THE LATE
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

॥ सिद्धम् ॥

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरुज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।

सूरेः श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य रायचतुर्धरस्य च ॥

भागडारकरवंशाब्जदेवदत्तस्य धीमतः ।

प्रत्नलिपिप्रगल्भस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

ढक्केति विषये वङ्गे फरीदपुरमण्डले ।

कवेर्वैद्यायगण्यस्य यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥

मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।

दीनेशेन कृतिश्चेयं कायस्थेन विरच्यते ॥

॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I

The *Select Inscriptions* (Vol. I) is now placed afresh in the hands of the young students of history, for whom it is primarily intended, with the hope that it will continue to stimulate their interest in the early history of India. Its reappearance has been delayed owing principally to the prevailing difficult condition of printing, the same also standing in the way of the publication of Vol. II of the work.

In revising the work for the present edition, the author has spared no pains to make it useful to the students by bringing the explanatory notes up to date. The results of recent researches have been incorporated wherever necessary. The lack of representation of certain areas in the earlier edition has been rectified by the inclusion of a few inscriptions found in those regions. Most of the new epigraphs now included in the volume were, however, brought to light after the publication of the first edition. The discovery of the Sumaṇḍala copper-plate inscription (Bk. III, No. 71-B), showing that the Imperial Guptas did not perish exactly by the middle of the sixth century A.D. as hitherto believed but continued to rule in parts of Eastern India as late as 569 A. D., necessitated the incorporation of a few records that were purposely omitted on the previous occasion.

Office of the Government
Epigraphist for India,
Baikie House, Ootacamund,
October 31, 1954. }

D. C. SIRCAR

II

During the long period the book was going through the press, its absence from the market was keenly felt by university students offering the M. A. examination in ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology as well as certain other subjects. Now that we have a large number of universities and that many of them teach the subjects concerned, no less than three

teachers—from Delhi, Patna and Jabalpur—were tempted to publish books of this type for the benefit of the students. Unfortunately, in many cases, the compilers have copied the epigraphic texts from the *Select Inscriptions* (sometimes together with our foot-notes) without acknowledgement. They were probably under the impression that epigraphic texts are merely to be copied from some other publication with or without referring to it and without any attempt being made to improve upon the published reading and interpretation of an inscription.

Out of the inscriptions which have been published or re-examined since 1954 when the manuscript for the present edition of the *Select Inscriptions* was submitted to the press, a few have been included in the Supplement at the end. I was eager to add to them an inscription of the Gupta age reported to be published recently in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to secure either any facsimile of the epigraph or a copy of the publication in which it appeared. Of course, my failure to examine the valuable copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Deva and Chandra dynasties of East Bengal, discovered in East Pakistan a few years ago, does not affect the present volume since it deals with the earlier period. It should, however, be pointed out that this is a serious difficulty facing the student of the early history of the Indian subcontinent in these parts since history can hardly be divided between the Indian Union on the one hand and East and West Pakistan on the other.

I am thankful to the Archaeological Survey of India for the loan of a number of blocks for illustrating the work. My thanks are also due to Dr. S. K. Maity of the University of Jadavpur, who has prepared the Index with the help of his pupils.

Finally, I crave the indulgence of the readers for the misprints and other blemishes that have crept into the volume. Some of these have been rectified in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*.

645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53
November 18, 1964.

}

D. C. SIRCAR

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit constitute an important branch of Indian literature. No study of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit can be complete without a knowledge of the enormous mass of literary material, both in prose and verse, embodied in inscriptions. In epigraphic records, references are quite abundant to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Their study is therefore not only indispensable to the student of political history, but also to all who are interested in India's contribution to the civilization of the world. Students of the history of Indian philosophy, literature, law, society, geography, etc., have all got to supplement their knowledge by a study of epigraphic literature. Attention may, by way of illustration, be invited to (1) the mention of Śaṅkarāchārya in a Cambodian record and (2) of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in a Deccan epigraph of 634 A.D., (3) the reference to a Māheśvara sect in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D., (4) to the system of trial by ordeal in a Viṣṇukunḍin record, (5) to the Brāhmaṇa ancestry of the Kadambas who later on ranked as Kshatriyas, (6) the help offered by epigraphy in the identification of Śrāvastī, etc., etc.

There are many epigraphs which are excellent pieces of *kāvya* and can stand comparison with the best products of the celebrated masters of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their superiority to extant literary tradition as sources of political and institutional history has been demonstrated by scholars since the days of Colebrooke and happily needs no further emphasis. Unlike a large number of literary works, most of the inscriptions can be assigned to a definite date or epoch. Unlike most literary works, again, the epigraphic records can be more easily grouped geographically and are thus the best test for the regional classification of the *rīti*s of poetical composition as expounded by rhetoricians and also of a similar grouping of the Prakrit dialects preferred by grammarians. A considerable number of epigraphs were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings, and there is no doubt that the merits of their published works secured royal favour for them. But, in the majority

of cases, all other works of the poets are lost and their claim for a glorious place in the history of Indian literature is eloquently advanced only by particular epigraphic *kāvyas* that have survived. The cause of this fortunate survival is that the royal *praśastis* were usually engraved on stone or metal and not on easily perishable materials such as palm leaves and birch bark, as was the case with literary works. Harisheṇa, Śāba-Vīrasena, Vāsula, Keśava, Vatsabhaṭṭi, Kubja and numerous unnamed authors, whose works have been quoted in the following pages, were poets who claim recognition ; but the only specimens of their composition survive in inscriptions.

The importance of epigraphic studies needs no elaboration. It is therefore in the fitness of things that some of the Indian universities have prescribed a large number of inscriptions in the original for students preparing for the degree examinations in various subjects. It is to be hoped that the time will come sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when educationists who have the welfare of the country in their heart will seriously consider as to whether some of the records, e.g., those of Aśoka rendered into Sanskrit, may be prescribed even for the students of H. E. Schools and Chatushpāṭhis. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic literature has so far created no great enthusiasm amongst certain sections of scholars interested in the study of Indian classics. It has been my aspiration since my student days to compile a *Corpus* of inscriptions and place it in the hands of Sanskritists not well-acquainted with this vast field of literature. An opportunity soon presented itself.

In July, 1937, I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, and epigraphy was one of the subjects that I was asked to teach. It is well known that the Calcutta University has unique arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of Indian history and culture in all their various aspects. Naturally therefore it has prescribed a number of inscriptions for the M.A. examination particularly in Sanskrit, Pāli, Comparative Philology, and Ancient Indian History and Culture. These records are brought out in different learned publications, most of which are beyond the means and reach of our students. Since, however, an inscription has to be studied from several points of view—historical, philological, geographical and the like, it is absolutely

necessary for its proper appreciation that a copy of each record shall be in the hands of every student attending the lectures. Thus I felt the necessity of a handy volume containing the text of inscriptions prescribed for the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University, together with certain other records whose study is essential for a knowledge of the Indian epigraphic literature in all its phases. I approached the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who readily encouraged the idea and asked me to proceed with the compilation of a selection as quickly as possible. A plan of the work was drawn up in consultation with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I set myself seriously to the work about the beginning of 1939. A Selection containing the text in Devanāgarī script of many important inscriptions including those prescribed by some of the Indian Universities, dating from the sixth century B. C. down to the age of the Great Mughals, was then completed by me. The University of Calcutta decided to publish the work in two volumes and appointed Pandit Kshitish Chandra Sastri, M.A., Pañchatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, to prepare a neat copy for the press and also to help me in the laborious task of proof-correction. The press began its work about the beginning of 1941 and the printing of Volume I of the work containing the records down to the age of the Imperial Guptas was completed by the middle of 1942. The work of printing was greatly facilitated by the kind interest taken by Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University.

Volume I of the *Select Inscriptions* covers the period beginning with the Akhaemenian occupation of North-Western India in the sixth century B. C. and ending with the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A.D. To prepare a comprehensive volume dealing with all the important inscriptions that have been discovered down to the present day is a task which requires several years for its successful completion and cannot be lightly undertaken in the India of to-day. I have therefore thought of a modest scheme. But in order to make the work illustrative of the well-marked epochs and localities of which notice has to be taken by a serious student of the

subject of Indian epigraphy, the Selection has been made out of the most interesting records, especially those of important ruling families which have left their mark on the history and development of Indian civilization. Special stress has been laid on such dynasties of all-India importance as the Maurya and the Gupta. To illustrate important points of historical interest as well as to indicate the nature of the draft of royal charters in different periods and localities, a large number of inscriptions belonging to dynasties and individuals of minor importance has also been included. Some of the records selected belong to countries outside the geographical limits of India proper. A few records of the Akhaemenian emperors of Persia have been incorporated as they refer to the relations of India with ancient Iran. From very early times—in some cases from the fourth century B.C. at the latest, but in others from about the beginning of the Christian era—Ceylon, Indo-China and the Islands of the Southern Sea were studded with settlements founded by enterprising princes and merchants of India. Naturally therefore some records discovered in those parts of the world have been included just to point to that glorious chapter of ancient Indian history concerning the colonial enterprise of the Indians of old. Similarly, some documents discovered in Central Asia, another tract of land greatly influenced by the activities and culture of the ancient Indians, have been incorporated.

To provide space for as many important records as possible, the plan in the following pages has been principally to publish, for the present, the text of inscriptions without English translation and introductory discussions. Nevertheless, to make the work useful to students, indications have been given as to the find-spot and age of a particular record as well as its linguistic, palaeographic and metrical peculiarities. References to previous writings on a record have also been supplied. As regards the Prakrit records, absence of English translation will, it is hoped, not stand in the way of their proper appreciation as a word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* including explanatory notes has been provided. As regards the Sanskrit inscriptions, an attempt has been made to explain technical expressions and to indicate various points of interest in the foot-notes. Fac-similes of a large number of records belonging to different periods

and localities have been inserted in the volume with a view to illustrating the development of ancient Indian scripts. They are expected to be of great help to the students of palaeography. For the sake of convenience some of the big inscriptions had to be illustrated in two or three sections. No pains have been spared to make the volume useful to the class of young learners for whom it is intended, namely, students who are preparing for the degree examinations of Indian universities. Needless to say that a fair knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to a student who is desirous of studying the volume. If the present work succeed in removing a long-felt want, the author will consider his labour amply repaid.

The book has been prepared and printed within a comparatively short period of time. The author had moreover to work under considerable inconvenience caused by domestic worries and the abnormal situation now prevailing in Eastern India as a result of the recent developments in international situation. Under these circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid errors and misprints for which he craves the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work would be most welcome and will be carefully considered when the author may get an opportunity of revising it for a future edition.

The author does not find words to express his feeling of gratitude for the kind encouragement received from the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, but for whose sympathy the book would have never been prepared and published. To Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author is indebted for many valuable suggestions and help of other kinds. Thanks are also due to Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri for some interesting comments and for his assistance in the preparation of the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of most of the Prakrit records and in correcting some of the proof-sheets. Mr. Sudhakar Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., a Research Scholar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has prepared the Indexes and has thus laid the author under a debt of gratitude. The author further thanks the authorities of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., especially Mr. J. C. Sarkhel and his staff, for the kindness and consideration shown to him. The Archaeological Survey of India has kindly supplied

blocks on loan for Plates Nos. VIII, XVI-XX, XXVII, XLVIII, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, that for Plate No. XXVIII. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon has supplied photographic prints for Plates Nos. XLI-XLII, and the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) the estampages for Nos. XXXIV-XXXV. Photographic prints from the estampages were prepared at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University. Plates Nos. I-III, IX, XI-IV, XLIX-LI are from old blocks in the Calcutta University Press. Blocks for Nos. XV, XXXVIII-XXXIX have been prepared from Plates in works published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and that for Plate No. XLIII from a publication of the Cambridge University Press. Blocks for the remaining Plates have been prepared from publications of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thanks of the author and the publishers of the *Select Inscriptions* are due to the authorities of all the above bodies.

ग्रन्थस्य यत् प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति
लेख्याद्दुश्चुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण ।
यद्वा मया कुकृतमल्पमिहाकृतं वा
कार्यं तदस्य विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम् ॥

Department of Ancient Indian
History and Culture,
Calcutta University,
25th August, 1942.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHIC SCHEME

The text of inscriptions has been given in the Devanāgarī script and, with the exception of a few minor points of difference, the system of transcription followed is practically the same as that of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Hyphen marks, which of course do not occur in the original, have been freely inserted to separate words in compounds as far as it is desirable to divide them. The number of lines in the writing of the original has been indicated by English numerical figures on the left hand side of the transcript and that of verses by thick English numerals put at the end of them on the right hand side. When such numbers of verses are found in the original, they have been printed in Devanāgarī numerals at the proper places. Verses have been printed in stanza form, so that they may be easily distinguished from the prose lines at a glance. Ordinary brackets are used, though rarely, to suggest a correction (often with a query) or to indicate the reading apparently intended by the scribe. Square brackets without query are used to indicate the fact that the *aksharas* or signs are damaged but not undecipherable. An asterisk attached to *aksharas* or signs in square brackets indicates that the *aksharas* and signs are completely damaged and undecipherable and that the restoration suggested, though in some cases very probable, is not always quite beyond doubt. *Aksharas* which are carelessly left out by the scribe or engraver and are wanting in the original are restored in the *Epigraphia Indica* in square brackets with an asterisk. To avoid a confusion between the restoration of a completely damaged *akshara* and that of another which is wanting in the original, the latter has been put in ordinary brackets with an asterisk. The difference between an *akshara* with asterisk in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that in the former case the *akshara* was engraved but is now lost, while in the latter it was not engraved in the original at all. Similarly, the difference between an *akshara* with a query in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that the former indicates a possible or suggested reading of a doubtful or lost *akshara*, while the latter is only to suggest a substitute for the *akshara* printed in the transcript.

Illustration :—

- 8¹ अस्मद्वंशागामि-²राजभिरन्यैश्च [साम]³ान्यं भूमिदान(य?)⁴मवेत्य(1*)-⁵
 9 सादायो(5*)नुमन्तव्यः (1*)⁶ अपि चाल व्यास-⁷गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।
 10 षष्टि-वर्ष-सहस्राणि [स्वर्गे मोदति*]⁷ भूमिदः (1*)
 आक्षेपा

- 11 "चानुमत्ता(न्ता)⁹ च तान्येव न(र*)के वसेत् ॥ 1¹⁰

The scheme of transliteration into Roman script also follows that of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Vowels :—अ=a ; आ=ā (not *ā* used in earlier publications, nor *ā* which is sometimes also used to indicate length as a result of *sandhi*) ; इ=i ; ई=ī (not *i* or *ī*) ; उ=u ; ऊ=ū (not *u* or *ū*) ; ऋ=ṛi (not *r* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॠ=ṛi (not *r*) ; ऌ=li (not *l* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॡ=li (not *l*) ; ए=e (not *ē*, as the necessity of distinguishing the vowel from the short *e* used in Dravidian scripts has not been felt) ; ऐ=ai ; ओ=o (no *ō* used when it is to be distinguished from the short *o*) ; औ=au.

Consonants, etc. :—क=k ; ख=kh ; ग=g ; घ=gh ; ङ=n ; च=ch (not *c* generally used in foreign publications) ; छ=chh (not *ch*) ; ज=j ; झ=jh ; ञ=ñ ; ट=t ; ठ=th ; ड=d ; ढ=dh ; ण=n ; त=t ; थ=th ; द=d ; ध=dh ; न=n ; प=p ; फ=ph ; ब=b ; भ=bh ; म=m ;

¹ The number indicates that the following *aksharas* belong to line 8 of the original.

² The hyphen mark is not to be found in the original.

³ साम of the word सामान्य is damaged but decipherable.

⁴ The query indicates that the reading दाय is also possible or that दाय may be suggested instead of दान of the transcript.

⁵ The ā-sign of ह्या in line 8 was left out apparently owing to inadvertence. The original has नहे in line 11 and र was similarly left out. The *anagraha* or sign of elided *a*, though usually not found in the original as in line⁹, has always been supplied in the transcript.

⁶ The punctuation mark is not found in the original.

⁷ The passage स्वर्गे मोदति is completely lost and is restored with the help of other records. There is no guarantee that the reading is not मोदते or मोदति.

⁸ Note that the line has been begun not from the beginning of line 11, but from after the space indicated by the previous word of the third *pāda* of the verse.

⁹ सा of the original is apparently a scribal mistake for सा.

¹⁰ The number indicates that the *śloka* in *Anushṭubh* is verse No. 1 of the inscription.

य=y ; र=r ; ल=l ; व=v (not *w* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; श=ś (not *ç* sometimes used in foreign publications, nor *sh* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; ष=sh (not *ṣ* generally used in foreign publications) ; स=s ; ह=h ; ङ=r ; ढ=rh ; ढ=ḷ ; ण=ṇ or in ; ः=ḥ ; ऽ (upadhmanīya—old *visarga* sign before *p* and *ph*)=h ; ँ (jihvāmūliya—old *visarga* sign before *k* and *kh*)=h̄.

As in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *sandhi* and *samāsa* are indicated in the transliterated passages in the following way : वागर्थविव सम्प्रक्तौ= *vāg-arthāviv=iva samprīktau* (not *vāg-arthāv-ivā-samprīktau* or *vāgarthāv iva samprīktau*).

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Act. Or.</i>	= <i>Acta Orientalia.</i>
<i>A. H. N. E.</i>	= <i>Ancient History of the Near East</i> by H. R. Hall.
<i>Allan's Cat.</i>	= <i>Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the</i> <i>British Museum—Coins of the Gupta</i> <i>Dynasties</i> by J. Allan.
<i>An. Ant. Raj.</i>	= <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> by J. Tod.
<i>An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.</i>	= <i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental</i> <i>Research Institute, Poona.</i>
<i>An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.</i>	= <i>Annual Progress Report of the Archeo-</i> <i>logical Survey of India.</i>
<i>A. R.</i>	= <i>Annual Report.</i>
<i>Arch. Surv. Ind.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Arch. Surv. W. Ind.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i>
<i>A. S. I. R</i> or <i>A. S. R.</i>	= <i>Cunningham's Archaeological Survey</i> <i>Reports.</i>
<i>A. S. S. I.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of Southern</i> <i>India.</i>
<i>B. E. F. E. O.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme</i> <i>Orient.</i>
<i>Bhandarkar's List</i>	= <i>A List of the Inscriptions of Northern</i> <i>India</i> by D. R. Bhandarkar, Appen- dix to <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , XIX- XXXIII.
<i>Bomb. Gaz.</i>	= <i>Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.</i>
<i>BRS.</i>	Same as <i>Khar. Ins.</i>
<i>C.</i>	= <i>circa, circum</i> (i.e. round about) ; also <i>Circle.</i>
<i>B.S.O.S.</i> or <i>B.S.O.A.S.</i>	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental</i> <i>and African Studies, London.</i>
<i>Camb. Hist. Ind.</i> or <i>C. H. I.</i>	= <i>Cambridge History of India, Vol. I,</i> edited by E. J. Rapson, 1923.

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<i>Carm. Lect.</i>	= <i>Carmichael Lectures</i> by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta University, 1918, 1921, 1923.
<i>Cat. or Catalogue</i>	= <i>Catalogue of Coins.</i>
<i>Cat. Arch. Mus. Mat.</i>	= <i>Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā.</i>
<i>Chhānd. Up.</i>	= <i>Chāndogya Upanishad.</i>
<i>C. I. I. or Corp. Ins. Ind.</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , Vol. I. <i>Inscriptions of Aśoka</i> , edited by E. Hultzsch, 1925 ; Vol. II, Part i. <i>Kharoshthī Inscriptions</i> , edited by Sten Konow, 1929 ; Vol. III. <i>Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors</i> , edited by J. F. Fleet, 1888 ; Vol. IV. <i>Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era</i> , edited by V. V. Mirashi, 1955.
<i>C. R.</i>	= <i>Comptes Rendus, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i>
<i>Dev. Hind. Icon.</i>	= <i>Development of Hindu Iconography</i> by J. N. Banerjea, 1956.
<i>Dict.</i>	= <i>Dictionary.</i>
<i>E. Hist. Ind.</i>	= <i>Early History of India</i> by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, 1924.
<i>El. H. Icon.</i>	= <i>Elements of Hindu Iconography</i> by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Madras, 1914-1916.
<i>Ep. Ind.</i>	= <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Delhi.
<i>Ep. Zeyl.</i>	= <i>Epigraphia Zeylanica.</i>
<i>Fest.</i>	= <i>Festschrift.</i>
<i>Geog.</i>	= <i>Geography.</i>
<i>Gram. Prak. Lang.</i>	= <i>A Grammar of the Prakrit Language</i> by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1943.
<i>Hist. Ind.</i>	= <i>History of India</i> by K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
<i>I. H. C.</i>	= <i>Indian History Congress.</i>

- I. H. Q. or Ind. Hist. Quart.* = *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
- Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.* = *Inscriptions in the Cave-temples in Western India* by Burgess and Indraji.
- Ind. Ant.* = *Indian Antiquary*.
- Ind. Cult.* = *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
- Intro.* = *Introduction*.
- J. A. O. S.* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- J. A. or Journ. As.* = *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
- J. A. H. R. S.* = Same as *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*
- J. A. S. B., N. S.* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, Calcutta.
- J. A. S., L.* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Calcutta.
- J. B. B. R. A. S.* = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- J. B. O. R. S. or J. B. R. S.* = *Journal of the Bihar [and Orissa] Research Society*, Patna.
- J. D. L.* = Same as *Journ. Dep. Let.*
- J. G. I. S.* = *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
- J. N. S. I.* = *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
- J. O. R. or Journ. Or. Res.* = *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
- Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.* = *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
- Journ. Dep. Let.* = *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
- Journ. Or. Inst.* = *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
- J. P. A. S. B.* = *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- J. R. A. S.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
- J. R. A. S. B., L.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Calcutta.



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<i>J. U. P. H. S.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) Historical Society, Lucknow.</i>
<i>Khar. Ins.</i>	= <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Parts I-II, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart. Part III, edited by Rapson and Noble, Cambridge.</i>
<i>List</i>	= <i>List of Inscriptions.</i>
<i>Lüders' List</i>	= <i>A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions by H. Lüders, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, X.</i>
<i>Mahābh. or Mbh.</i>	= <i>Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Majumdar's List</i>	= <i>A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions by N. G. Majumdar, Appendix to J. P. A. S. B., XX, 1924.</i>
<i>M. A. S. I. or Mem. A. S. I.</i>	= <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Mod. Rev.</i>	= <i>Modern Review, Calcutta.</i>
<i>Mys. Arch. Surv.</i>	= <i>Mysore Archaeological Survey.</i>
<i>Nag. Univ. Journ.</i>	= <i>Nagpur University Journal.</i>
<i>N. I. A.</i>	= <i>New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.</i>
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	= <i>Numismatic Chronicle, London.</i>
<i>P. A. H. I. or Pol. Hist.</i>	= <i>Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1938 ed.</i>
<i>P. E.</i>	= <i>Pillar Edict.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	= <i>Plate</i>
<i>Proc.</i>	= <i>Proceedings.</i>
<i>Proc. A. S. B.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</i>
<i>Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.</i>
<i>Prog. Rep.</i>	= <i>Progress Report.</i>
<i>Rājatar.</i>	= <i>Rājatarāṅgiṇī</i>
<i>Rām.</i>	= <i>Rāmāyaṇa.</i>

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Rapson's Cat.

= *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.

R. E.

= Rock Edict.

S.

= Southern

S B. A. W. or
Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss

= *Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Sewell's List

= *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.*

Smith's Cat.

= *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I*, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.

S. R. E.

= Separate Rock Edict.

Suc. Sāt.

= *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1939.

V. G.

= *Verspreide Geschriften.*

W.

= Western

W. Z. K. M or V. O. J.

= *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenlandes* or *Vienna Oriental Journal.*

Z. D. M. G.

= *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*



BOOK I

Inscriptions of the Akhaemenian and Maurya Periods

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIANS

No. 1—Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column [No. I] Inscription of Dārayava^hush (Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.)

BISUTŪN¹, Persia

KING and THOMPSON, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistūn*, 1907; H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 2, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 1-3; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6. Cf. *J.A.O.S.*, 72, No. 1, January-March 1952, pp. 9 ff. (G. G. Cameron and R. G. Kent).

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT²

- 1 Adam Dārayava^hush³ *khshāyathiya vāzrka khshāyathi*[ya] [*khshāyathi*]-

¹ To commemorate his victories, Darius caused to be sculptured on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia, through the Zagros, a huge tablet on which he represented himself with conquered rebels bound before him; the accompanying inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian describes his campaigns and gives the glory to Ahuramazdā. This is the tablet of Behistan, Bahistān, Behistūn, Bisitūn or Bisutūn discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 (Hall, *A.H.N.E.*, 7th ed., p. 571).

² Prepared from Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. In transliterating the Old Persian records we have used *kh*, *th*, *sh* and *ch* for *x*, *θ*, *š* and *c* which are generally employed by scholars. This is to make this part of our work uniform with other parts in which Modern Persian خ, ث and چ have been transliterated with *kh*, *sh* and *ch* respectively. The latter method has been followed by some scholars, e.g., by H. N. Wright in his *Catalogues of Indo-Muslim Coins*. Of the three languages used in the inscriptions, Elamite is also called Susian or Anzanite and Babylonian is also called Akkadian.

³ Many scholars write **vaush*. We have inserted the sounds, in this instance and in others, as they are said to have been actually pronounced.

- 2 ānām *khshāyathiya* **Pārsaly** *khshāyathiya* dah[yūnām] **Visht-**
- 3 **aspahyā** pussa¹ **Arshamahyā** napā **Hakhāmanish[īya]** (|*) [Th]ātiy
- 4 **Dārayava^bush** *khshāyathiya* manā pitā **Vishtāspa** *Vishtāspa[hyā]*
[pit]ā **Arsh-**
- 5 āma *Arshamahyā* pitā **Ariyāramna** *Ariyāramnabyā* pit[ā] [**Cha^bish-**
pish] *Cha^bishp-*
- 6 aish pitā **Hakhāmanisha** (|*) *Thātiy* **Dārayava^bush** *khshāya[thiya]*
[ava]hyarā-
- 7 diy vayam **Hakhāmanishiyā** *thahyāmab^{ly}* (|*) *Hachā* paruv[iyata]
[ā]mātā a^bma-
- 8 h^{ly} (|*) *Hachā* paruviyata hyā a^bmākham tau^bmā *khshāya[thiyā]*
[ā]ha (|*) *Th-*
- 9 ātiy **Dārayava^bush** *khshāyathiya* VIII manā tau^bmāy[ā] [tyai]y
[pa]ruvam
- 10 *khshāyathiyā* āha (|*) *Adam* navama (|*) IX *duvitāparnam*
[vayam] *khshāyathi-*
- 11 yā a^bmah^{ly} (|*) *Thātiy* **Dārayava^bush** *khshāyathiya* va[shnā]
A^buramazd-
- 12 āha² *adam* *khshāyathiya* a^bmiy (|*) **A^buramazdā** *khshassam* manā
[fr]ābara (|*) *Th-*
- 13 ātiy **Dārayava^bush** *khshāyathiya* imā dabyāva tyā manā [pat]-
iyāisha vashn-
- 14 ā **A^buramazdāha** [a]damshām *khshāyathiya* āham **Pārsa** ^{kb}**Uvaja**
[B]ābairush **A-**
- 15 thurā **Arabāya** **Mudrāya** tyaiy drayabyā **Sparda** Yaun[ā] [**Māda**]
Armina Kat-
- 16 **patuka** **Parthava** **Zraⁿka** **Haraiva** ^{kb}**Uvārazmiya** **Bākhtrish** [Sug]uda
Gaⁿdāra² **Sa-**

¹ Some scholars write *th^a* instead of *ssa*.

² *Ahura-mazdā* is the Avestic name of God; *Ahura* means 'god' or 'the giver' and *Mazdā* 'the omniscient'. In a very old list of 54 names of God, these two are mentioned separately. See *Sir A. Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume III*, Pt. 2 (Calcutta University), p. 97.

³ *Gandhāra*, mentioned in the lists of countries, is also referred to in the big Susa palace inscription (line 34) of Darius: yakā hachā *Gaⁿdārā* a[bar]iy hachā *Karmānā*, "Teak from Gandhāra was brought and from Karmānia." This is said in connection with the construction of the palace at Susa by Darius. A *Gaⁿdāriya* (man from Gandhāra) is mentioned in the list of subjects in the South Tomb inscription (line 4) at Persepolis, attributed to Artaxerxes II (c. 404-359 B. C.). Cf. *Sen, op. cit.*, p. 172. *Gandhāra* is identified with the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. 'Sindhu' was conquered later than the date of this record (c. 520-516 B. C.).

17 ka Thatagush Ha[ra]^{kh}uvatish Maka fraharvam dabyāva XXIII
(14).....¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED²

अहं धारयद्भुः³ क्षायथ्यः (- शासकः, राजा) वजृकः (वज्रकः ? = महान्), क्षायथ्यः
क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः 'पार्से' (= पारसिकदेशे), क्षायथ्यः 'दस्यूनां' (= जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य
(इष्टाश्वस्य ? Hystaspes) पुत्रः, 'ऋषामस्य' (ऋक्सामस्य ? Arsames) नपात्
(= नसा), 'साखामनीयः' (Akhaemenian) । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः—'मम
पिता विष्टाश्वः, विष्टाश्वस्य पिता ऋषामः, ऋषामस्य पिता 'अर्यारम्गः, अर्यारम्गस्य पिता
'वसिश्विः, वसिश्वेः पिता 'सखामनीयः' । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः—'अवस्यराधि
(= अतः) वयं साखामनीयाः शस्यामहे । 'सचा पूर्यंतः' (= पूर्वकाळतः) 'आमाताः
(= अभिजाताः ?) स्मसि (= स्मः) । सचा पूर्यंतः स्या (= सा = या) अस्माकं तोवमा
(= सन्ततिः - वंशः) क्षायथ्या (= राजकीया) आसीत्' । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः—
'८ (= अष्टसंख्यकाः जनाः) मम तोवमनः त्वे (= ते - ये - याः) पूर्व क्षायथ्याः आसन् । अहं
नवमः । ९ (= नव-संख्यकाः) द्वितापणं' (= आनुपूर्व्येण ; यद्वा शास्त्राद्वयक्रमेण) वयं
क्षायथ्याः स्मसि' । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः—'वश्ना (- इच्छया) 'असुरमेधसः
(- ईश्वरस्य) अहं क्षायथ्यः अस्मि । असुरमेधाः मम (- मद्य) क्षत्रं (- राज्यं) प्राभरत्
(- प्रायच्छत्)' । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः—'इमाः दस्यवः (- जनपदाः) त्याः (- ताः
= याः) मम (- मां) प्रति एयुः (- आगताः), वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् आसां क्षायथ्यः
आसं—'पार्से' (Persia), 'सुवजः' (Susiana), 'बावेरुः' (Babylonia), 'अशुराः' (Assyrians),
'अरवायः' (Arabia), 'मुद्रायः' (Egypt), त्वे 'ज्रयस्याः' (- ते [- ये] समुद्रान्तिकवर्तिनः
देशाः), 'स्वर्दः' (Sparda, Sardis), यवनाः (Ionians), 'मादः' (Media), 'अरमिजः
(Armenia), 'कत्पतुकः' (Kappadokia), पर्थवः (पर्यवः ? Parthia), 'ज्रङ्गः' (Dran-
giana), 'सरेवः' (सरयूः ? Aria ; mod. Herāt), 'सुवारज्यः' (Khorasmia),

¹ The inscription on Column I has no less than 96 lines of writing.

² "The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the north-west of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages Sanskrit and Pāli" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 41). In Sanskritizing the texts we have followed the original closely in accordance with the rules of comparative philology and have often used words which are un-Sanskritic or not strictly Sanskritic. Words that are not noticed in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit and cannot be connected with it are marked with ×, and those related to it at least in form are marked with +.

³ Dāraya = holder or holding ; Sanskrit dhāraya or dhārayat.

*बाख्तिः (बाल्हीकः ; Bactria ; mod. Balkh), *सुगुदः (Sogdiana), गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकः (Skythia), *शतगुः (Sattagydia), *सरस्वती (Arakhosia)¹, *मकः (Makae)—प्रसर्व (= सर्वाः मिछिताः) दस्यवः (= जनपदाः) २३ (= त्रयोविंशतिः) ।²

No. 2—Persepolis Inscription [E] of Dārayava^bush (Darius)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 38, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 49-50; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 92-93.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT²

- 1 Adam Dārayava^bush khshāyathiya vaz-
- 2 rka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānā-
- 3 m khshāyathiya dahyūnām tyai-
- 4 shām parūnām Vishtāspahyā
- 5 pussa Hakhāmanīshiya (*) Thātiy Dāra-
- 6 yava^bush khshāyathiya vashnā A^burama-
- 7 zdāhā imā dahyāva tyā adam
- 8 adrshiy hadā anā Pārsā kā-
- 9 rā tyā hachāma atrsa manā bāj-
- 10 im abara ^{kh}Uvaja Māda Bābairu-
- 11 sh Arabāya Athurā Mudrāy-
- 12 ā Aramina Katpatuka Sparda Ya-
- 13 unā tyai ^{bush}kahyā utā tya-

¹ Avestic Harahvaitī; mod. Province of Kandahār; known as White India under the later Parthians in the 1st century A. D. Hindu civilisation prevailed in this country which remained more Indian than Iranian till the Muhammadan conquest (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 326-27).

² From Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. This portion of the numerous records, which is marked 'E' by scholars, is on the south retaining wall of the terrace. The inscriptions are in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

- 14 iy drayabyā utā dahyāva t-
- 15 yā parau[va]iy Asagarta Parthava Zraⁿ-
- 16 ka Haraiva Bākhtrish Sug[u]da^{kh} Uv-
- 17 ārazmiya Thatagush Hara^{kh} uvatish H-
- 18 iⁿdush¹ Gaⁿdāra Sakā Maka (|*) Thātiy
- 19 Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya yadiy
- 20 avathā maniyāba¹y hachā aniya-
- 21 nā mā [t]rsam imam Pārsam kārām pādī-
- 22 y (|*) Yadiy kārā Pārsa pāta abatiy hyā
- 23 duvaish[ta]m shiyātish akhshatā hauvcht-
- 24 y aurā nirasātiy abiy imām viṭham (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्दसुः क्षायथ्यः वजृकः (= महान्), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः
 'दस्यूनां त्यासां पुरूणां (= जनपदानां तेषां [-येषां] बहूनां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः
 'साखामनीप्यः । शंसति धारयद्दसुः क्षायथ्यः—'वक्ष्मा असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः
 (= इमे देशाः ते [=ये]) अहम् 'अष्टपि (= अधारपं) सह अनया 'पार्सया 'कारा
 (= पारसिक्या सेनया); त्याः (= ताः = याः) 'सचा मत् (= मत्तः) अतस्यन्; मां
 'भाजिं (= करम्) अभरन् (= अहरन्)—'सुवजः (Susiana), 'मादः (Media), बावेरुः
 (Babylonia), 'अरवायः (Arabia), 'अशुराः (Assyrians), 'मुद्रायाः (Egyptians),
 'अरमिणः (Armenia), 'कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), 'स्वर्दः (Sparda), यवनाः (Ionians),
 त्ये (= ते = ये) शुष्कस्य (= शुष्क-देशस्य [वास्तव्याः]) उत (= अपि च) त्ये (= ते = ये)
 'ज्रयस्याः (= समुद्रान्तिकस्थाः), उत दस्यवः त्याः (= ताः = याः) पूर्वे (= पूर्व-दिक्स्थाः)—
 'अश्वगर्तः (Sagartia), पशंवः (Parthia), 'ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), 'सरेवः (Aria),
 'बाख्तिः (Bactria), 'सुगुदः (Sogdiana), सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), 'शतगुः
 (Sattagydia), 'सरस्वतो (Arakhosia), सिन्धुः (India = district on the Indus),
 गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकाः (Skythians), मकः (Makae)' । शंसति धारयद्दसुः
 क्षायथ्यः—'यदि 'अवथा (= ईदृशं) 'मन्यासे (= मन्यसे)—'सचा अन्यस्मात् मा
 'खस' (= त्रासिपम्), 'इमं पार्सं कारं पाहि (= इमान् पारसिकान् जनान् रक्ष) । यदि कारः
 पार्सः पातः अस्ति, स्या दविष्टं 'च्यातिः अक्षता (= सा सुचिरम् उन्नतिः अब्याहता) 'अवरा
 'न्यृच्छति अभि इमं 'विशम् (= अवस्तात् आगच्छति अभि इमं 'विशं [= राज-वंशम्]) ॥

¹ The Susa Palace inscription [C], line 41, refers to ivory brought from India (Hindau), Kusha and Arakhosia (Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 119). A Hindaviya (man from Sindhu = Indus valley) is mentioned among the subjects in the South Tomb inscription, line. 13.

No. 3—Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava^bush (Darius)

HAMADAN, Persia

HERZFELD, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 34; BUCK, *Language*, 1927; SCHWETNER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI; KENT, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, p. 330; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT¹

- 1 Dārayava^bush khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām
khshāyathiya dahy-
- 2 ūnām Vishtāspahyā pussa Hakhāmanī-
- 3 shiya (|*) Thātiy Dārayava^bush khshāyathiya ima khshassam
- 4 tya adam dārayāmiy hachā Sakalbish
- 5 tyaīy para Sugdam amata yātā ā Kushā ha-
- 6 chā Hī^ddauv amata yātā ā Spardā tyamai-
- 7 y A^buramazdā frābara hya mathishita bagān-
- 8 ām (|*) Mām A^buramazdā pātuv utāmai y vitham (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

धारयद्दसुः *क्षायथ्यः *वज्रकः (— महान् राजा), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः *दस्यूनां
(— जनपदानां), विष्टाश्चस्व पुलः, *सास्त्रामनीप्यः। शंसति धारयद्दसुः क्षायथ्यः—“इमत्
(— इदं) क्षत्वं (— राज्यं) त्यत् (— तत् = यत्) अहं धारयामि *सचा *शकेभिः (= शकेभ्यः)
त्ये परं सुग्दात् (Sogdiana), अमुतः (— अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात्² (— यावत्
कुशं), सचा *सिन्धौ (= सिन्धोः, from India—district on the Indus)
अमुतः यावत् आ *स्वर्दात् (Sparda), त्यन्मे (= तत् [= यत् राज्यं] मे) असुरमेधाः प्राभरत्

¹ Prepared from Herzfeld's and Sen's transcripts. This record is duplicated and is in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

² Kusha (evidently beyond Mudrāya or Egypt) is generally identified with Ethiopia; cf. Kuśadvīpa of the Purāṇas.

(-प्रायच्छत्), स्यः (सः-यः) महिष्टः भगानां (-महत्तमः देवानाम्) । माम्
असुरमेधाः पातु उत मे विशां (-वंशम्) ।'

No. 4—Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription [A] of Dārayava^hush (Darius)

NAQSH-i-RUSTAM near Persepolis, Persia

TOLMAN, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 44 and 46;
Cuneiform Supplement, pp. 56-58; KENT, *Language*,
XV, pp. 162ff.; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 96-98.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT¹

- 1 Baga vazrka A^huramazdā⁻hya im-
- 2 ām būmim adā⁻hya avam asm-
- 3 ānam adā⁻hya martiyam adā⁻h-
- 4 ya shiyātīm adā⁻martiyahyā
- 5 hya Dārayava^hum khshāythyiam ak-
- 6 unaush aivam parūvnām khshāyath-
- 7 iyam aivam parūvnām framātā-
- 8 ram (|*) Adam Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya va-
- 9 zrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām
- 10 khshāyathiya dahyūnām vispazanā-
- 11 nām khshāyathiya abyāyā būmi-
- 12 yā vazrkāyā dūraiapiy Vlsht[ā]s-
- 13 pahyā⁻pussa Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa [P]-
- 14 ārsahyā⁻pussa Ariya Ariya-ch[i]-
- 15 ssa (|*) Thūtiy Dārayava^hush khshā[ya]-
- 16 thiya vashnā A^huramazdāhā im[ā]
- 17 dahyāva tyā ada[m] agrbāya[m]

¹ From Tolman's, Kent's and Sen's transcripts. Of several records this is the first half of an inscription (marked 'A' by scholars) containing 60 lines. They are on a tomb; above is a double row of figures supporting the platform where Darius stands before a burning altar; higher up is the divine symbol.

- 18 apataram bachā Pārsā (|*) Ādamshām
- 19 patiyakhshayaīy (|*) Manā bājim aba[ra]ha (|*)
- 20 Tyashām hachāma athahī[y] [ava] [a]-
- 21 kunava (|*) Dātām tya manā ava[d]ish
- 22 adāriy (|*) Mādā^{1h} Uvaja Parthava [Harai]-
- 23 va Bakhtrish Suguda^{1h} Uvāra[zm]-
- 24 ish Zra^{1h}ka Hara^{1h}uvatish Thatagu[sh] [Ga]^{1h}-
- 25 dāra Hī^{1h}dush Sakā^{1h}haumavar[gā] [Sa]-
- 26 kā tigrakhaudā Bābair[ush] [A]-
- 27 thurā Arabāya Mudrāya [Aramina]
- 28 Katpatuka Sparda Yauna Sakā^{1h}tyai[y] [pa]-
- 29 radraya Skudra Yaunā takabarā Pu^{1h}[tāy]-
- 30 ā Kushiya Machiya Karkā (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*भगः *वजृकः (- देवः महान्) *असुरमेधाः, स्यः (- सः - यः) इमां भूमिम् *अधात् (- असृजत्, स्यः *अवम् *अदमानम् अधात् (- यः असुम् आकाशम् असृजत्, स्यः मर्त्यम् अधात् (- यः मानवम् असृजत्), *च्यातिम् (- उन्नतिम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः धारयद्दसुं *क्षायध्यम् अकृणोत् (= अकरोत्), एकं पुरूणां क्षायध्यं (- बहूनां [जनानां] राजानम्), एकं पुरूणां प्रमातारं (- प्रभुम्) । अहं धारयद्दसुः क्षायध्यः वजृकः, क्षायध्यः क्षायध्यानां, क्षायध्यः *दस्यूनां विश्वजनानां (- राजा देशानां सर्वमानवानां), क्षायध्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि [स्थितायाः] (- राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः च), विष्टाश्चस्य पुत्रः, *साखामनीप्यः, *पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, *अर्यः *अर्य-चित्तः (- आर्य-वंश्यः) । शंसति धारयद्दसुः क्षायध्यः—“वश्ना असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः अहम् *अगृभायम् *अपतरं *सचा पार्सात् (- इमे देशाः ते [=तान्=यान्] अहम् अगृह्णां दूरतरं पारसिक-देशात्) । अहम् एषां *प्रत्यक्षये (- एतान् शास्मि) । मम *भाजिम् अभरन् (- [ते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्) । त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि (= तत् [- यत्] एतेभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत्), *अवत् अकृण्वन् (= अदः [एते] अकुर्वन्) । *धातं त्यत् मम अवत् *दिः *अधारि (- [वि]हितं यत् मया अदः तैः अकारि) ।—*मादः (Media), *सुवजः (Susiana), पार्शवः (Parthia), *सरेवः (Aria), *बाख्तिः (Bactria), *सुगुदः (Sogdiana), *सुवारजिः (Khorasmia), *ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), *सरस्वती (Arakhsia), *शतगुः (Sattagydia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India—valley of the Indus), शकाः *सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः *तिग्रखोदाः (= तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः, pointed-capped Skythians), *बावेरुः (Babylonia), *अशुराः (Assyrians), *अरवायः (Arabia), *मुद्रायः (Egypt), *अरमिणः (Armenia), *कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), *स्वर्दः

(Sparda), यवनः (Ionia), शकाः त्वे 'पारेद्वयः (-ते [=ये] समुद्रपारवासिनः)', स्कुद्रः, यवनाः तकभराः² (=तकधारिनः), पुन्तायाः (Puntians), कुषियाः (Kushians), मचियाः (Maxyes), कर्काः (Karkians)³ ॥

No. 5—Persepolis Inscription [H] of Khshayarshā (Xerxes, c. 486-465 B.C.)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

HERZFELD, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII, pp. 56-77; KENT, *Language*, XIII, pp. 292-305; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 148 ff.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT³

- 1 Baga vazrka **A^huramazda** hya imām būm-
- 2 im adā hya avam asmānam adā hya
- 3 martiyam adā hya shiyātīm adā
- 4 martiyahyā hya **Khshayarshām** khshāyathī-
- 5 yam akunaush aivam parūnām khshāyath-
- 6 iyam aivam parūnām framātāram (I*) Ada-
- 7 m **Khshayarshā** khshāyathīya vazrka khshāya-
- 8 thīya khshāyathīyānām khshāyathīya dahy-
- 9 ūnām parū-zanānām khshāyathīya ah-
- 10 yāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūrai y a-
- 11 piy **Dārayavahaush** khshāyathīyahyā pussa
- 12 **Hakhāmanīshīya Pārsa** Pārsahyā pussa
- 13 **Arīya Ariya-chīssa** (I*) Thātiy **Khshayarshā**
- 14 khshāyathīya vashnā **A^huramazdahā** imā
- 15 dahyāva tyaishām adam khshāyathīya āh-
- 16 ām apataram hachā **Pārsā** (I*) Adamshām
- 17 patiyakhshayaīy (I*) Manā bājim abara[ha] (I*) T-
- 18 yashām hachāma athahiy ava akunava (I*) D-
- 19 ātam tya manā avadish adārāya (I*) **Māda**

¹ Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Sakas with the Śākadvīpa of the Purāṇa. Some scholars read *tara-draya*, 'across the sea', in the text.

² According to some, *taka* may be a kind of head-dress or coiffure.

³ Prepared from Sen's transcript.

- 20 ^{kh}Ūja Hara ^{kh}uvatish Armina Zraⁿka Parthava
 21 Haraiva Bākhtrish Sugda ^{kh}Uvārazmi-
 22 sh Bābairush Athura Thatagush Sparda
 23 Mudrāya Yaunā tya drayabiyā dā-
 24 rayaⁿtiy utā tyaiy paradraya dārayaⁿt-
 25 iy Machiyā Arabāya Gaⁿdāra Hiⁿdush
 26 Katpatuka Dahā Sakā haumavargā Sakā
 27 tigrākhaudā Skudrā Ākaufachiyā
 28 Puⁿtāyā Karkā Kushiya (*) Thātiy Khsha-
 29 yarshā khshāyathiya yathā tya adam kh-
 30 shāyathiya abavam astiy aⁿtar nitā
 31 dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipishitā a-
 32 yauda (|*) Pasāvamaīy A^huramazdā upastām
 33 abara (*) Vashnā A^huramazdahā ava dahyāvam
 34 adam ajanam utashim gāthavā nishāda-
 35 yam (|*) Utā aⁿtar nitā dahyāva āha yad-
 36 ātya paruvam Daivā ayadiy (|*) Pasāva va-
 37 shnā A^huramazdahā adam Daivadāna-
 38 m viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā
 39 mā yadiyaish (|*) Yadāyā paruvam Daivā
 40 ayadiy avadā adam A^huramazdām ayada-
 41 iy artāchā brazmaniy (|*) Utā aniyash-
 42 cha āha tya dushkrtam akariy ava ada-
 43 m naibam akunavam (|*) Aita tya adam aku-
 44 navam visam vashnā A^huramazdahā aku-
 45 navam (|*) A^huramazdāmaiy upastām abara y-
 46 ātā krtam akunavam (|*) Tuva k[ā] hya
 47 apara yadimaniyā^{ha}iy shiyāta ahaniy
 48 jīva utā mrta artāvā abaniy
 49 avanā dātā paridiy tya A^huramazd-
 50 ā niyashitāya (|*) A^huramazdām yadaishā a-
 51 rtāchā brazmaniy (|*) Martiya hya avan-
 52 ā dātā pariyaita tya A^huramazdā n-
 53 ishtāya utā A^huramazdām yadataiy a-
 54 rtāchā brazman'y hauv utā jīva
 55 shiyāta bavatiy utā mrta artāvā
 56 bavatiy (|*) Thātiy Khshayarshā khshāyath
 57 iya mām A^huramazdā pātuv hachā ga-
 58 stā [u]t^rmaiy vitham utā imām dah-
 59 yāvam (|*) Aitā adam A^huramazdām jadiy-
 60 āmiy (*) Aitamaiy A^huramazdā dadātuv (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*भगः *वज्रुकः (= देवः महान्) *असुरमेधाः, स्यः (= सः = यः) इमां भूमिम् अधात् (- असृजत्), स्यः इमम् अइमानं (- Ved. मेघम् - आकाशम् ; Mod. Pers. āsmān) अधात्, स्यः मर्त्यं (= मानवम्) अधात्, स्यः *च्यातिम् (- अभ्युदयम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः *क्षयार्पां (Xerxes) *क्षायध्यं (= नृपम्) अकृणोत् (= अकरोत्), एकं पुरुणां (- बहुनां) क्षायध्यम्, एकं पुरुणां प्रमातारं (- प्रभुम्) । अहं क्षयार्पाः (Xerxes) क्षायध्यः *दस्यूनां पुरुजनानां (- देशानां बहुजनानां), क्षायध्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वज्रुकायाः दूरे अपि (- राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः), धारयद्दसोः क्षायध्यस्य पुत्रः, *साखामनीप्यः, *पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, *अर्यः (Aryan), *अर्यचित्रः (- आर्यवंश्यः) । शंसति क्षयार्पाः क्षायध्यः—“वश्ना (= इच्छया) असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्वेषां (- इमे देशाः तेषां [= येषां]) क्षायध्यः आसम् *अपतरं *सचा पार्सात् (- दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्) । अहम् एषां *प्रत्यक्षये (= एतान् शास्मि) । मम *भाजिम् अभरन् (- [एते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्) । त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि *अवत् अकृण्वन् (- तत् [- यत्] एभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत अदः [ते] अकुर्वन्) । हितं त्यत् मम अवत् *दिः आधारयन् (- विहितं [= विधानं] यत् मम अदः ते अपालयन्)—*मादः (Media), *सूजः (- सुवजः, Susiana), *सरस्वती (Arakhosia), *अरमिणः (Armenia), *ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), *पर्यवः (Parthia), *सरेवः (Aria), *बाख्तिः (Bactria), *सुग्दः (- सुगुदः, Sogdiana), *सुवारस्मिः (Khorasmia), *बावेरुः (Babylonia), *अशुरः (Assyria), *शतगुः (Sattagydia), *स्वर्दः (Sparda), *मुद्रायः (Egypt), यवनाः त्वे *ज्रयसि आ धारयन्ति उत त्वे *पारेज्रयः धारयन्ति (- यवनाः ते [- ये] समुद्रस्य समीपे वसन्ति अपि च ते [- ये] पारेसमुद्रं वसन्ति), *मचियाः (Maxyes), *अरवायः (Arabia), *गन्धारः (Gandaria), *सिन्धुः (India = the Indus valley), *कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), *दसाः (Dahae), शकाः *सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः *तिग्रखोदाः (- तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः शकाः), *स्कुद्राः (Skudrians), *आकोफचियाः (people of Ākaufaka), *पुन्तायाः (Pontians), *कर्काः (Karkians), *कुपियाः (Ethiopians ?) । शंसति क्षयार्पाः क्षायध्यः—“यथा त्यत् (- यदा तत् - यदा) अहं क्षायध्यः अभवम्, अस्ति [कश्चित्] अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (- अन्तरे एतेषां देशानां), त्वे उपरि निपिष्टाः (- ते [= ये] उपरि निवेशिताः), अयोधत् (- अयुध्यत - विद्रोहं चकार) । *पश्चादवत् (= तत्पश्चात्) मे (- मां प्रति) असुरमेधाः *उपस्थाम् अभरत् (- साहायकं व्यधात्) । वश्ना (= इच्छया) असुरमेधसः *अवं दस्युम् (- अमुं देशम्) अहम् अहनं (- विध्वस्तं कृतवान्), उत *सौं *गातौ आ न्यासादयम् (- अपि च निम्ने भित्तौ स्थापितवान्) । उत अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (= अपि च एतेषां देशानाम्

अन्तरे) [कश्चित्] आसीत् 'यधात्यत् (= यत्र) पूर्व' देवाः (= पारसिकैः उपास्यमानेभ्यः देवेभ्यः इतरे देवाः) 'अयजि (= अयज्यन्त) ।' 'पश्चादवत् वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् अव' देवधानं व्यखनम् (= अदः देवस्थानम् उत्खातवान्) । उत प्रत्यह्वयम् (= अपि च घोषितवान् [अहं]) — "देवाः मा 'यज्येपन् (= न इज्येरन्)" । 'यधायां (= यत्) पूर्व' देवाः अयजि (= अयक्षत) 'अवध (= तत्) अहम् असुरमेधसम् अयजे क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि (= पारसिकधर्मसम्मतानि सत्यवचनानि) । उत अन्यः च आसीत् त्यत् दुष्कृतम् अकारि (= अन्यथापि [देशः] आसीत् यस्मिन् पापम् अक्रियत) । अवत् (= अमुं देशम्) अहं 'नेभं (= शुद्धम्) अकृणवम् (= अकरवम्) । एतत् त्यत् (= यत्) अहम् अकृणवं, विश्वं (= सर्वं) वश्ना असुरमेधसः अकृणवम् । असुरमेधाः मे उपस्थां अभरत् यावत् कृतं (= कर्म) अकृणवं (= सम्पादितवान्) । त्वं कः स्यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे (= त्वं कश्चिद् यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे) — "च्यातः असानि जीवः उत मृतः क्रतवान् असानि (= सुखितः स्यां जीवितः मृतः च क्षेमवान् स्याम्)", 'अवना हिता (= अनेन विधानेन) परीहि त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् (= अदः विधानम् अनुसर यत् असुरमेधाः विहितवान्) । असुरमेधसं यजेः क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि । मर्त्यः स्यः अवना हिता पर्येति त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् उत असुरमेधसं यजते क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि (= मानवः यः अमूनि विधानानि अनुसरति यानि असुरमेधाः विहितवान्, अपि च असुरमेधसं यजते सत्यभूतानि च पारसिकशास्त्रसम्मतानि वचनानि), असौ उत जीवः च्यातः भवति उत मृतः क्रतवान् भवति (= असौ जीवन् च सुखितः भवति मृतः च क्षेमवान् भवति)' । शंसति क्षयापाः क्षायध्यः — 'माम् असुरमेधाः पातु सचा 'गर्दात् (= पाप-वासनातः), उत मे विशम्, उत इमां दस्युं (= मम वंशं च इमं देशं च) । एतत् अहम् असुरमेधसं गदामि (= प्रार्थये) । एतत् मे असुरमेधाः ददातु' ॥

¹ The reference may be to the people of north-western Bhāratavarsha and the adjoining regions which formed part of the dominions of Xerxes.

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYAS

A—Rock Edicts of Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.)

No. 6—First Rock Edict: Girnār Version¹

GIRNĀR, Junagarh Dist., Bombay

HULTZCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 1 f. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. ix f., for other references. For Nos. 6-40, see also B. M. Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II; Jules Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka*; A. C. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*; D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, and *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205 ff.; XXXII, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 इय['] धम्म-लिपी देवानं पिं(प्रि)येन
- 2 पिं(प्रि)यदसिना राजा लेख[1]पि[ता] (1*) [इ]ध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभिसा(त्पा) पं(प्र)जुहितव्वं(व्यं) (1*)
- 4 न च समाजो कतव्वो(व्यो) (1*) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमिह पसति देवानं पिं(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा (1*)
- 6 अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधु-मता देवानं-

¹ Aśoka's Rock Edicts have been discovered at Girnār (Junagarh Dist., Bombay), Kālsī (Derādun Dist., U. P.), Dhauli (Puri Dist., Orissa), Jaugada (Ganjam Dist., Orissa), Mānsehrā (Hazāra Dist., West Pakistan) Shāhbāzgarhī (Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan) and Yerraguḍi (Karnul Dist., Andhra State). Two fragments containing portions of R. E. VIII-IX have been discovered at Sopara (ancient Sūrpāraka) in the Thānā Dist., Bombay State. Rock Edicts III and IV refer to the king's 13th regal year, V to the 14th, VIII to the 11th and XIII to the 9th year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Aśoka began to issue rescripts on Dharma in his 13th regal year. The years were counted from the date of his *Abhisheka* in c. 269 B. C. We take an expression like *ashṭa-varsh-ābhishikta* to mean 'when 8 years passed after Aśoka's coronation', i.e. in the 9th year of his reign. Some scholars think that the reference is to current years so that 8 years after the coronation would mean the 8th regal year.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

- 7 पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो ~~(१*)~~ पुरा महानसम्हि^१
 8 देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो अनुदिवसं व-
 9 हूनि पां(प्रा)ण-सत-सहस्राणि आरभिसु सूपाथाय (१*)
 10 (से अज यदा अयं धर्म-लिपी लिखिता ती एव पां(प्रा)-
 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वौ मोरा एको मगो (१*) सो पि
 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (१*) एते पि तीं(ती) पां(प्रा)णा पछा न आरभिसरे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्मलिपिः (—धर्मानुवर्धकः लेखः) 'देवानांप्रियेण (—देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा (=अशोक्रेण) लेखिता । इह (—पाटलिपुत्रनगर्यां राजधान्यां ; यद्वा—मम अस्मिन् राज्ये) न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः (—निहत्य उत्सृष्टव्यः)^२ । न च समाजः^३ (—मेळकः, उत्सवः) कर्तव्यः । बहुकं (—बहु) हि दोषं पश्यति समाजे देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा । सन्ति अपि 'एकस्याः (—एकविधाः=केचित्) समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः ॥ पुरा महानसे (=रन्धनागारे) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण-शत-सहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपाथाय (=व्यञ्जनार्थम्)^४ । (तत् (=ततः) अथ यदा इयं धर्म-लिपिः लिखिता त्वयः एव प्राणाः (=प्राणिनः) आलभ्यन्ते सूपाथाय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः (=द्वौ पक्षिनौ एकः च पशुः ; यद्वा—द्वौ शिखिनौ एकः च हरिणः) । सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः (=नियतः) । एते अपि त्वयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते ॥

^१ The original looks like मेहानसेम्हि.

^२ This injunction goes against the Vedic sanction of killing animals in sacrifices; cf. *Manu*, V, 21, 39, with Medhātithi's commentary.

^३ Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 143, 3; 185, 29f; IV, 2, 7; 13, 15f.; etc. Any assemblage including a synod for religious discussions was called a *samāja* (cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Brahma-khaṇḍa*, I, verse 4).

^४ Cf. the description of king Rantideva's *Mahānasa*, where 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day, in *Mbh.*, III, 207, 8-10; VII, 65, 16-18; XII, 29, 127f.

^५ Cf. 'मगो वा आगच्छति' । सञ्जचतुष्पदानं हि इध मगो ति नाम । 'मोरो वा कट्ठं पानेती ति' । मोरगह्वेन च इध सञ्जपक्खिगइणं चधिप्येत् । quoted from Buddhaghosha's commentary on the *Bhaya-bherava-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* by Barua, *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 82.

No. 7—Second Rock Edict : Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 449; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. pp. 2f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1 सर्वत विजितमिह देवानं पिं (प्रि)यस पि यदसिनो राज्ञो

2 एवमपि पं (प्र) चंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो² आ तंव-

3 पंणी अंतिय (१*) को योन-सजा ये वा पि तव अंतिय (१*) कम सामीप [१]³

4 राजानो सर्वतं (त) देवानं पिं (प्रि)यस पिं (प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो द्वे चिकीडा (१*) कता

5 मनुस-चिकीडा च पसु-चिकीडा च (१*) ओसुडानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च

6 पसो [प] गानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वतं (त) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (१*)

7 मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (१*)

8 पंथेसु कृपा च खानापिता च (व)डा च रोपापित [१] परिभोगाय पसु-मनुसानं (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² Read कैरलपुतो. Other versions of the edict have कैलपुते (Kāṣṭhī), कैरडपुतो (Stāhāz-garhī), कैरलपुत (Mānsehrā). Evidently, the Choḷas and Pāṇḍvas in plural and Keralaputra and Satiyaputra or Sātiya² in singular are used in contradistinction. The former group indicates peoples and the latter kings (i.e., their particular countries). Several localities are known with names ending in *puta*, *putta* or *putra*; e.g., Seriyāputa, Kesaputta, Pāṭaliputra (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 130). Similar names may also indicate tribes or sects; e.g., Vanaputra, Dāndputra, Rājaputra=Rajput (Tod, *An. Ant. Raj.*, Calcutta, 1834, I, pp. 232, 236; II, 360); cf. also such epithets as Jetaputta, Sibiputta, Bhojaputta, Videhaputta in literature. Here however *Keralaputra* (as also *Sātiyaputra*) signifies the king (i.e., his country); cf. references to the kingdom and capital of Kerobothra (=Keraputra) in the *Periplus* (554) and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, §57. Cf. also Kosalaputra, surname of Kanakasena, in Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 242, and Guhilaputra, Balikaputra (the Ballas of Saurāshṭra, etc. *ibid.*, p. 121. Almost all kings of ancient Kerala, whose exploits have been described in the Sangam literature are known to have enjoyed the title *chēramān* which is supposed to be a contraction of *chēra-makan*, 'son of Chēra'. *Chēra* is the Tamil form of the name written *Kerala* in Sanskrit. See K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 38-39. As regards the name Pāṭaliputra (earlier Pāṭaligrāma), it may have originally indicated the Yaksha protector of Pāṭaligrāma; cf. Kikṣāṭaputra in a Wala inscription (645 A.D.) of Dharasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, pp. 66ff.).

³ Bühler originally read सामीप and corrected it into सामंता which is the reading of other versions of the edict. Hultzsch thinks that सामंता was originally engraved on the rock and was subsequently changed into सामीप (or सामीपा). See R. E. XIII for the princes who were neighbours of Antiokhea.

सर्वत्र विजिते (- राज्ये) * देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु यथा
चोळाः (Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli region), पाण्ड्याः (Ramanathapuram-Madurai-
Tirunelveli region), सातीयपुत्रः (northern part of the Malayalam-speaking
area), केरलपुत्रः (southern part of the Malayalam-speaking area), आ-ताम्रपर्णि
(- ताम्रपर्णी [- सिंहल] - पर्यन्तम्), [अपि च] अन्तियोकः (Antiochos II Theos of
Syria, c. 261-246 B. C.) यवनराजः¹, ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामीपाः
(- समीपस्थाः) राजानः, सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः [मते] द्वे चिकित्से कृते—
मनुष्य-चिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च । औषधानि² च यानि मनुष्योपगानि (- नरहितानि) च
पशुपगानि च यत्न यत्न न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि (- वाहितानि) च रोपितानि च । मूलानि
च फलानि च यत्न यत्न न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । पथिषु कृपाः³ च खानिताः
वृक्षाः⁴ च रोपिताः, परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् ॥

No. 8—Third Rock Edict : Girnar Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 450; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 4f.
For other references, see Hultzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under
No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁵

1 देवानंपि(प्रि)यो प्रियदर्शि र(†)जा एवं आह (†)(हादस-वासाभिसितेन
मया इदं आजपितं (†))

¹ The word योन = योन = यवन, meaning 'a Greek,' was borrowed from the Persians.

² Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 69, 59 :

औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ।

चतुर्विधांश्च वैद्यान् वै संगृह्णौयाद्विशेषतः ॥

³ Some versions have उदुवानानि. Cf. *Vishnusaṁhitā.*, 91, 1 : कृपकर्मभक्षन्प्रदत्ते पानीये
दुःकृतस्याहं विनश्यति । See also *Padma Purāṇa.*, *Śpīṣṭī*, ch. 57, etc., etc.

⁴ Cf. *Vishṇu*, 91, 4-8; *Padma Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, ch. 58, etc., etc.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

- 2 सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजके च पा(प्रा)देसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
 3 य[1]न['] ि[न]यातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्मि(स्त्रि)य यथा अजा-
 4 य पि कंमाय (1%) [स]ाधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसू(सू)सा मिता'-संस्तुत-जातीनं
 वाग्महण-
 5 समणानं सा[धु] [द]ानं (पा(प्रा)णानं साधु अनारंभो अप-यव(व्य)यता अप-भाण्डता
 साधु (1%)
 6 परिप्ता पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च खं(व्य)जनतो च (11%)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः (- देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा (- अशोकः) एवम् आह—‘द्वादश-वर्षाभि-
 पिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया इदम् आज्ञप्तम् । सर्वत विजिते मम युक्ताः (- क्षुद्रजनपद-
 शासकाः) च¹ रज्जुकाः (- रज्जुग्राहकामात्याः - करादिनिर्द्धारणार्थभूमिपरिमाणादिकार्यनियुक्ताः
 प्रदेशांशशासकाः) च प्रादेशिकाः (= प्रदेशशासकाः) च पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय²
 निर्यान्तु (= परिदर्शनाय निष्क्रामन्तु), एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशस्तये (- धर्मोपदेशाय)
 यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे ।—साधुः मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा (- वश्यता, सेवा), मित्त-
 संस्तुत (= परिचित)-जातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः [च] साधु दानं, प्राणानां साधुः अनालम्भः
 (= अहननम्), अल्पव्ययता अल्प-भाण्डता (= अल्पसञ्चयः) [च] साधू । परिपत् (- मन्त्रि-
 संसत्) अपि युक्तान्³ आजपयिष्यति गणनायां (- एतदाज्ञापालने) हेतुतः (- मनुद्देशानु-
 सारेण) च व्यञ्जनतः (- धर्मलिप्यक्षरार्थानुसारेण ; यद्वा—व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुसारेण) च⁴ ॥

¹ Hultzsch reads मित्त, and notes that it looks like मिता.

² If this च, not found in other versions, be ignored, *yukta* (official) may be taken as qualifying both Rajjuka and Prādesika; cf. S. N. Mitra, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 308 ff. A Sanchi inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. and a Mysore record of circa 3rd century A.D. refer to the Rajjuka (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 416, 1195). The same officer seems to be mentioned also in a Vākāṭaka epigraph of the 5th century (cf. *Classical Age*, p. 182).

³ Cf. पुण्यतीर्थानुसंधान in *Mbh*, I, 2, 123; *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 278 n.

⁴ Cf. *putāni* in other versions.

No. 9—Fourth Rock Edict : Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 451; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिकातं अंतरं बहुनि वास-सतानि वडितो एव पांप्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु
- 2 अ[सं]पंप्रतिपती ब्रा[म्ह]ण-संस्त्रमणानं असंपंप्रतीपती² (।*) त³ अज देवानं-पिंप्रियस पिंप्रियदसिनो⁴ राजो
- 3 (धंम-चरणेन [भे]री-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो⁵) (।*) (विमान-दसंगा⁶ च हस्सि-द[स]णा च
- 4 अग्नि-खंधा[नि] च [अ]जानि च दिट्वा[व्या]नि रूपानि दसयिस्सा[त्पा] जनं यारिसे बहुहि वा[स]-सतेहि
- 5 न भूत-पु[वे] तारिसे अज वडिते देवानंपिंप्रियस पिंप्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसट्[सि]स्टि[या] अनारं-
- 6 [भो] पांप्राणानं अविहीसा⁷ भू[ता]नं ज्ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हण-समणानं संपटिपती मातरि पितरि
- 7 [सु]सुंसा थैर-सुसुसा (।*) एम अजे च बहुविधे [ध]म-चरणे व[डि]ते (।*) वदयिस्सति चेव देवानंपिंप्रियो
- 8 [प्रि*]यदसि राजा धंम-[च*]रणं इदं (।*) (पुर्ता[त्रा] च [पो]र्ता[त्ता] च पंप्रपो-र्ता[त्ता] च देवानंपिंप्रियस पिंप्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 [पंप्र*]वधयिस्सति इदं [धं]म-चरणं आव सवट-कपा धंमग्नि सीलग्नि तिट्[स्]स्ट[ो] [धं]मं अनुसासिस्सति (।*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² प was inserted subsequently.

³ त was inserted subsequently.

⁴ द was inserted subsequently.

⁵ Hultzsch completes the sentence not with धंम-घोसो but with दसयिस्सा जनं in the next line.

⁶ Bühler and Senart : दसणा ; Hultzsch : दसंगा

⁷ हो was inserted subsequently.

- 10 [ए]स हि सेट्से(स्ते) कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (I*) धर्मचरणे पि न भवति अशीलस (I*)
[त] इमग्नि अयग्नि
11 [व*]धी च अहीनी च साधु (I*) ए[ता]य अथाय¹ इद['] लेखापितं इमस अथ[स]
वधि युजंतु ह[']नि च
12 [नो] लोचेतव्या (I*) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानं पि (प्रि)येन पि (प्रि)यद-
सिना राज[1] इदं लेखापितं (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं बहूनि वर्ष-शतानि (-बहुवर्षशतात्मकं) वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः,
विहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः (=असंमानः), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः ।
तत् (=ततः - तदनन्तरम्) अथ 'देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन (-धर्माचरणेन)
भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः (- सर्वे भेरीघोषाः धर्मघोषकाः भूताः) । (विमान-दर्शनात् च हस्ति-
दर्शनात् च अग्नि-स्कन्धान् (- ज्योतिःपुञ्जान्)² च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं,
यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं (- पूर्वं न [वर्द्धितं] भूतं) तादृशम् अथ वर्द्धितं देवानां-
प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशस्त्या - अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अविहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां
संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि [च] शुश्रूषा, स्थविर-शुश्रूषा ।
एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम् । वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी
राजा धर्म-चरणम् इदम् । पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः
प्रवर्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्म-चरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् (-आप्रलयं), धर्मे शीले (-सदाचारे)
[च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति [च] । एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम् । धर्म-
चरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य । अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः (-अनल्पता) च
साधुः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम् - अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युज्यतां, हीनिः (-अल्पता)
च नः रोचयितव्या (=न्यूनतायां रुचिः न कर्तव्या) । द्वादशवर्षाभिपिकेन (c. 257 B.C.)
देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राजा इदं लेखितम् ॥

1 Two aksharas have been erased between या and य.

2 These may refer to artificial representations of celestial cars, elephants and light, which were shown to the people for the increase of their attachment for heaven. Shāhbāzgarhī has ज्योतिर्कंधानि.

3 Cf. also Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. silam.

NOT TO BE REMOVED
14/82
11/4/96

No. 10—Fifth Rock Edict : Mānsehrā Version

MĀNSEHRĀ, HAZĀRA Dist., West Pakistan

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 74f.

For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

- 1 *दे[वनं]प्रियेन³ प्रियद्रशि रज एव['] अह (1*) कलण['] दुकर['] (1*) ये अद्रिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति (1*) तं मय बहु [क]यणे [क]टे (1*) [त]' म[अ] पुल [च]
- 2 नत[रे]² च पर च [ते]न ये अपतिये [मे] [अ]व-कप⁶ तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट क[प]ति (1*) ये [चु] अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कपति (1*)
- 3 पपे हि नम सुपदरेव⁷ (1*) [से] अतिक्रत['] अ[']तर['] न भुतमुव धम[म]ह-मल नम (1*) से वेडश-व[ष]भिसितेन मय धम-महमत्र कट (1*) ते सव-प[प]डेप⁸
- 4 वपुट धमधिय[न]ये च धम-वधिय हिद-सुखये च [ध]मयुतस योन-कंबोज-गधरन⁹ र[ठि]क-पितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत¹⁰ (1*) भ[ट]मये-
- 5 पु धमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु बुध्रेषु हिद-सु[ख]ये धमयुत-अपलिबोधये विय[पु]ट ते (1*) वधन-वध[स] पटिवि[धनये] अपलिबोधये मोक्ष[ये] [च] [इयं]

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² This is line 19 of the whole record on the rock.

³ Read प्रिये.

⁴ Other versions have त, से or सो.

⁵ Girnār has पीता (= पीता:).

⁶ Girnār has चाव संबट-कपा (= यावत्संवर्तकल्पम्).

⁷ Bühler: सुपदरे व.

⁸ Read *डेपु.

⁹ These three peoples lived in North-western Bhāratavarsha.

¹⁰ In a narrower sense *Aparānta* indicated the Northern Koṅkan. Here however it seems to signify Western Bhāratavarsha where the Bhojas, Pitinikas, etc., lived. It is better to take Pitinika as a tribe than as an epithet of Raṭhika.

- 6 अनुवध [प्र]ज[व*]¹ [ति] व कट्भिकर ति व महल्लके² ति व वियप्रट ते (I*) हिद्
वहिरेषु च नगरे[पु] सवेषु [ओ]रोधनेषु भतन³ च स्प[सु]न⁴ [च]
7 ये व पि अजे जतिके सवल वियपट (I*) [ए] इयं धम-निशितो तो⁵ व धमधिथने
ति व दन-संयुते ति व सवल विजितसि⁶ मअ धम-युतसि वपुट [ते]
8 धम-महमल (I*) एतये अथये अयि धम-दिपि⁷ लिखित चिर-ठितिक होतु तथ च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘कल्याणं [जनानां] दुष्करम् । यः आदिकरः
(- आरम्भकः) कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति । तत् (- ततः) मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम् ।
तत् मे पुत्राः च, नप्तारः च, परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं (- आप्रलयं)
तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते (- कल्याणं विधास्यन्ति), ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यः तु अत्र देशम्
(- एकदेशं - किञ्चिन्मात्रम्) अपि हास्यति (= परिहरिष्यति) सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं
हि नाम सुप्रदार्यं (- सुप्रवेशं - सुकरम्)⁸ ॥ तत् अतिक्रान्तं [बहुकालात्मकम्] अन्तरं न
भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामालाः नाम । तत् त्रयोदश-वर्षाभिपिक्तेन (c. 256 B. C.) मया
धर्ममहामालाः कृताः ।⁹ ते सर्व-पार्षदेषु (= धर्मसम्प्रदायेषु) व्यापृताः धर्माधिष्ठानाय
(- षष्ठापनाय) च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्म-युतस्य यवन-कम्बोज-गन्धाराणां, राष्ट्रिक-
पैल्लणिकानां, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः [तेषाम्] । भृतार्येषु (- शूत्रेषु वैश्येषु च)
ब्राह्मणेष्वप्येषु (= ब्राह्मणेषु राजन्येषु च)⁹ अनार्येषु हितसुखाय धर्मयुतापरिविधाय (= धार्मिकस्य
श्रृंखल मोचनाय) व्यापृताः ते । बन्धनवद्धस्य प्रतिविधानाय (- अर्थादिदानाय)
अपरिविधाय मोक्षाय च—एतत् अनुवद्धम् (- एषः क्रमः)—प्रजावान् (- बहुसन्तानयुक्तः) इति

¹ Kāśī : पञ्जाव ; Shābbāzgarhī : प्रजव ; Sanskrit प्रजावत्.

² Girnār has घैरेसु (= स्थविरेषु).

³ Read भतुन (= भानुणां).

⁴ I.e. the *avarodha* wherein the sisters of Aśoka resided; cf. कन्यान्तःपुर.

⁵ Read ति.

⁶ Dhauī has सव-पु[ठ]विधं.

⁷ लिपि has become दिपि in Shābbāzgarhī and Mātsehrā owing to Persian influence.

⁸ Hultzsch suggests सुप्रदारकम्.

⁹ I owe the interpretation to the late Prof. Raychaudhuri. भूत = Sūtra; अर्य = Vaiśya; इभ्य = a king; hence, the kingly class. For the augment *m* in *bhata-m-aya*, see Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 40.

वा कृताभिकारः (= परार्थकृतदोषः = परप्रेरणया कृतदोषः) इति वा 'महल्लकः (= वृद्धः) इति वा व्यापृताः ते । इह (= पाटलिपुत्रे) वहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु (= अन्तःपुरेषु) भ्रातृणां स्वसृणां च ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः [तेषां च]—सर्वत्र व्यापृताः [ते] । ये—अयं धर्मनिश्चितः (= धर्मान्निश्चितः) इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा, सर्वत्र विजिते मम धर्मयुते व्यापृताः—ते धर्ममहामालाः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता—[एषा] चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे प्रजा [एषां] अनुवर्त्तताम् ॥

No. 11—Sixth Rock Edict : Girnār Version

BOHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 454 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 11-12.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवा][नंपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह (1*) अतिक्रातं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतपुं(प्रु)[व] [स][वे*] [काले*] अथ-कमे व पटिवेदना वा (1*) त मया एवं कतं (1*)
- 3 [स]वे काले भू[ज]मानस मे ओरोधनमिह गभागारमिह वचमिह व
- 4 विनीतमिह च उयानेसु च सवर्त(त्र) पटिवेदका² ट्[सि]स्तिता अथे मे [ज]नस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (1*) सर्वतं (ल) च जनस अथे करोमि (1*) य च किंचि मुख[तो]
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सां(स्त्रा)वापकं वा य वा पुन महामा[तं(ले)]सु
- 7 आचायि[के]³ अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निश्चली व [स]तो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं प[टि]वेदेत[ट्वं(व्यं)] मे स[र्व]तं(ल) सर्वे काले (1*) एवं मया आजपितं (1*) नास्ति हि मे तो[सो]
- 9 उट्सा(स्टा)नमिह अथ-संतीरणाय व (1*) कतख्व[व्यं]-मते हि मे स[र्व]-लोक-हितं (1*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

² ट् had been originally engraved and was afterwards made ट्.

³ Cf. चाव्यधिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणी मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाह्वय ब्रूयान् (Kautilya), *ibid.*, p. 13.

- 10 तस्य च पुन एव मूले उट्सा(स्टा)नं च अथ-संतीरणा च (I*) नास्ति हि कर्मतरं
- 11 सर्व-लोक-हितत्वा(त्वा)¹ (I*) य च किञ्चि पराक्रमामि अहं किञ्चि भूतानं आननं गच्छेयं (I*)
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परतां (त्वा) च स्वर्गं आराधयंतु (I*) त एताय अथाय
- 13 अयं ध[']म-लिपी लेखापिता किञ्चि चिरं तिट्से(स्टे)य इति तथा च मे पुतां(त्वा) पोता च पं(प्र)पोतां(त्वा) च
- 14 अनुवतरां सर्व-लोक-हिताय (I*) दुकरं [तु] इदं अजतं(त्वा) अगेन पराक्रमेन (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थ-कर्म (—कार्यसम्पादनं) वा प्रतिवेदना (—विज्ञापनं) वा । तत् (—ततः) मया एवं कृतम्—सर्वस्मिन् काले—भुञ्जानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे (—प्रासादान्तःस्थविश्रामागारे) व्रजे’ (—पथि) वा विनीते (=विनीतके—याने) च, उद्यानेषु² च [स्थितस्य]—सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदकाः (—दूताः—विज्ञापकाः) स्थिताः (—उपस्थिताः) [सन्तः] अर्थं (=कार्यं) मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति । सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं करोमि । यत् च किञ्चित् मुख्यतः आज्ञपयामि स्वयं, दापकं (—दापनं) वा, श्रावकं (—श्रावणं) वा, यत् वा पुनः महामालेषु आत्ययिकं (—सत्वरसम्पाद्यकर्म) आरोपितं भवति, तस्मै अर्थाय विवादः (—वितर्कः) निध्यातिः (=युक्तिभिः निध्यायनं=केनचित् पारिषदेन अपरेषां बोधनाय स्वमतपक्षे युक्तिप्रदर्शनं)³ वा सती परिषदि, अनन्तरं (=अविलम्बेन) प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वस्मिन् काले । एवं मया आज्ञप्तम् । नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने (=उद्योगे) अर्थ-‘सन्तीर्णायां’ (=अर्थसन्तरणे—कर्मसम्पादने) वा । कर्तव्य-मतं (=मतं कर्तव्यं) हि मे सर्व-लोक-हितम् । तस्य च पुनः एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानम्⁴ अर्थसन्तीर्णां च । नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-हितत्वात् (=हितत्वात्) । यत् च किञ्चित् पराक्रमामि अहं—किमिति ?—भूतानाम् आनुव्यं गच्छेयम् [इति] । इह च एनान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम्

¹ Other versions have ०हितेन

² Some take वृच (=वृज) in the sense of ‘a cowpen’, while others find in it वृचस्, which they are inclined to take in the sense of ‘a latrine’. The first of the two suggestions may not be quite impossible. Cf. “The king is himself a large owner and breeder of cattle and personally superintends the condition of his flocks at certain times in the year. The whole care is taken of course by the cowboys whose ranches the king visits, when, for example, the cattle are to be branded” (H. plinks, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII, p. 82).

³ *Udyāna* means either ‘the act of going out (i.e. being on the march)’ or ‘a pleasure garden’.

Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *nidhyapti*, ‘meditation’, ‘comprehension’ (*J.A.O.S.*, LXXII, No. 3, p. 117).

⁴ Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 53, 14-15; 58, 12-16; cf. also Old Bengali उठानि

आराधयन्तु (—प्राप्नुवन्तु [ते]) । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—किमिति ?—
चिरं तिष्ठेत् (—तिष्ठेत्) इति, तथा च मे पुत्राः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च [एनाम्] अनुवर्तरेन
सर्व-लोक-हिताय । दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत् अग्रेण पराक्रमेण (=अग्रात् पराक्रमात्) ॥

No. 12—Seventh Rock Edict : Shāhbāzgarhī¹

SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan.

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 521; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 59. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 देवनंप्रियो प्रिय(द्रु*)शि रज सबल इच्छति सर्व-
- 2 [प्र]पंड वसेयु (I*) सवे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इच्छन्ति (I*)
- 3 जनो तु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच-रगो (I*) ते सर्वं व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कपन्ति (I*) विपुले पि तु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्जत द्विद-भतित निचे पडं (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वल’ इच्छति सर्व-पापंदाः (—विभिन्नधर्मसम्प्रदायाः)
वसेयुः । सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं (—चित्तशुद्धिं) च इच्छन्ति । जनः तु उच्चावचच्छन्दः
—बृहत्क्षुद्राभिलाषः) उच्चावचरागः (—अधिकानधिकधर्मानुरागः) [च] । ते [कर्तव्यस्य]
सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति । विपुलम् अपि तु दानं [यस्य अस्ति, परन्तु] यस्य
नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता, दृढभक्तिता (—०धर्मासक्तिः) [च]—[तस्य दानं] नीचं
(—तुलनया हीनं) बाढम् (—अत्यन्तम्, असन्देहम्) ॥

¹ On the left of the east face, at the top of the rock.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, and *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIII. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. xii.

³ The Brāhmī versions read बाटं

⁴ In usual construction, सुवेत्तु would follow इच्छति

No. 13—Eighth Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 14.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिक्रातं अन्तरं राजानो विहार-यातां जयासु (I*) एत मगध्वा (व्या) अजानि च एता-
रिस(I*)नि
- 2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (I*) सो देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा दसवसभिसितो
संतो अयाय संबोधिं (I*)
- 3 तेनेसा धंम-याता (I*) एतयं होति बाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च धैरानं
दसणे [च]
- 4 हिरण-पटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दसपनं² धमानु[स]ट्सी(स्ती) च धम-
परिपुछा च
- 5 तदोपया (I*) एसा भुय-रति भवति देवानंप्रियस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो भागे
अंजे (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहार-यातां निरयासिषुः । अत्र 'मृगध्या' (= मृगध्वं, मृगया)
अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभिरमकाणि (= सुखावह-व्यापाराः) अभूवन् । तत् (= ततः)
'देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 259 B.C.) सन् 'अयात (= अयात्)
सम्बोधिं (= बुद्धस्य पुण्यं बोधिलभक्षेत्रम्)³ । तेन (= तीर्थगमनेन - तस्मात् तीर्थगमनात्)
एषा धर्मयाता [अनुवृत्ता] । एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां
दर्शनं च हिरण्य-प्रतिविधानं (= °दानं) च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च, धर्म-
परिपृच्छा (= °जिज्ञासा) च तदुपगा (= तदनुकूला) । एषा⁴ भूयोरतिः (= परमसुखं) भवति

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

² Read either दसपनं or दसपनं. Was दस(सं)नं the intended reading ?

³ Sambodhi is the same as Mahābodhi (cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 31) which is the present Bodhigayā (Bodhi-Gayā). For Aśoka's pilgrimage to other Buddhist tirthas, see Nos. 31-32 below.

⁴ Or च । तदुपायात् (= तद्विहारयातातः चारम्य) एषा

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नं अन्यत् (-अपरसुखानि हीनानि; cf. Hindi भागना, to run away) ॥

No. 14—Ninth Rock Edict : Mansehra Version¹

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 458; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 78f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthi

TEXT²

- 1 [देवनप्रिये] प्रियदर्शि रज एवं अह (1*) जने उच्चुच['] [म]गल['] करोति (1*)
- 2 अवधसि अ[व]हसि वि[व]हसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्सि एतये अजये [च] [एदि]श[ये]
[जने]
- 3 बहु मंगलं [क]रो[ति] (1*) अत्र तु अवक'-जनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च
निरश्रिय च मगलं करोति (1*) से क[टविये] [चे]व खो
- 4 मगले (1*) अप-फले चु [खो] [ए]पे (1*) इयं चु खो मह-फले ये ध्रम-मगले (1*)
अत्त इयं दस-भटकसि सम्य-पटिपति गुरुन अ[पचिति]
- 5 प्र[ण]न [स]यमे श्रमण-ब्रमणन [दने] (1*) एपे अणे च एदिशे ध्रम-मगले नम (1*)
से वतविये पि[तु]न पि पुत्तेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मित्र-स[']स्तुतेन [अ]व पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अश्रस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम [क]पमि³ ति (1*) ए हि [इ]तरे मग[ले]
- 7 श[श]यिके से (1*) [सि]य व तं अश्रं निवटेय [सि]य पन नो (1*) हिद[लो]-
किके चेव से⁴ (1*) इयं पुन ध्रम-मगले अकलिके (1*) [ह]चे पि तं अश्रं नो
निवटेति [हि]द अ[थ] परत्त

¹ On the north face of the second rock. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. xii f.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

³ Bühler : बलिक (= बालिका)

⁴ Bühler : कैपमिति

⁵ Bühler : इह च लोकि च वसे

- 8 अनत पुण' प्रसवति (I*) इचे पुन त['] अथ्र' निव[टे]ति हिद ततो उभयेसं [अर]धे
होति (I*) हिद च से अथ्रे परल च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रम-(म*)गलेन (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं (—माङ्गलिकानुष्ठानं) करोति । आवाधे (—व्याध्यादिके) आवाहे (=पुत्रोद्वाहे) विवाहे (—कन्योद्वाहे) प्रजोत्पदायां (—पुत्रोत्पादे) प्रवासे (—प्रवासयात्रायाम्)—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे [व्यापारे] जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति । अतः तु अम्बिका-जनिकं (—माता-पत्न्यः—स्त्रियः) बहु च बहुविधं च अद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति । तत् कर्तव्यं च एव खलु मङ्गलम् । अल्प-फलं च तु खलु एतत् । इदं च तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्म-मङ्गलम् । अतः इदं [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरुणाम् अपचितिः (—पूजा), प्राणानां (—प्राणिनां) [विषये] संयमः, श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम् । एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्म-मङ्गलं नाम । तत् (—ततः) वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं (यद्वा—प्रतिवेशिकम्) अपि—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निवृत्तिम्” (—अभीष्टसिद्धि-पर्यन्तं), ‘निवृत्ते वा पुनः [पुनः] इदं करिष्यामि’ इति” । यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं (—अनिश्चित-फलं) तत् । स्यात् वा [जनः तेन मङ्गलेन] तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत्, स्यात् पुनः न । ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत् । इदं पुनः धर्म-मङ्गलम् अकालिकम् (—इह-पर-काल-निरपेक्षम्) । हञ्जेत् (—चेत्) अपि तम् अर्थं [जनः धर्ममङ्गलेन] न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परल अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाध्यते । हञ्जेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य [फलस्य] आराद्धं (—दृढं =लाभः) भवति । इह च सः अर्थः, परल च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाध्यते तेन धर्म-मङ्गलेन ॥

1 Bühler : अन[']तं पुणं

2 For the rest of the record, Gīrnār (followed by Dhāuli and Jaugarā) suggests : अस्ति च अपि उक्तं ‘साधु दानम्’ इति । न तु एतादृशम् अस्ति दानं वा अनुष्ठः वा यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुष्ठः वा । तत् तु खलु मित्रेण वा ‘सुहृदयेन (=सुहृदा) वा ज्ञातिकेन वा सहायेन वा अवबदितव्यं तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=समुचितस्थले), ‘इदं कर्तव्यम्, इदं साधु’ इति । ‘अनेन शक्यः स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लभ्युम्)’ इति । किं च ‘अनेन (=अस्मात्) कर्तव्यतरं यथा स्वर्गाराद्धः (=स्वर्गावाप्तिः) ?

Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 126. *Searga* (not *Nirvāṇa*) is the goal of Aśoka's *Dharma*. A school of early Buddhists may have believed that the attainment of *Searga* led one to *Nirvāṇa*.

No. 15—Tenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 459; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 17f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि 'राजा यसो व कीति व न महार्थावह[1] मज्जे
अजत तदास(त्प)नो² दिघाय च मे [ज]नो
- 2 धंम-सुसु(सु)सा सुसु(सु)सता³ धंम-बुतं च अनुविधीयतां (1*) एतकाय देवानंपियो
पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इ[छ]ति (1*)
- 3 यं तु किञ्च परिकामते⁴ देवानं(प्रियो*) पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा त सर्वं पार-
ति(त्ति)काय किंति सकले अपपरिसं(सु)वे अस (1*) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं (1*)
- 4 डुकरं तु खो एतं खुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अजतं(त्त) अगेन परार्क(क्र)मेन सर्वं
परिचजिहा(त्पा) (1*) एत [तु] [खो] उसटेन डुकरं⁵ (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा [ऐहिकं] यशः वा [पारलिकीं] कीर्त्तिं वा न महार्थावहां
मन्यते अन्यत् तदास्वे (- वर्त्तमानकाले) दीर्घायां (- आयत्यां) च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां
शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च [तेन] अनुविधीयताम् [इति अस्मात्] । एतस्मै (- एतस्मै)
देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्त्तिं वा इच्छति । यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रामति देवानांप्रियः
प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्वं पारत्रिकाय । किमिति ? सकलः [लोकः] अल्प-परिस्त्रवः (यद्वा—

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

² देवा had been originally engraved here but was afterwards erased. An obliterated दे is visible between सि and रा and an obliterated वा between रा and जा. Hultzsch : ०पियो

³ Read तदाप्पनि = तदाप्पनि. Other versions read तदाप्पि चायत्तीये च ; cf. तदाप्पे च चायत्तीये च quoted from Kauṭilya by Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8. Cf. *Amarakośha*, Kshatriya-varga, verse 30.

⁴ Senart and Bühler : ०सतां. Here शुश्रूषताम् means सेवताम्

⁵ Read परा०

⁶ Jaugada gives डुकलतली

अप०) स्यात् । एषः तु परिस्त्रवः^१ यत् अपुण्यम् । दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् (—अल्पपरिस्त्रवत्वम्, अप०) क्षुद्रकेण वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन (—महता) वा अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात् (—महोत्साहात्) [धर्मशुश्रूषा-धर्मवृत्त-व्यतिरिक्तं] सर्वं परित्यज्य । एतत् तु खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर[तर]म् ॥

No. 16—Eleventh Rock Edict : Kālsī Version

KĀLSĪ, Debrā Dūn Dist., U.P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 460; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 40.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 ^३देवानं[पि]ये पियदपि [ल]ाजा हेवं (आ*)हा (।*) नथि [हे]द्विपे दाने
अदिष ध[']म-दाने ।^४ धम-प[']वभगे । धंम-पंव[धे] । त[त] एपे दाप-
भटकपि । पम्या-पटिपति माता-पितिषु । पुपुषा । मित-पंथुत-नातिक्रयानं समना-
[व]भनाना [दा]ने
- 2 पानानं अनाल[']भे (।*)^५ एपे वत[']वये पि[']त[']ना पि पुते[न] पि^६ भा[']त[']-
ना पि 'पवा[']मक्येन पि मित-शंथुताना^७ अवा पटिवेपियेन[।] इय[']
पाधु इयं कटविये (।*) [शे] तथा कल[']त['] हिदलोकिक्ये च कं^८ आलधे होति पळत
च[।] अनत पुना^{१०} पशवति तेना धंम-दानेना (॥*)

¹ Cf. Sanskrit आस्रव (=पाप); Pāli आसव

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, p. xi.

³ This is line 29 of the whole inscription on the rock.

⁴ This Daṇḍa and others in the text are unnecessary. Other versions add धंमसंस्तव, i.e., praise of, or acquaintance with, Dharma.

⁵ Girnār has: तत इदं भवति दासभतकरिड् सम्यपतिपतो मातरि पितरि साधु सुभं(स्)सा मित-सस्तुत-आतिकानं वारुहण-सं(स्)मणानं साधु दानं पा(पा)णानं अनारंभो साधु

⁶ न is entered below the line.

⁷ Read पुवामि०

⁸ त of मित stands below the line. Read शंयुतेना

⁹ कं, not found in the other versions, is used in Vedic Sanskrit as an indeclinable expletive particle. It possibly stands here for किञ्चित् (cf. No. 19 below).

¹⁰ I.e. अमंत्तं पुंशं

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘नास्ति इदं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं, [तथा च] धर्मसंविभागः (—धर्मस्य [अधर्मात्] विभजनं), धर्मसंबन्धः (—धर्मानुमोदितसंबन्धः; यद्वा—धर्माकर्पणजातः)। तत् एतत् [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु (—क्रीतदास-वैतनिकदासेषु) सम्यक्-प्रतिपत्तिः, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिव्येभ्यः श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानं, प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः [च इति]। एतत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिक्येन (—स्वामिकेन) अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यम्” [इति]। सः तथा कुर्वन् (—तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति), ऐहलोकिक्यं च कं (=किञ्चित्?) आराद्धं भवति, परल च [तस्य] अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाध्यते तेन धर्मदानेन’ ॥

No. 17—Twelfth Rock Edict: Shahbāzgarhī Version

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, pp. 511 f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 447; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 34f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव-प्रपंडनि² प्रवजित[नि]³ ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (1*) नो चु तथ [द]न व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मजति यथ किति स[ल]-वडि⁴ सिय सव-प्रपंडनं (1*) सल-वडि तु बहुविध (1*) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचोगुति⁵ (1*)
- 3 किति अत-प्रपंड-पुज व प[र]-पपंड-गर(ह*)न⁶ व नो सिय [अ]पकरणसि⁷ लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकर[णे] (1*) पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रपं-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict is engraved on a separate boulder. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xi f.

² प्रपंडनि (=पार्षदानं) is here used in the sense of ‘people following particular doctrines’, ‘different religious sects’. Literally *pārshada* means ‘a member of a society or assembly’.

³ This word is entered above the line.

⁴ Sanskrit सारः. Other versions have सार-वट्टी (Girnār) and शाला-वडि (Kālāf).

⁵ Others read वचः.

⁶ गरन may also be a mistake for गरहा.

⁷ Bühler : अपकरणसि

- 4 [ड] तेन तेन अकरेन¹ (1*) ए[व]² करतं³ अत-[प्र]पंडं वडेति पर-प्रपंडं⁴ पि च उपकरोति (1*) तद् अजय क[र]मि[नो]⁵ अत-प्र[पंड]
- 5 क्षणति [पर]-प्रपंडस च अपकरोति (1*) यो हि कचि अत-प्रपंडं पुजेति [पर]-[प्र]-पंड['] गरहति सवे अत-प्रपंड-भतिय व किति
- 6 अत-प्रपंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं⁶ [सो च पुन तथ करतं] व[डत]रं उपहंति अत-प्रपंडं (1*) सो सयमो⁶ वो सधु (1*) किति अजमजस ध्रमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुपेयु च ति (1*) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सव-प्रपंडं बहु-श्रुत च क[लण]गम च सियसु (1*) ये च तल तल
- 8 प्रसन तेप['] वतवो देवनंप्रि[यो] न [तथ] [द]न['] [व] [पुज] व मजति य[थ] किति सल-वडि सियति सव-प्रपंडनं (1*) बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*]
- 9 व[प]ट [ध्र]म-म[ह]मत्र इ[स्त्रिधि]यत्त-म[ह]मत्र [व्र]चभूमिक⁷ अजे च निकये (1*) इमं च एतिस [फ]लं यं अत-पपंड-वडि [भोति]
- 10 ध्रमस च दि[पन] (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-पार्षदान् (—विभिन्न-धर्मसम्प्रदायान्)—प्रवर्जितान् गृहस्थान् च—पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया । नो (—न) च तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः (—धर्मसारवृद्धिः) स्यात् सर्व-पार्षदानाम् । सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा । तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः (—वाक्संयमः) । किमिति ? आत्म-पार्षद-पूजा वा पर-पार्षद-गर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे (—अस्थाने=अकारणे ; यद्वा—अल्पकारणे), लघुकं (—किञ्चिन्मात्रं) वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (—सङ्गतस्थले) । पूजयितव्याः एव च तु परपार्षदाः तेन तेन आकारेण (—सर्वप्रकारैः) । एवं कुर्वन् [जनः]

1 Giṇār has प्रकरणेन and Kālsī चकालन

2 Bühler : कर[']तं

3 Read ०डस

4 Bühler : क[रत च]

5 Omit सो च पुन तथ करतं, engraved for a second time through mistake.

6 Other versions have समवाय (=सामवाद; cf. धर्मवाद=धर्मवाद in RE XIII), 'restrained speech'. The expression is generally taken to be the Sanskrit word meaning 'concord'.

7 Bühler : वव०. Vrajabhūmi (=Vraja, Ghosha) 'is an outpost from a city or village, and a cowpen developed into a ranch, and hence into a village.' The Vrajabhūmikas worked possibly amongst the 'great body of ranchmen, the cattle-raising population'. Cf. Hopkins, JAOS, XIII, pp. 77, 79, 83.

आत्मपार्षदं वर्धयति, परपार्षदम् अपि च उपकरोति । ततः अन्यथा कुर्वाणः आत्मपार्षदं क्षिणोति परपार्षदं च अपकरोति । यः हि कश्चित् आत्मपार्षदं पूजयति परपार्षदं [वा] गृह्णाति—[एतत्] सर्वम् आत्म-पार्षद-भक्त्या एव—किमिति ?—‘आत्मपार्षदं दीपयामि’ इति—सः च पुनः तथा कुर्वन् बाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्मपार्षदम् । तत् संयमः (= वाक्संयमः) एव साधुः । किमिति ? अन्योऽन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च [जनाः] इति । एवं हि देवानांप्रियस्य इच्छा । किमिति ? सर्वपार्षदाः बहुधृताः (= नानाधर्मज्ञाः) च कल्याणागमाः (= उदारसिद्धान्ताः) च स्युः । ये च तत् तत् [पार्षदे] प्रसन्नाः (= अनुरक्ताः) तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—‘देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपार्षदानाम्’ । बहुकाः (= बहवः) च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामाताः, स्वपथ्यक्षमहामाताः (= अन्तःपुराध्यक्षाः), व्रजभूमिकाः (= धोपपरिदर्शकाः ; यद्वा—गवाध्यक्षाः)—अन्यः च निकायः (= गणः [राजपुरुषाणाम्]) । इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्मपार्षदवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना (= उद्भासना) [इति] ॥

No. 18—Thirteenth Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī Version

On the west face of the Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 246f.; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 66 ff.

See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 [अठ]-वष-अ[भिसि]त[स] [देवन]प्रि[अ]स प्रि[अ]द्रगिस र[जो] क[लिग]
वि[ज]त (1*) दिअठ-म[ले] प्रण-शत-[सह]स्त्रे [ये] ततो अपबुडे शत-सहस्त्र-मले
तस हते बहु-तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] (1*)
- 2 ततो [प]च अ[धु]न ल[धे]षु [कलिगेषु] [तिवे] [ग्रम-शिलन]² ग्र[म-क]मत
ग्रमनुशस्ति च देवनंप्रियस (1*) सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन² देवन[प्रिअ]स विजिनिति
कलिग[नि] (1*)

¹ Form the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references see, *ibid.*, p. xii.

² Bühler: *पलनं (= *पालनं). Other versions have धर्मवाय (= धर्मवाद)

Other versions suggest अनुशय

- 3 अविजितं¹ [हि] [वि]जिनमनो यो² त[त्र] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं यदं³
[वे]दनि[य]-म[त्तं] गुरु-मतं⁴ च देवनं⁵प्रियस (1*) इदं⁶ पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं
[देवनं]प्रियस ये⁷ तव
- 4 वसति व्रमण व श्रम[ण] व अ[⁸]जे व प्रपंड ग्र[ह]थ व येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटि-
सुश्रुप मत-पितुषु सुश्रुप गुरुन सुश्रुप मिल-संस्तुत-सहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दस-भटकनं सम्म-प्रतिप[ति] द्विड-भतित तेप तव भोति [अ]प[ग्र]थो व
वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (1*) येप व पि सुविहितनं⁹ [सि]ने¹⁰हो अविप्रहिनो
[ए] [ते]प मिल-संस्तुत-सहय-जतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति [त]व तं पि तेप वो अपग्रथो¹¹ भोति (1*) प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सत्र-मनुशनं¹²
गुरुमतं च देवनं¹³प्रिय[स] (1*) नस्ति¹⁴ च एकतरे पि प्रपंडस्मि न नम प्रसदो
(1*) सो यमलो¹⁵ [ज]नो तद कलिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो] च अप[बुड] च ततो
- 7 शत-भगे व सहस्र-भगं व [अ]ज गुरु-मतं [वो] देवनं¹⁶प्रियस (1*) यो पि च
अपकरेयति क्षमितविय-मते व¹⁷ देवनं¹⁸[प्रि]यस यं शको क्षमनये (1*) य पि च
अटवि देवनं¹⁹प्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति²⁰ (1*) अनुतपे
पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनं²¹प्रियस वुचति तेप किति अवत्रपेयु न च [ह]जेयसु (1*) इहति हि [देव]नं-

1 This means that Kaliṅga did not form a part of Aśoka's empire at the time of his accession. B. M. Barua's contention that the country was never conquered before seems to be unjustifiable. The inclusion of Kaliṅga in the empire of the Nandas is indicated by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (see *infra*).

2 Bühler : «मनि ये

3 Bühler : इमं

4 Bühler : तवहि

5 Bühler : संवि०

6 Read अपग्रथो which is Bühler's reading. Other versions have उपघात for अपग्रथ

7 Bühler : सत्र

8 Kālsī (followed by Mānsebrā and Girnār) has नयि चा ये जनपदे यता नयि इमे निजाया आनता योनेषु बंधने चा यमने चा ; नयि चा कुवापि जनपदयि यता नयि मनुषान एकतल्पयि पि पापदपि नो नाम पयादि । The same interesting information about the Yavana and Kamboja countries is also found in the *Majjhimanikāya* (II, 149) which says योन-कंबोजेसु दे व यथा अप्यो खेव दासो च, i.e., there were only two social grades, viz., Ārya and Dāsa, in those countries. This seems to suggest that the canonical works of the Buddhists such as the *Majjhimanikāya* are much later than Alexander's invasion.

9 Other versions have यावत्तक (= यावत्तः)

10 Bühler : वो

11 Read अपुनिजपेति which is Bühler's reading.

प्रियो सव-भुतन अक्षति स[']यमं सम[च]रियं रभसिये¹ (1*) अयि² च
मुख-मुत विजये देवनंप्रिय[स] यो धम-विजयो (1*) सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस
इह च सवेपु च अंतेपु

- 9 [अ] पपु पि योजन-श[ते]पु यत्र अंतियोकी नम [यो]न-रज परं च तेन अ[']-
तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ इजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो
नम निच चोड-पंड अव त[']वपं[णि]य³ (1*) [ए]वमेव [हि]द रज-विपवस्वि⁴
योन-क[']वोयेषु नभक-नभितिन⁵
- 10 भोज-पितिनिकेषु अंध-पालिदेषु⁶ सवल देवनंप्रियस धमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति
(1*) यत्त पि देवनंप्रियस इत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस धमवुटं विधनं⁷
धमनुशस्ति धमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिशं[ति] च (1*) यो [स]⁸ लधे
एतकेन भो[ति] सवल विजयो सवल पु[न]
- 11 विजयो प्रिति-रसो सो (1*) लध [भोति] प्रिति धम-विजयस्वि (1*) लहुक तु खो
स प्रिति (1*) परत्रि[क]मेव मह-फल मेजति देवन[']प्रियो (1*) एतये च अठये
अयि⁹ धम-दिपि निपि[स्त]¹⁰ (1*) किति पुत्त पपोत्त मे असु नवं विजयं म

1 Other versions add मादव and omit रभसिये

2 Bühler : एये

3 The mention of the Sātiyaputra and Keralaputra in RE II and their absence in RE XIII may suggest that the two states came into closer contact with Aśoka between the issue of the former and that of the latter.

4 Bühler : विप-वन्नि which is no doubt wrong.

5 Other versions suggest नाभपंतियु for नभित्तीना. The Nābhakas and Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified.

6 Bühler : पुलि[दि]पु. Girnār has पारिंदेसु and Kālsī पालदेपु. The Pulindas of the Vindhyān region are often associated with the Andhras who probably inhabited the land to the south of the Vindhyas. For the different forms of the name Pulinda, note Sanskrit पुलिन्द = Prakrit पलिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गुरु = Pali गरु); Sanskrit पौलिन्द = Prakrit पालिन्द, पारिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गौरव = Prakrit गालव in No. 37 below; Sanskrit प्राणालम्भ = Prakrit प्राणारम्भ in No. 4 above).

7 Bühler : विधेनं

8 Bühler : च

9 Bühler : अयो

10 दिपि and निपिस्त of the Kharoṣṭhī versions are due to Persian influence. The first occurs in Shābbāzgarhī RE I, lines 1, 3; RE V, line 13; RE XIII, line 11; RE XIV, line 13; Mānsebrā RE I, lines 1, 4; RE V, line 26; RE VI, line 31; RE XIII, line 12; RE XIV, line 13.

विजेत[ि]वअ मज्जिषु (I*) स्प[कस्वि]¹ यो विज[ये] [क्षं]ति च छहु-द[ि]डत च रोचेतु
(I*) तं च यो² विज[यं*] मज्ज[तु]

12 यो घम-विजयो (I*) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (I*) सव चतिरति³ भोतु
य [घ]म-रति⁴ (I*) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 261 B.C.) 'देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः' विजिताः ।
'इयद्धं गमाखं' (— सार्द्धकं) प्राण-शतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं (— [वन्दिरूपेण]⁷
अपनीतं) शतसहस्रमाखं तत्र हतं, 'बहुतावत्कं' (— तादृशसंख्यकं बहु) वा मृतम् । ततः
पश्चात् अधुना कलङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्म-शीलनं, धर्मकामता (— कामिता), धर्मानुशस्तिः
च देवानांप्रियस्य । तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान् । अविजिते
हि विजीयमाने यः तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् बार्दं
वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । इदम् अपि च तु ततः गुरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये
तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा पार्षदाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा
अग्रभृति-शुश्रूषा (= उच्चपदस्थपुरुषः⁵), माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरुणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-
सहाय-ज्ञातिकेषु दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिः [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति अपग्रथः
(= उपघातः) वा वधः वा अभिरक्तानां (— प्रियजनानां) वा निष्क्रामणं (— निर्वासनम्) ।
येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां (— सुखस्थितानां) स्नेहः अविप्रहीनः (— अहीनः), यत् तेषां मित्र-
संस्तुत-ज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति, तत्र (— व्यसनप्राप्तिविषये) तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः
भवति । प्रतिभागः (— भाग्यं) च एतत् सर्वमनुप्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । नास्ति च
एकतरे अपि पार्षदे न नाम प्रसादः (— अनुरागः) [जनस्य] । तत् यन्माखः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे
हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः (— शततमभागः) वा सहस्रभागः वा अद्य गुरुमतः
एव देवानांप्रियस्य । यः अपि च अपकुर्यात्, क्षन्तव्यमतम् एव [तस्य कर्म] देवानांप्रियस्य यत्

¹ Girnār has सरसके (= सरसके [Hultzsch], शर-शक्वे [Bühler]) and Kālsī पयकदिनो (= सके [Hultzsch who takes नी to be a mistake for यो = एव] ; शल्याकर्षिणः [Bühler]).

² Bühler : तं ए[व]

³ Bühler : सत्र च निरति (which may be correct); Hultzsch : सवचति०

⁴ Bühler : [स]म०

⁵ At the time of Aśoka, Kālīṅga seems to have extended from the Puri-Cuttack area to the Ganjam-Srikakulam region.

⁶ Hultzsch suggests द्विकार्द्ध

⁷ These were probably meant to be sold as slaves.

शक्यं क्षमणाय । या अपि च अटवी (—अटवीवासिनः) देवानांप्रियस्य विजिते भवति, ताम् अपि अनुनयति अनुनिध्याययति (—[कर्तव्यं] बोधयति) । अनुतापे [सति] अपि च प्रभावः [अस्ति] देवानांप्रियस्य [इति] उच्यते तेभ्यः (—अवटीवासिभ्यः) । किमिति ? [गुरुतर-राजापकारं कर्तुम्] अवत्रपेरन् (—संकुचेयुः), न च [तथा कृत्वा] हन्येरन् । इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं समाचर्यम् (—अपक्षपातं [च]) राभस्ये (—अपराध-विषये) । अयं च मुख्यमतः (—मुख्य-मतः) विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्म-विजयः । सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु च अन्तेषु (—प्रत्यन्तदेशेषु) आ षड्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्न अन्तियोक्तः नाम यवन-राजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोक्तात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुदरः नाम ; नीचाः (—अधस्तनाः = दक्षिणस्थाः) चोल-पाण्ड्याः यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान् ।¹ एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवन-कम्बोजेषु नाभक-नाभ [पं]तिषु भोज-पैलपणिकेषु² अन्ध्र-पुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिं [जनः] अनुवर्तन्ते । यत्न अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दृताः न व्रजन्ति, ते (—तत्तयाः) अपि श्रुत्वा देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं (यद्वा—धर्म-वृत्तं), विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च], धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति च । यः सः (—यः कश्चित्) लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः (—०रसयुक्तः) सः । लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः [जयिना जितैः च] धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः । पारलिकं [सुखम्] एव [धर्मविजयस्य] महाफलं मन्यते देवानांप्रियः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः निवेशिता । किमिति ?—पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः [च] मे स्युः [ये ते] नवं विजयं सा विजेतव्यं मंसत । स्वके एव विजये क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च [तेभ्यः] रोचताम् । तं च एव विजयं [ते] मन्यन्तां यः धर्म-विजयः । सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च] । [तेषां] सर्वा च अतिरतिः (—परा प्रीतिः) भवतु या धर्मरतिः । सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च] ॥

No. 19—Fourteenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version

BÖHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 465; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 25 f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Cf. RE II. The Greek kings are (1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 B.C.); (2) Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-258 B.C.); (3) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); (4) Antigonos Gonatas of Makedonia (277-239 B.C.); (5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 B.C.).

² Cf. RE V, *supra*, p. 23. For Bhoja and Rāshṭrika, see the Hāthigumphā inscription, *infra*.

TEXT¹

- 1 अयं धर्म-लिपी देवानंर्पि(प्रि)येन पिं(प्रि)यदसिना र[1]जा [ले]खापिता (1*)
अस्ति एव
- 2 संखि[ते]न अस्ति मझमेन अस्ति विस्ततन² (1*) न च सर्वं [स]वत घटितं (1*)
- 3 महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (1*) अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस³ माधूरताय (1*) किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ (1*)
- 5 तल एकदा⁴ असमा[त] लिखित[] अस देसं व सलाय⁵-[का]रणं व
- 6 [अ]लोचेसा(त्पा) लिपिकरापरधेन व (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्म-लिपिः देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राजा लेखिता । अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन,
अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन [लिखितम्] । न च सर्वं (=सर्व-विषयः) सर्वत
घटितं (=प्रयुक्तम्)⁶ । महालकं (=सुवृहत्) हि विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयि-
ष्यामि च एव । अस्ति च अत्र कं पुनः पुनः उक्तं⁷ तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य माधुरतायै⁸ ।
किमिति ? —जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत (=कुर्वीत) । तल एकदा (=कदाचित्) असमाप्तं
लिखितम् स्यात्, देशं (=प्रचारस्थानं) वा संक्षय-कारणं (=संक्षेपः) वा आलोच्य,
लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

2 Read विस्ततेन

3 स was inserted subsequently.

4 Other versions have किलि (Kālaī and Mānsehrā) and किवि (Shābbāzgarhī).

5 Other versions have केलि (Kālaī) and संखय (Shābbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā).

Cf. the absence of RE XI-XIII at Dhauri and Jaugada.

7 कं is an expletive indeclinable particle. It may possibly also mean something like Sanskrit किञ्चित्

8 Other versions have लपित ; cf. injunctions like मातापितृषु सुगृहा, etc.

Other versions suggest माधुर्याय

B—SEPARATE ROCK EDICTS¹ OF AS'OKA

No. 20—First Separate Rock Edict : Dhauli Version

Dhauri, Puri Dist., Orissa

KEAN, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 379ff.; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 82ff.;BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 92ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 [देवान]¹[पि]य[स] [वच]नेन तोसलियं³ म[हा]मात [नग]ल-
वि[व यो]हालक[1]
- 2 [व]तविय (1*) [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कं[मन] [प]टि-
[पादये]हं⁴
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (1*) एस च मे मोख्य-मत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि
अं तु[फेसु]
- 4 अनुसधि (1*) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु⁵ आ[यत]⁶ पन[यं] [ग]छेम सु
मुनिसानं (1*) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (1*) अथ[1] पजाये इछामि हकं⁷ [किंति] [स]वे[न] [हि]त-
मुखेन हिदलो[किफ]-
- 6 पाल्लोकिके[न]⁸ [यूजेव] [ति] तथा [सव*]-[मुनि]सेसु पि [इ]छामि [ह]कं⁷
(1*) नो च पापुनाथ आव-ग-
- 7 [मुके]⁸ [इयं अठे] (1*) [केछ] [व] एक-पुलि[से] [पापु*]नाति ए[तं] से पि देसं
नो सर्वं (1*) दे[खत] [हि] [तुफे] एतं

¹ The Separate Rock Edicts are found at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa in ancient Kaliṅga, conquered by Aśoka. They are found in these versions instead of RE XI, XII and XIII. Cf. RE XIV, lines 5-6. SRE I was actually engraved after SRE II.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xiii f.

³ Jaugaḍa has समापय in place of तोसलियं. Tosali is modern Dhauri and Samāpāy near the modern Jaugaḍa hill.

⁴ Senart and Bühler : पटिवेद०

⁵ Read : ०सेसु

⁶ Senart and Bühler : पायता

⁷ Senart and Bühler : ०लौकिकाये

⁸ Senart and Bühler : पावा-गमके

- 8 सुवि[हि]ता पि (।*) नि[तिर्यं¹ एक-पुलिसे [पि] [अधि] [ये] बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति (।*) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधन[']तिक अने च [तत*] [य*]हु जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति² (।*) तत इडितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति (।*) इमे[हि] चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 नि[टू]लियेन³ तूलना[य] अनावृत्तिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमयेन (।*) से इडितविये किंति⁴ एते
- 12 [जाता] [नो] हुवेवु मम[।] ति (।*) एतस च सव[स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[तू]ळना च (।*) निति[य] ए किलंते सिया
- 13 [न] ते उग[छ]⁵ संचलितवि[ये] तु व[ि]ट[त]वि[ये] एतविये वा (।*) हेवंमेव ए द[खेय]⁶ [तु]फाक तेन वतविये
- 14 आनं ने⁷ देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानंपियस अनुसथि (।*) से मह[।फले] [ए]तस [संप]टिपाद
- 15 महा-अपाये असंपटिपति (।*) [वि]प[ि]टपादयमीने⁸ हि एतं नथि स्वगस [आल]धि नो लाज[।]रु[ध] (।*)
- 16 दु-आ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे] कुते म[ने]⁹-अतिलेके (।*) स[']पटिपज[मी]-[ने] चु [एतं] स्वग[']
- 17 आलाध[यि]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहय (।*) इयं च [लिपि] [ति]स-न[ख]तेन सो[त]विय[।] (।*)
- 18 अंत[ल]। [ि]प[] च [ित][सेन] [ख]नसि ख[नसि] एकेन पि सोतविय (।*) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे

¹ Senart and Bühler : निति इयं. Some scholars take नितिर्ध in the sense of नीति; इयं [भवति]

² Jaugada has अन्ये च बगे बहुके वेदयति (= अन्यः च बगेः बहुकं वेदयति)

³ Senart and Bühler : निटूलियेन

⁴ Read किंति

⁵ Read उगळे

⁶ Senart and Bühler : दखिये

⁷ Read न. Hultzsch : आनने (= चक्षुः) for which however we have आननिय in line 17.

⁸ Lüders and Hultzsch take हि as a separate word; but Senart and Bühler read

मीनेहि

⁹ Senart : मन^० and Hultzsch : मनी^०

- 19 चवथ संप[टि]पाद [ि]यतवे (।*) [एता]ये अठाये इय['] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द
एन
- 20 नगल-वि[योहा]लका¹ स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [ि]त [एन*] [ज*][न]स² अकस्मा
[प]लिबोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकि[लेसे] व नो सिया ति (।*) एताये च अठाये हक['] [महा*]मते³
पंचसु पंचसु [व]से-
- 22 सु [निस्त्रा]मयिसामि ए अस्वस्से अ[चंडे] सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अटं जानितु [तं*]
[पि*] [त]था
- 23 कल[']ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (।*) उज्जिनिते पि च कुमाले एताये व अठाये [नि]-
खाम[यिस][ति*] [अनुवासं *]
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (।*) हेमेव तख[सि]लाते पि
(।*) [अ]दा अ[नुवासं *]
- 25 ते महामता निस्त्रमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानि-
संति
- 26 तं पि त[थ]ा कलंति अ[थ] लाजिने अनुसथी ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामाताः नगर-व्यवहारकाः (= पौरव्यवहारिक-
महामात्राः) [एवं] वक्तव्याः—‘यत् किञ्चित् द्रक्षामि (= पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि—
किमिति ?—कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः (= उपायैः च आरम्भे (= उत्सहे) । एतत् च मे
मुख्यमर्तं द्वारम् एतस्मिन् अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशसिः । यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयताः
(= व्यापृताः), प्रणयं गच्छेम [वयं = यूयं अहं च] स्विन् मनुष्याणाम्⁴ [इति हेतोः] । सर्वः मनुष्यः
प्रजा (= अपत्यं) मम । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—सर्वेण हित-सुखेन ऐहलौकिक-
पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम् । नो (= न) च
[यूयं] प्राप्नुथ (= जानीथ) यावद्-गमकः अयम् अर्थः (= अस्य अर्थस्य यावती गमकता)
[इति] । [युष्माकं] कञ्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति (= जानाति) एतम् ; सः अपि देशं नो

¹ Jaugada has महामाता नगलक (महामाताः नगरकाः)

² This is Hultzsch's restoration in accordance with the Jaugada version. Senart and Bühler read नगल-जनसु which is visible on Burgess's plate owing, according to Hultzsch, to retouching.

³ Hultzsch suggests महामार्त ; Senart and Bühler read धर्मते

⁴ Some scholars take the two expressions as समनुष्यानां

सर्वम् । पश्यत हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः (= राजानुग्रहात् सुखावस्थिताः) अपि¹ । नीत्याम्
(= दण्डनीतिविषये) [कश्चित्] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति ।
तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकं (= बन्धनान्तः [प्राप्तः])² । अन्यः च [तत्र]
बहुः [बन्धनबद्धः] जनः दवीयः (= चिरं) दुःखायते । ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—
किमिति ?—“मध्यं (= अपक्षपातं) प्रतिपादयेमहि” इति । एभिः च तु जातैः (= वर्गैः)
नो [मध्यं] संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्याया, आशुलोपेन (= क्रोधेन), नैर्दुर्येण, त्वरणया (= क्षिप्रतया),
अनावृत्त्या (= अनभ्यासेन), आलस्येन, क्रमथेन (= क्रान्त्या) [च] । तत् एष्टव्यं—किमिति ?—
“एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम” इति । एतस्य च सर्वस्य, [सम्प्रतिपादनस्य] मूलम् अनाशुलोपः
(= अक्रोधः) अत्वरणा (= धीरता) [च] । नीत्यां यः क्रान्तः स्यात्, न सः उद्गच्छेत् : [तत्]
सञ्चलितव्यं तु, वर्त्तितव्यम् (= धेयेण सत्तव्यं), एतव्यम् (= अग्रे सत्तव्यम्) एव । एवम् एव यः
पश्येत्, युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यं—“[राजशासनातिरिक्तं] अन्यत् न पश्यत । एवं च एवं च
देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः ।” तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः, महापाया असंप्रतिप्रतिः ।
विप्रतिपाद्यमाने (= अक्रियमाणे) [युष्माभिः] हि एतस्मिन्, न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः
नो राजाराद्धिः (= राजानुग्रह-लाभः) । द्वाहरः³ (= द्विभनस्कतया सम्पादनं) हि अस्य
कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः (= मनःशक्तेः [= उत्साहस्य] वृद्धिः) ? [युष्माभिः] संप्रति-
पद्यमाने च तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनूयम् एष्यथ । इयं च लिपिः
तिष्य-नक्षत्रेण [युष्माभिः] श्रोतव्या । अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं (= तिष्यातिरिक्ते) क्षणे क्षणे
एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जागृत⁴ (= उत्सहृष्वं) [कर्म] संप्रति-
पादयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगर-व्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं
समयम् [एतत् अनुशासनं] युज्युः (= प्रयुज्युः) इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिवोधः
(= बन्धनं) वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् इति । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामातृ
पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु [अनुसंयानाय] निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः सक्षीणारंभः

¹ Some would find here सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयं

² Cf. समाचर्य in RE XIII and दण्डसमता in PE IV. Or, [विचारार्थिना] एकपुरुषः अपि
अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन [विधानेन] बन्धनान्तकं
(= कारायां मृत्युः) । अन्यः च बहुः जनः (= सज्जनः) दवीयः (= रभीरं) दुःखायते । Cf. lines 20-21.
In that case, madhya would indicate a less severe course of punishment.

³ I.e. द्वाहरः...कुतः मनोऽतिरेकाय ? According to some द्वाहरः = दुष्ट-सम्पादनं ; but
in that case we should have had दुलाहले

⁴ चचय may be taken in the sense of Sanskrit जाग्रत i.e. 'should be on the alert.'
Grierson derives it from Chhattisgarhī chagh, 'to rise, ascend,' from Sanskrit chagh, 'to go.'
Kern and Bühler connect chagh with Hindī chāh-nā (Bhandarkar, *Āśoka*, 1932, p. 345).
According to Hultzsch chagh = Sanskrit śak, 'to be able'.

⁵ एतं in the Jaugadā version should be noticed.

(=मृदुप्रयत्नः) भविष्यति—“एतम् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा [अपि] [नगर-व्यवहारकाः] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः ?” इति [ज्ञातुम्] । उज्जयिनीतः अपि च तु [राज-प्रतिनिधिः] कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति अनुवर्षम् ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति वीणि वर्षाणि (—लिपु लिपु वर्षेषु) । एवमेव तक्षशिल्लातः अपि । यदा अनुवर्षं ते महामाताः निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहिंत्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति. “तत अपि [ते] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः ?” इति ॥

No. 21—Second Separate Rock Edict : Jaugada Version

Jaugada, Ganjam District, Orissa.

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 379ff.; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 82ff.;
BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 115ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 टेवानंपिये हेवं आ[ह] (१०) समापायं महामता² ल[१]जवचनिक वतविया (१०)
अं किञ्चि दख[१]मि हकं तं इ[छ]मि हकं [किं]ति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवा[छ]ते च आलभेहं (१०) एस च मे मोखियमत³ दुवाल एतस अ[थ]स
अ['] [तुफे]सु अनुस[यि] (१०) सव-मुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (१०) अथ पजा[ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित-सु[खे]न यु[जे]यू
‘[अ]थ पजाये इछामि किं[ति] [मे] सवेन हित-सु-
- 4 [खे]न युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सव-मुनिसेसु (१०) सिया
अंतानं [अ]विजिता-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, p. xiv. Actually this is the first of the two separate Kalinga edicts and may be regarded as Rock Edict XV of Aśoka.

² Dhauli has तोसलियं कुमारे महामता च. This shows that the Kumāra (prince of the royal blood), governor of Kalinga, was stationed at Tosali.

³ Senart : मने ; Bühler : मतं

⁴ The passage ‘अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू’ has been repeated by mistake.

- 5 नं^१ किं-छांदे^२ सु लाजा अफेसु ति (१०) एताका^३ [वा] मे इछ [अ] तेसु पापुनेयु
लाजा हेवं इछति अनु[विगि]न ह्वे[यू]^४
- 6 ममियाये [अ]स्वसेयु च मे सुखं[मेव च लहे[यू] ममते [नो] दुःख['] (१०) हेवं च
पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये^५ खमितवे ममं निमितं च धंम[']^६ चले[यू] ति हिदलोग['] च पल्लोग
च आलाधये[यू] (१०) एताये
- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन[ने] [एत]केन [ह]कं तुफेनि अ[नु]सासितु
छंद['] [च] वेदि-
- 9 [तु] आ मम धिति पटिं'ना च अचल (१०) स हेवं [क]ट्टक[']मे [च]लितविये
अस्वास[नि]या च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अ[थ]ा पित [हे]वं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप[ति] [हे]वं अ[फे]नि
अनुक[ंप]ति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं [मये] ला[जि]ने (१०) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित^७ [छ]इंद [च] [वेदि]त^८ [आ]^९
[म]म धिति पटिं'ना चा अचल [सक]ल-
- 12 देसा-आ[युति]के^{१०} होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ि]स (१०) [अ]लं [हि] तुफे
अस्वास[ना]ये हि[त]-सुखाये [च] [ते]स['] हिद-
- 13 लोगि[क]-प[ा]ल[लो]कि[काये] (१०) हेवं च कलंतं स्वग['] [च] [आ]लाधयिस-
[य] मम च आन, ने]यं एसथ (१०) ए-
- 14 ताये च अ[थ]ाये इ[यं] लिपी लि[खित] [हि]द ए[न] [म]ह[ा]माता सास्वतं
समं^{११} युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंम-चलं[ना]ये च अंता[न]' (१०) इयं च लिपी अ[नु]च[ा]तु[म]ासं [सोत]विया
तिसेन (१०) अंतला पि च सोतविया (१०)

^१ The reference to *avijita anta* may suggest that there were some unconquered tribes in or near Kaliṅga.

^२ Senart and Bühler : छंदे

^३ Read एतका

^४ Senart and Bühler : ह्वेयु

^५ Senart : छकिये; Bühler : चकिये

^६ The अनुस्वार of मं is engraved above the line.

^७ Read ०सासितु

^८ Read ०वेदितु. Senart : वेदात

^९ आ is not noticed by Senart and Bühler.

^{१०} Read देसायु०

^{११} Read समयं

16 खने संतं एके[न] पि [स्रोतवि]या (।*) हेव['] च [क]र्त[त]' चघथ संपटिपातयित-
[वे] ॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘समापायां महामाताः राज-वाचनिकं’ (—वचनं) वक्तव्याः ।—“यत्किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—कं कर्मणा प्रतिपादये, द्वारस्तः च आरभे । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः । सर्व-मनुष्याः मे प्रजा (—अपत्यं) । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किमिति ?—मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्व-मनुष्येषु । स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजितानाम् [इयं जिज्ञासा] “किं-छन्दः स्वित् राजा अस्मासु ?” इति । एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अन्तेषु प्राप्नुयुः—“राजा एवम् इच्छति—अनुद्विग्नाः भवेयुः मया आश्वस्युः च मया, सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो (—न) दुःखम्” ; एवं च प्राप्नुयुः—“क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्” ; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः इति ; इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति] । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान् अनुशास्मि—[तेभ्यः] अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम एतिः (—इदं) प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च] । तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम् ; आश्वासनीयाः च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुः—“यथा पिता एवं नः राजा” इति ; “यथा आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम् अस्मान् अनुकम्पते ; यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः” [इति] । युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम एतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]—सकलदेशावृत्तिकः (—सर्वदेशव्यापिवृत्तिमान्) भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे । अलं (—समर्थाः) हि यूयम् आश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय । एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयम् [एतत् अनुशासनं] युज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च अन्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण । अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या । क्षणे सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः [यूयं] जागृत [कर्तव्यं] संप्रतिपादयितुम् ॥

¹ Bhandarkar takes *Rājavachanika* as a class of executive officials like *Nagara-tya-rahārika* (op. cit., p. 368).

² कं is an indeclinable expletive particle. It may possibly also stand for *kiñchit*.

³ Cf. वर्त्तत पितृवद्गुण (Manu, VII, 60); स्वाद्राज्ञा भव्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (Yājñavalkya, I, 334).

⁴ I take चायुति or चावृति to be Sanskrit चा+इति meaning ‘request’. The passage could then mean ‘one whose request reaches every individual of the whole country.’ An emperor’s ‘request’ is of course his ‘order’; cf. चावृति in PE IV. For other interpretations, see Bhandarkar, loc. cit. Some scholars take the word to stand for *dyukta*.

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ASÓKA

No. 22—Minor Rock Edict¹: Rūpnāth Version

ROPNĀTH Rock, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 149ff.; VII, pp. 141ff.; XXII, pp. 299ff.;

SENART and GRIERSON, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 154ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins.*

Ind., I, pp. 166f. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka* (Hyd. Arch. Ser., No. 1, rev. ed.), pp. 14 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये³ हेव['] आहा (।*)⁴ साति[र]केकानि⁵ अदति[या]नि व[स]ानि(*) य
सुमि पाकास [सके]⁶ (।*) नो चु वादि पक्ते⁷ (।*) सातिलेके चु छवछरे⁸ य समि
हक['] सघ उ[पे]ने

¹ Minor Rock Edicts have been discovered at Sahasrām (Shābābād Dist., Bihār), Rūpnāth (Jabalpur Dist., M.P.), Baiśāt (Jaipur Dist., Rājasthān), Maski (Raichūr Dist., Mysore), Yerraguḍi (Karpūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh.) and Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore). For the recently discovered Rājula-Manḍagiri (Karpūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh) and Gujarrā (Datia Dist., Madhya Pradesh) versions, see D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xxiii f.

³ Maski: देवानंपियस असोकस; Gujarrā: देवानंपियस पियदसिनो असोकराजस

⁴ Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara have सुवंशगिरौति अयपुनस महामातानं च वचनेन इमिलसि महामाता आरोमियं वतविया at the beginning of the record. Isila was apparently in the present Siddāpura area. Suvarṇagiri, probably the headquarters of the southernmost province of Aśoka's empire, may be modern Jonnagiri (pronounced Zonnagiri) adjacent to Yerraguḍi in the Karpūl District of Andhra.

⁵ Read सातिरेककानि or सातिरेकानि.

⁶ Bühler: पाका (इका=इकं) सावके; but cf. बुध-यके (=बुधयाका) in Maski. The expression *Buddha-Sākyā* shows that Aśoka was a follower of the Buddhist faith. This is supported by other evidences as well. Other versions read सपासके. Hultzsch: प्रकास.

⁷ Brahmagiri and Siddāpura add: इसं एकं सवकुरं

⁸ Reasंवकुरे. Cf. the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura versions.

- 2 वादि च¹ पकते (1*) या² [इ]माय काळाय जंबुद्विपसि भमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि [मिसा] कटा³ (1*) पकमसि⁴ हि [ए]स फले (1*) नो च एसा महतता प[1]पोतवे खुदकेन⁵
- 3 पि प[क]म[मि]नेना⁶ सकिये⁷ विपुले⁸ पा⁹ स्वगे आरोधेवे¹⁰ (1*) एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे [खु]दका च उहाळा च पकमतु¹¹ ति अता पि च जानंतु इय¹² पक[रा]¹³ [व]
- 4 किति चिर-टितिके¹⁴ सिया (1*) इय हि अठे वडि वडिसिति विपुल च वडिसिति अपलधिनेना दियदिय वडिसत¹⁵ (1*) इय च अठे पवति[सु] लेखापेत वाळत (1*) हध¹⁶ च अधि
- 5 साला-ठ[भे]¹⁷ सिला-ठ[']भसि लाखापेतवय¹⁸ त¹⁹ (1*) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक तुपक²⁰ अहाले सवर²¹ विवसेतवा[य]²² ति (1*) [व्यु]ठेना सावने कटे (1*)²³ २०० (+ ०) ५० (+ ०) ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त²⁴ (11*)

¹ Bühler : च

² Bühler : वि

³ Sabarām has चमिस-देवा संत मुनिसा मिस-देवा कटा. For मिसा कटा, Maski and Yerragudi have मिसिमुता (=मिश्रभूताः)

⁴ Other versions have पकमस.

⁵ Senart and Bühler add हि क after this word.

⁶ Bühler : पकममिनेन

⁷ Brahmagiri reads सकिये आलाधितवे ; Maski has सकि अधिमतवे and adds न एव दखितविये

⁸ उहाळके व इम अधिमदिया ति

⁹ Read विपुले

¹⁰ Read पि

¹¹ Read आरोधितवे. Bühler : आरोधवे.

¹² Senart and Bühler : पकमतु

¹³ Senart and Bühler : इय

¹⁴ Read पकमे

¹⁵ Siddāpura has चिरटितोके च इय पकमे डीति and Sabarām चिरटितोके च पलाकमे डीति

¹⁶ Read वडिसिति or वडिसति

¹⁷ Bühler and Senart propose डिध.

¹⁸ Read सिला-

¹⁹ Read लिखापेतविये

²⁰ Read ति

²¹ Read तुपका ; cf. Sarnāth pillar inscription, line 9.

²² Read सवर ; cf. loc. cit., line 10.

²³ Read विवसेतविये. Senart : विय ; Bühler : वायु

²⁴ Brahmagiri has इय च सावले सावापिते व्युठेन २०० ५० ६ and Sabarām दूरे मयना जाति-सता विवसा ति २०० ५० ६

²⁵ Read ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘सातिरेकाणि अर्द्धशीणि’ (—सार्द्धे) वर्षाणि यत् अस्मि प्रकाशं शक्यः (—बौद्धोपासकः) । नो च तु [अर्द्धं] वाटं (=तीव्रं) प्रकान्तः (—धर्मोद्यमी) [अभूवम् एकं संवत्सरम्] । सातिरेकं च तु संवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अर्द्धं सहस्रम् उपेतः (—बौद्ध-संज्ञेन संगतः¹), वाटं च प्रकान्तः । ये अस्मै कालाय (—इत्यन्तं कालं) जम्बुद्वीपे² अमिश्राः देवाः अभूवन्, ते इदानीं मिश्राः (—सम्बन्धवन्तः) कृताः [मनुष्यैः] ।³ [मम] प्रक्रमे (—पराक्रमे—उद्योगे) हि एतत् फलम् । नो च एतत् [केवलं] महात्मत्वात् प्राप्तुं, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (—लब्धुम्) । एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतं—क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः (—महात्मानः, महाधनाः च प्रक्रमन्ताम् इति ; अन्ताः (—प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानन्तु, अयं प्रक्रमः एव किमिति ?—चिरस्थितिकः स्यात् । अयं हि अर्थः (=श्रावण-विषयः) वृद्धिं (=वृद्ध्या वर्द्धिष्यते, विपुलं च वर्द्धिष्यते, अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) दृग्दर्श⁴ (=सार्द्धकं) वर्द्धिष्यते । इमं च अर्थं पर्वतेषु लेखय वारतः (=सुयोगक्रमेण) । इह (—राज्ये यत्कुत्रचित्) च अस्ति [चेत्] शिलास्तम्भः, शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्यः इति । एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन (=शासनभावानुसारेण) यावत्

¹ Or Sanskrit चर्द्धशीयानि. Some scholars suggest चर्द्धीकानि.

² This meaning of *upeta* = *upagata* is suggested by *upāṇam* (or, *bāḍham*) *cha sumi upagate* in the Maski version, line 3. The Present Tense in *sumi* in line 1 shows that Aśoka was an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha), and not a monk, for more than 2½ years till the promulgation of this Edict. For more than one year before the date of the Edict, he was closely associated with the Buddhist Church, which was not the case for the period of one year in the earlier part of his *upāsakata* covering altogether more than 2½ years. See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23-24.

³ According to Buddhist conception, Jambudvīpa is the earth's southern quarter comprising India. Here Aśoka's empire seems to be conventionally represented as Jambudvīpa.

⁴ Gods associate themselves with pious people both on the earth and in heaven. Aśoka seems to claim that he made all men pious by preaching his Dharma and thereby facilitated their association with gods. The Gujarāt version adds : *सुदके च उदारे च धर्मं चरन् धीमं युजन्तु*, “Let the rich and the poor practise Dharma and effect [thereby] their association [with the gods].”

⁵ Hultzsch suggests चिकारि

युष्माकम् आहारं (= शासनाधीन-प्रदेशांशं - आहारावधि-पथन्तं) सर्वत्र विवासयितव्यः
[युष्माभिः पुरुषः] इति । व्युपितेन (= प्रवासिना [मया]) श्रावणं कृतम् । २५६ शतानि
(= षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वयं) [स्वस्य] विवासः' इति ।

No. 23—Minor Rock Edict : Yerragudi Version

YERRAGUDI, Karpūl District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, pp. 817ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 1ff.; B. M. BARUA, *I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 116f.; XIII, pp. 132ff.; D. R. Sahni, *A.S.I.*, A. R., 1928-29, pp. 166-67.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंपिय हेवाह² (1*) अधिकानि अटतियानि संवत्तरानि*)
- 2 'तेका[']प रंउवसं कंण खो तु नो (1*) केसपाउ कंह [य]
- 3 हुसं (1*) सातिरेके [चु]खो सवत्तरे यं मया संघे उपयी-
- 4a ³[अ] [न]लेका चु नामिह (1*) तेकंप मे च दंवा ते
- 4b -मिसा [ये] मुनिसा
- 5 देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता (1*) पकमस हि

¹ The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear in the Sabarsām version which suggests हे षट्पञ्चाशत् रात्रिगते व्युटे (यदा—व्युटः = व्युपितः अहम्) इति २५६ = हे रात्रिगते षट्पञ्चाशत् [च]—२५६—[रात्रयः] व्युटः (यदा—रात्रीः व्युपितः अहम्) इति । I do not think that the passage can be so explained as to refer to the passing away of 256 years of an era connected with some event of Buddha's life, as suggested by Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 2nd ed., p. 370 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII and IX; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1928-29, Pl. LXII. The engraver engraves one line, as he should, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the second line a continuation of the first half of the other line. Sometimes he puts letters of one line into another. The engraving is very careless in this record which, like the Mysore and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri versions, actually contains two edicts. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 6 ff. and notes, and Plate facing p. 7.

³ This is a peculiar form standing for Sanskrit एवमाह

⁴ Read from right to left : य इकं उपासके । नो तु खो एकं संवत्तरं पकति

⁵ Read from right to left : ते वाटं च मे पकंते । इमिना चु कालिन च-

- 6a 'खु (१०) येकिस वनेत्पहम (नो हीयं *) (१०) लेफ यं [इ]
 6b -दकेन पि प[क]-
 7a [म]मीनेन सकिये विपुले स्वगे आरा-
 7b धेतवे (१०) ए-^२
 7c ताय च अठाय इयं
 8 [स]।वने साविते (१०) अथा सुदक-महलका इमं पि पकमेवू अं-
 9 च कातिठिरचि बुनेजा मे च ता-
 10 [इ]यं पकमे होत विपुलं पि च वदसिता अपरधिया दियदियं (१०)
 11 'सा नेवसा च यं [इ]
 12 -[वापि]ते व्यूथेन २०० (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (१०) हेवं देवानं^३ देवानंपि-
 ये आह (१०) यथादे-
 13 (१०) 'येविक धात हाआ येपि[नं]वा
 14 [राजू]के आनपेतविये (१०)
 15 'नआ दंपनजा निदा से
 16a -पयिसति रठिकानि चा (१०)^४ मातापितृसु
 16b सुसु-^५
 17 सितविये (१०) हेमेव गरुसु सुसुसितविये (१०) पांप्रा नेसु दयितविये (१०) सचे
 वतविये (१०) इ-
 18a म धंमगुना पवतितविया (१०) हेवं तुंके आनपयाथ देवानंपिय-ववनेन (१०) हे-
 18b 'पनआ वं
 19 -यथ हथियारोहानि का[र]नकानि यूग्यचरियानि वंभनानि च तुंके (१०) हेवं निवेसया-
 20a थ अंतेवासीनि या[रि]सा पोराणा पकिति (१०) इयं सुसुसितविये (१०) अपचायना
 य वा आचरि-

1 Read from right to left : महत्पनेव सकिये ख

2 These four letters are engraved above the line

3 Read from right to left : -ता च मे जानेव चिरठितिक च

4 Read from right to left : इयं च सावने सा-

5 Omit देवानं

6 Read from right to left -वानंपिये आहा तथा कटविये

7 Read from right to left : से दानि जानपदं आन-

8 Cf. Brahmagiri (lines 9-12), Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Siddāpura versions. They end with the passages चपडेन लिखितं in Brāhmī and लिपिकरेण in Kharoṣṭhī.

9 These two letters are engraved at the beginning of line 18a.

10 Read from right to left : -वं आनप-

20b य[स]

20c स

20d (I*) वमेहे

21 यथा वा पुन आचरियस नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु पंप्रवतितविये (I*) हेसा [पि]

22 अंतेवासीसु यथारहं पवतितविये यारिसा पोराणा पकिति (I*) यथारहं यथा इयं

23 स सा तिरो रे के सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ च अंतेवास[ी]नि (I*) हेवं टे-

24 (II*) तियपनआ [ये] पिनंवा

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘अधिकान् [अर्द्धंस्त्रीणि (— साद्धं द्वे) संवत्सरान्] यत् अहम् उपासकः [असि] ; नो तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम् । सातिरेकं च तु खलु संवत्सरं यत् मया सहः उपेतः, वाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम् । अनेन च तु कालेन अमिश्राः [ये] मनुष्याः देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः [देवैः] । [मम] प्रक्रमस्य हि इदं [फलम्] । [नो हि इदं] महात्मना एव शक्यं ; क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः स्वर्गः आराधयितुम् । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं ; यथा क्षुद्रक-महार्यकाः इदम् अपि प्रक्रमेयुः ; अन्ताः (— प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानीयुः ; चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रमः भवतु ; विपुलम् अपि च [इदं] वर्द्धिष्यते ‘अवराधिकेन (— न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वयर्द्धं’ (— साद्धं) [वर्द्धिष्यते] । इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युपितेन २५६ (— षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वितय-व्युपितेन मया) । एवं देवानांप्रियः आह ।—‘यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यं [युष्माभिः महामातैः] । रज्जुकः आज्ञापयितव्यः—सः इदानीं जानपदान् आज्ञापयिष्यति राष्ट्रिकान् (— जनपद-शासक-विशेषान्) च —“मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यम्; एवम् एव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; प्राणेषु दयितव्यं, सत्यं वक्तव्यम्, इमे धर्म-गुणाः प्रवर्त्तितव्याः ।” एवं यूयं (— महामाताः) आज्ञापयत देवानांप्रिय-वचनेन । एवम् आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान्, कारणकान् (— कायस्थान्), युग्यचर्यान् (— रथारोहान्), ब्राह्मणान् (— अध्यापकान्) च यूयम्—“एवं निवेशयत (— अध्यापयत) अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः (— पुरातनः सदाचारः—सनातनः धर्मः) । इदं [शासनं] शुश्रूषितव्यम् । अपचायना (= पूजा) या एव आचार्यस्य, सा एवम् [शिक्षादाने] एव । यथा वा पुनः आचार्यस्य ज्ञातिकाः सन्ति यथार्हं [तैः तस्य] ज्ञातिकासु [इदं] प्रवर्त्तितव्यम् । [तथा तैः ज्ञातिकैः] एतम् अपि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तितव्यं यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः । यथार्हं यथा इदं सातिरेकं स्यात्, एवं यूयम् आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिनः ।” एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति ॥’

¹ Read from right to left : -वानं पिये जानपयति

D—PILLAR EDICTS¹ OF ASÓKA

No. 24—First Pillar Edict : Delhi-Toprā Version

North Face of the Pillar

Originally TOPRĀ, Ambālā District., Panjāb ; now Firūz Shāh's Kotlā, Delhi.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 304f. ; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 119.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदमि लाज हेवं आहा (I*) सडवोसति-
- 2 वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता (I*)
- 3 हिदत-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंम-कामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सु[सु साया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (I*) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंम-कामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा (I*)
- 7 पुल्लिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं च पलं³ समादपयितवे (I*) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 सहामाता पि (I*) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालता धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति (II*)

¹ Asoka's pillars were found at Toprā (near the Sivālik), Mirāth (U. P.), Allahābād (U. P.), Rādhiah (Lauriā-Ararāj), Māthiah (Lauriyā-Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rāmapurvā. The last three are in the Champāraṇ District, Bihār. The pillars at Toprā and Mirāth were brought to Delhi by Sultān Firūz Shāh (1351-88 A. D.) according to Shams-i-Sirāj. The Allahābād pillar was originally at Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI refer to the king's 27th regnal year; but PE VI also to the 13th year and PE VII to the 28th regnal year.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff. For all the Pillar Edicts, see D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 68ff.

³ We may also read चःखं

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । पञ्चविंशति-वर्षाभिपित्तेन (c. 243 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । ऐह्य-पारलं (= ऐहिक-पारलिकं मङ्गलं) दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं (- दुर्लभम्) अन्यत्र अग्रायाः (- तीव्रायाः) धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुभ्रूपायाः (- गुरुजनवश्यतायाः), अग्रात् भयात् (- पाप-भयात्), अग्रात् उत्साहात् । एषा च तु खलु मम अनुशस्त्याः धर्मपेक्षा धर्मकामता च इवःइवः (= अहरहः) वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव । पुरुषाः (- राजपुरुषाः) अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः (- उत्कृष्टाः च) मेवकाः (= निकृष्टाः) च मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति [धर्मं], संप्रतिपादयन्ति च [ऐह्यपारलं]; [ते] अलं (- समर्थाः) च परं समादापयितुं [- धर्माय उत्साहयितुम् । एवम् एव अन्त-महामाताः (- प्रत्यन्तसम्बन्धिः) अपि । एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पाळिता [प्रजानां], धर्मेण विधानः (- दण्डाभिहारदानं), धर्मेण सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः (- रक्षणम्) इति ॥

No. 25—Second Pillar Edict: Delhi-Topra Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 306f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 120 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1²..... देवानंप्रिये प्रियदसि न्नाज

2³ हेवं आहा (।*) धंमे साधू (।*) कियं च धंमे ति (।*) अपासिनवे⁴ बहु-कयाने

3 दया दाने सचे सोचये (।*)⁵ चखु-दाने पि मे⁶ बहुविधे दिने (।*) दुपद-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff.

² This is in continuation of line 10 of the whole inscription on the pillar (northern face).

³ This is line 11 of the whole inscription.

⁴ A horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower part of वे

⁵ Cf. प्राधानाम् चनालम्; etc. repeated over and over again; cf. also PE VII, line 18. Many of these are prescribed for the Buddhist laity in works like the *Sigālovāda-sutta* in the *Dighanikāya*. Brahmanical writers consider these to be duties common to all the Varṇas. Cf. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः; दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya*, I, 122; also चमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुयद्व्या तीर्थानुसरणं दया ॥ आर्जवं लीभयन्त्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यस्या च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ *Vishnu*, 2, 7-8.

⁶ There is a vertical stroke at the bottom of मे.

- 4 चतुपदेसु पखि-गालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
- 5 दाखिनाये (।*) अंनानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि कटानि ।(*) एताये मे
- 6 अठाये इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं(छ)-
- 7 धितिका च होतू ती ति' ।(*) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कंछती' ति (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शो राजा एवम् आह ।—‘धर्मः साधुः । कियान् च तु धर्मः इति ? अल्पास्नवं (—अल्पास्त्रवम्, अल्पं पापं), बहु-कल्याणं [जनानां], दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं (=शुचिता) [च] । चक्षुर्दानम्¹ अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु [च] विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् (—प्राणदान-पर्यन्तम्) । अन्यानि अपि च मया बहुनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—एवं (—लेखानुसारेण) अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां [जनाः], चिर-स्थितिका च [लिपिः] भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते सः सुकृतं करिष्यति’ इति ॥

No. 26—Third Pillar Edict : Delhi-Topra Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 250f.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 121f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁴

- 1 °देवानंप्रिये प्रियदर्शि लाज हेवं अहा ।(*) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे
- 2 कयाने कटे ति ।(*) नो मिन⁵ पापं [दे]खति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे

¹ Better omit ती

² Read कच्छती०

³ Aśoka seems to have pardoned culprits whose eyes were ordered to be blinded by the court.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

⁵ This is line 17 of the whole inscription on the north face of the pillar.

⁶ The Mirāṭh version appears to read मिना

- 3 नामा ति (।०) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (।०) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (।०) इमानि
- 4 आसिनव-गामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठुलिये कोधे माने इस्या
- 5 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ।०। एस वाढ देखिये इयं मे
- 6 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये (॥०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘[जनः] कल्याणाम् एव पश्यति—“इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्” इति । नो मनाक् (—किञ्चिदपि) पापं पश्यति—“इदं मया पापं कृतम्” इति ; “इदं वा आसनव” नाम” इति । दुष्प्रत्यवेक्ष्यं (—दुर्लक्ष्यं) च तु खलु एतत् (—पापम्) । एवं च तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत् “इमानि आसनवगामीनि नाम—यथा चाण्ड (—कोपनता), नैष्ठुर्यं, क्रोधः, मानः (—दम्भः), ईर्ष्या, [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं मा परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि (=न [आत्मानं] धर्म-भ्रष्टं करिष्यामि ।” एतत् वाढं पश्येत्—“इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारलिकाय” ॥’

No. 27—Fourth Pillar Edict: Delhi-Topra Version

West Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BOHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 251ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 122f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंप्रिये प्रियदसि न[।]ज हेवं आहा (।०) सङ्गोसति-वस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धम्म-लिपि लिखापिता (।०) लज्जूका मे
- 3 बहुसु पान-सत-सहसेसु जनसि आयता ।० तेषं ये अभिहाले वा

¹ आसिनव means परिव्र of RE X (*supra*, pp. 30-31). It is the same as the Jain term अणुहय which is derived from आ + हृ and indicates a variety of sin.

² Cf. विविधं नरकस्येदं दारं नाशनमात्मनः ।

कामः क्रोधस्तया लोभस्तयादितत्तयं त्यजेत् ॥ गीता ११.६।२१

³ Cf. पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्ष्यामूयायदृषणम् । मनु । ७/४८

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

- 4 दंडे वा अत-पतिये मे कटे (1*) किंति लज्जूका अस्वथ अभीता
- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हित-सुखं उपदहेवू
- 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (1*) सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन¹ च
- 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं (1*) किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
- 8 आळाधयेवू ति (1*) लज्जूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (1*) पुम्मिसानि पि मे
- 9 छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (1*) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूका
- 10 चवंति आळाधयितवे (1*) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
- 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
- 12 हेवं ममा लज्जूका कटा जानपदस हित-सुखाये (1*) येन एते अभीता
- 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जूकानं
- 14 अ[ि]भहाले व दंडे वा अत-पतिये कटे (1*) इद्धितविये [हि] एसा (1*) किंति
- 15 वियोडाल-समता च सिय दंड-समता चा (1*) अव इते पि च मे आवुति (1*)
- 16 बंधन-वधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं² पत-वधानं तिंनि दिवसा[नि] मे
- 17 योते दिंने (1*) नातिका व कानि निष्पयिसंति³ जीविताये तानं
- 18 नासंतं⁴ वा निष्पयिता⁵ दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कडंति (1*)

¹ Michelson takes धंम-युत to be a class of officials.

² Senart and Bühler: तोलीत°

³ Senart explains the passage: 'My officers will warn (निष्पयिसंति) them that they have neither more nor less (नातिकावकानि) to live (जीविताये तानं). Warned thus (निष्पयिता) as to the limit of their existence (नासंतं) they may give (दाहंति) alms (दानं) in view of their future life (पालतं), or may give themselves up to fasting (उपवासं वा कडंति).' Bühler explains: 'Their relations (नातिका) will make some of them (कानि) meditate deeply (निष्पयिसंति) and in order to save the life of those men (जीविताये तानं) or in order to make [the condemned] who is to be executed (नासंतं) meditate deeply (निष्पयिता), they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts.'

⁴ नासंतं = नाशान्त has been taken by some scholars in the sense of Death, [one] whose nature or disposition (चन्त) is destruction (नाश)

⁵ Some versions have निष्पयितवे

19 इहा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि¹ पालतं आलाधयेवू ति ।।*। जनस च

20 वडति विविधे धंम चलने संयमे दान-सविभागे ति ।।*।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह ।—‘षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 43 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता । रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने (—जनेषु) आयताः (—नियुक्ताः) । तेषां यः अभिहारः (—उपहारः वा दण्डः वा [सः—अभिहार-दण्डौ] आत्मपतिकः (=अभिहारदण्डदानविषये रज्जुकाः स्वाधीनाः मया कृतः—किमिति ?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः [च] [सन्तः] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः, जनस्य जानपदस्य हित-सुखम् उपदध्युः (—विदध्युः), [जनान्] अनुगृह्णीयुः च । [रज्जुकाः] सुखन-दुःखनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन [जनेन] च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदं—किमिति ?—[ते] इहत्यं च पारलिकं च [मङ्गलम्] आराधयेयुः (—लभेरन्) इति । रज्जुकाः अपि रंघन्ते² (=सोत्सुकाः भवन्ति परिचरितुं माम् ; पुरुषान् (—राजपुरुषान् महामातान्) अपि मे छन्दजान् [रज्जुकाः] परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते (—पुरुषाः) अपि च कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुं (=तोषयितुम्)³ । यथा हि प्रजाम् (=अपत्यं) व्यक्तायै (—प्राज्ञायै) धात्वेन निसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति [जनः] “व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्ति मे प्रजां सुखं प्रतिहतुं” (—रक्षितुम्),” एवं मम रज्जुकाः [मया] कृताः जानपदस्य हित-सुखाय । येन एते अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः (—हृष्टाः) कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यं हि एतत्—किमिति ?—व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च । यावत् इतः अपि च मे आवृत्तिः (—आदेशः)—बन्धन-वद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीर्ण-दण्डानां (—प्राप्त-दण्डानां) प्राप्त-वधानां त्रयः दिवसाः मया [वधरोधरूपं] यौत[कं] दत्तम् । [तेषां] ज्ञातिकाः वा कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] निध्याययिष्यन्ति (—हेतुप्रदर्शनेन प्रबोधयिष्यन्ति) जीविताय

¹ The expression has been explained as ‘during the time of their imprisonment’ (Senart); ‘even during their imprisonment’ (Bühler); ‘even in a limited time’ (Lüders); ‘though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed [their being no निर्भति]’ (Thomas); and ‘even when the time [of respite] has expired’ (Hultzsch). Bhandarkar takes काल in the sense of जीवन-काल. Cf. also kâra (masculine), ‘act of worship’, ‘song of praise’, in the *Dīgyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 133, line 17; 166, line 26; 329, line 20; (cf. Pali kâra in this sense); but *ibid.*, pp. 289, line 6; 583, line 29, use the word in its feminine form (kārā).

² According to Hultzsch, लघति is from Sanskrit अर्हति through अलघति = अलघति.

³ Or, पुरुषाः अपि मे छन्दजाः [मां] (or छन्दाज्ञे) परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते अपि च कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम् । According to Hultzsch, अघति = शक्नोति

वा तेषां¹ ; नश्यन्तं (—वध्यं) वा निध्याययितुं (= लोकान्तरे तस्य सुखं भवेत् इति प्रतियोधनेन प्रमादयितुं) दानं दास्यन्ति पारत्रिकम्, उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति । इच्छा हि मे एवं—निरुद्धे अपि काले (=यौतकरूपे समये ; यद्वा—निरुद्धे अपि कारे [=पूजाकार्ये]) पारत्रिकम् आराधयेयुः इति । [एवं] जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दान-संविभागः² [च]³ इति ॥

No. 28—Fifth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South Face of the Pillar

RĀMPURVĀ, Champārāṇ District, Bihār.

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 73ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 256ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 152f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁴

- 1 देवानंपिये पियटसि लाज हेवं आह (।*) मड्वीमनि-[व[माभिमितेन मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि¹ (।*) सेयथ
- 2 सके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवा-कपिलिक दुलि अनठिक-मछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगा-पुपुटके संकुज-मछे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पटसते सेत-कपोते
- 4 गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च स्वादियति (।*) अजका नानि एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

¹ Cf. *Mṛiccheśhakaṭika*, Act X, enumerating the reasons why the Chandāla should better not kill a condemned person as soon as he is ordered to do so: "Perchance some kind gentleman might set the condemned man at liberty by paying a ransom. Perhaps a son might be born to the king and on account of that great joyous festival all the condemned men may be released. Perchance an elephant might break loose his chains and in that commotion the condemned criminal might escape. Or sometimes there might be a change of king and then all the condemned men may be set at large."

² ऐहिकार्यदानात् पारत्रिकार्यदानस्य विभजनम् ; cf. धर्म-संविभाग in RE XI (*supra*, pp. 31-32).

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xviii f.

⁴ For similar injunctions, see the *Arthashastra*, II, 16.

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (।*) वधि-कुकुटे नो कटविये (।*) तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये (।*)
- 6 दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (।*) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।*) तीसु चातु'मासी'सु तिस्यं पुनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पट्टिदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं महे अवध्ये नो पि विकेतविये (।*) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नाग-वर्णमि केवट-भोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीव-निकायानि नो हंतवियानि (।*) अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातु'मासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये (।*) अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वापि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (।*) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातु'मासिये चातु'मामि-पखाये अस्वस गोतस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (।*) याव-सड्वीसति-वसाभिमितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये पनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । 'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B. C.) मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा—शुकः, शारिका, अरुणः चक्रवाकः, हंसः, नन्दीमुखः (= जलपक्षिविशेषः), गेळाटः, जतुकः, अम्बापिपीलिका, हुडिः (= कमठविशेषः), अनस्थिक-मतस्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, सङ्गच-मतस्यः, कमठ-शल्यकौ, पन-शशः, सुमरः (= मृगविशेषः), पण्डकः, औकपिण्डः (= मार्जार-मृषिकादयः), परस्वान् (= Pāli पलासादो = गण्डकः), श्वेत-कपोतः, ग्राम-कपोतः, सर्वे [च] चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च खाद्यन्ते । अजका एषा (= या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या, पोतकाः च केचित् = ये 'आपाणमासिकाः । वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः (= निलिङ्गीकृत^१) नो कर्त्तव्यः^२ । तुषः सजीवः न दाहयितव्यः । दावः (= अरण्यम्) अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः नो पोषितव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु^३ (= कार्तिकफाल्गुनाषाढपूर्णिमासु), 'तिष्यायां (= पौषे)

^१ This shows (as suggested by other evidences also) that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd century B.C.

^२ The word may mean 'to be made' or 'to be cut (i.e. killed)'.

^३ See notes on Bk. II, Nos. 26 and 40. Cf. चतुर्दश्यामी चैव चमावस्या च पूर्णिमा । पर्वाष्टोत्तानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च ॥ (Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dict., s. v. पञ्च)

पूर्णमास्यां त्रिषु दिवसेषु—चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि [च], ध्रुवायाः (= ध्रुवत्वेन) च अनूपवसथं (= उपवास-दिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः नो अपि विक्रेतव्यः। एतान् एव दिवसान् नाग-वने (= हस्तिक्षेत्रे), कैवर्त-भोगे (= जालिक-ग्रामे) ये अन्ये अपि जीव-निकायाः [ते] नो हन्तव्याः। अष्टमी-पक्षे (= अष्टमीषु) चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे (= पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लक्षयितव्यः (= निर्मुष्कोक्तव्यः)। अजकः, पृङ्कः (= मेघः), शूकरः, ये वा अपि अन्ये निर्लक्ष्यन्ते, [ते] न निर्लक्षयितव्याः। तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासी-पक्षे [च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] [दग्धशलाकया] लक्षणं नो कर्तव्यम् ॥ 'यावत्-षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन' मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायाम् (= अग्रान्तरे) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धन-मोक्षाः [वन्दिनां] कृताः' ॥

No. 29—Sixth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South Face of the Pillar

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 105ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 267ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1² देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (।*) द्वाडस-वसाभिसितेन मे धंम-
लिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये (।*) से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंम-वडि पापोव (।*) हेवं लोकस हित-सुखे ति पटिवेखामि अय इयं नातिसु
हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकडेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (।*) हेमेव सब-[नि]कायेसु पटिवेखामि (।*)
सब-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (।*) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्य-मुते (।*) सडुवोस[ति]-वसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंम-लिपि लिखापित (॥*)

¹ Asoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation. Cf. *Arthashastra* II, 36: दिवसे पञ्च रात्रे वा बन्धनस्यान्विशोषयेत् । कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्मययष्टेण वा ॥ चतुर्दश्याभिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने । पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते ॥

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xviii.

³ This is line 12 of the inscription on the south face of the pillar.

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । — द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तन (c. 257 B. C.) मया धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हित-सुखाय ; तत् (= ततः) तां अप्रहर्ता (= अनाशयिता = पालयिता) तां तां धर्म-वृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात् । ‘एवं लोकस्य हित-सुखम्’ इति प्रत्यवेक्षे— यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु, एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकृष्टेषु (— विप्रकृष्टेषु = दूरस्थेषु) — कथं कांश्चित् जनान्] सुखम् आवहामि इति, तथा च विदधामि । एवम् एव सर्व-निकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे । सर्व-पार्षदाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् च तु इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं (= स्वयं गत्वा जनानां परिदर्शनं) तत् मे मुख्य-मतम् । पञ्चविंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता ॥’

No. 30—Seventh Pillar Edict : Delhi-Topra¹

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 130ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

East Face of the Pillar

- 1³ देवानंप्रिये प्रियट्ठसि लाजा हेवं आहा (1*) ये अतिकंतं
- 2 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इत्थिसु कथं जने
- 3 धंम-वडिया वडेया (1*) नो च जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया
- 4 वडिया (1*) एतं देवानंप्रिये प्रियट्ठसि लाजा हेवं आहा (1*) एम मे
- 5 हुया (1*) अतिकंतं च अंतलं⁴ हेवं इत्थिसु लाजाने कथं जने
- 6 अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति (1*) नो च जने अनुलुपाया
- 7 धंम-वडिया वडिया (1*) से किनसु जने अनु[प]ट्ठिपजेया⁵ (1*)
- 8 किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति (1*) [ि]किनसु कानि

¹ This edict is not found on the other pillars.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

³ This is line 11 of the inscription on the east face of the pillar.

⁴ Read अंतलं

⁵ प of उपजेया is engraved above the line.

- 9 अभ्यु^१नामयेहं धंम-वडिया ति (।*) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
10 आहा (।*) एस मे हुथा (।*) धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
11 अनुस[।]सामि (।*) एतं जने सुनु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्यु^१नमिसति

Round the Pillar

- 12 धंम-वडिया च वाढं वडिस[ति] (।*) एताये मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि
धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि यथा* [पुनि*][म]।^१ पि बहुने जनसि
आयता ए ते^२ पळियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (।*) लज्जका पि बहुकेसु पान-सत-
सहसेसु आयता (।*) ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पळियोवदाथ
13 जनं धंम-यु[त] (।*) [देव]ानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (।*) एतमेव
मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि धंम-महामाता कटा धंम-सावने* कटे (।*)
देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपा-
पितानि छायोपगानि होयंति पसु-मुनिसानं अंवा-वडिक्या लोपापिता (।*)
अड[कोसि]क्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि
14 खानापापितानि निंसि[ड]या^३ च काळापिता (।*) आपानानि मे व[हु]कानि तत
तत क[।]लापितानि पटीभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं (।*) [ळ][हुके*] [चु*] एस पटीभोगे
नाम (।*) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते
छोके (।*) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
15 एस कटे (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (।*) धंम-महामाता पि मे ते
बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहियानं च सव-[पासं*]-
डेसु पि च वियापटासे (।*) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव
वाभनेसु आ[ज]ीविकेसु पि मे कटे
16 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु
पि मे [क]टे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेस् [ते] [ते*]
[महा*]माता (।*) धंम-महामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव विया[प]टा सवेस् च
अंनेसु पासंडेसु (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*)

1 The restoration is due to Hultzsch.

2 Senart and Bühler read एते as one word.

3 Bühler : (निंसिडिया = निविडिया from नि + सद), "rest-house s."

- 17 एते च भवे च बहुका मुपुा दान-विमगमि विपायामे मम येव देविर्न च (१०) सवमि
च मे भोकोचनमि ते बहुविधेन आका लेन तानि तानि तुदायतनं (१) नि पटी (१) हि
येव दिवामु च (१०) दानकामां वि च मे कटे अमानं च देवि-कुमालानं इमे
दान-विमगेमु विपायरा होहंति ति
- 18 चंमापदानाये चंमापुपतिपतिवे (१०) एम हि चंमापदाने चंम-पटीपति च वा
इयं इया दाने मये योचये मये मयावे च लोकम हेवं चदिमति ति (१०)
देवानेपिये [पिपटमि०] आजा हेवं आदा (१०) यानि हि [कानिचि
ममिया मयाचानि कयानि तं लोके अनुपटीपने तं च अनुविचिवंति (१०) तेन
चदिता च
- 19 चदिमति च मातापितृभ्यु मृगयाया मुलुयु मृगयाया वयो महालकानं अनुपटीपतिपा
कामन-मममेमु कामन-कलाकेमु आय दाम-भारकेमु संपटीपतिपा (१०) देवानेपि[ये०]
[पि०][य]दमि आजा हेवं आदा (१०) मुनियानं च वा इयं चंम-चदि चदिता हुवेदि
येव आकायेदि चंम-विमगेन च निहतिपा च (१०)
- 20 तत च बहु मे चंम-विमगे निहतिपा च मुये (१०) चंम-विमगे च लो एम ये
मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जालानि अवधिपामि (१०) अमानि वि च बहुकानि*
चंम-विमगानि यानि मे कयानि (१०) निहतिपा च च मुये मुनियानं चंम-चदि
चदिता अविहिंस्याये मृतानं
- 21 अमानभावे यामानं (१०) मे एताये अंय)ये इयं कटे पुता-परोतिके चंदम-मुलियिके
होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (१०) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिंदल-पाकले
आकये होति (१०) सतविमलि-वयाभिगितेन मे इयं चंम-लिचि विमयापापिता ति (१०)
एवं देवानेपिये आदा (१०) इयं
- 22 चंम-लिचि अत अपि विमया-चंमानि वा विमया-कलकानि वा तत कटविपा एन
एन चिक-दिलिके मिया (१०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांमियः शिवदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘ये अतिजान्ताम् अम्भारं (=भूत-काये)
राजानः अमृचन् (ते) एवम् एभिषुः—कर्म जनाः चमंभूदाः चर्वेल’ नो च तु जनाः अनुकुर्या
चमंभूदाः अवर्हिह’ । एतन् देवानांमियः शिवदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘एतन् मे [मममि]

* Dhillon read out कटीपादमति, “they point out”. Haltsch suggests कटीवेदमति, “they are reporting”.

* Cf. PE II, lines 3 B, supra, p. 54; also Maas, VI, 92.

अभूत्—अतिशयान्तं च अन्तरम् एवम् परिपुः राजानः कर्म जनाः अनुसूयता धर्मवृद्धाः सर्वेऽपि
इति । नो च जनाः अनुसूयता धर्मवृद्धाः अवर्द्धिहः । तन् चेन्नस्मिन् जनाः [धर्मम्]
अनुप्रतिपद्येत ; चेन्नस्मिन् जनाः अनुसूयता धर्मवृद्धाः सर्वेऽपि इति । चेन्नस्मिन् चा-
[स्मिन् जनान्] अनुसूयतामेव धर्मवृद्धाः इति । एतन् देवानाम्प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम्
आह ।—‘एतन् मे [मानसि] अभूत्—धर्म-आवयानि आवयामि धर्मोन्मुखताः [च] अनुसूयताः ।
एतन् जनाः सुखा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ते, अनुसूयन्ति, धर्मवृद्धाः च तर्हि वर्द्धिष्यन्ते । एतस्मै
मया अर्पय धर्म-आवयानि आवयामि, धर्मोन्मुखताः विविधाः आज्ञाः, यथा [राज]पुरुषाः
अपि—वही जने आवयताः (= स्थापयताः) ते ते—[धर्म] धर्मवृद्धयन्ति (= स्थापयन्ति) अपि
प्रवित्तारविषयन्ति अपि । राजपुरुषाः अपि बहुष्वेपु प्रायः-प्रायःस्वेषु आवयताः । ते अपि मया
आज्ञाः—‘एवं च एवं च धर्मवृद्धयन्त जने धर्मवृद्धम्’ । देवानाम्प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—
‘एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाने धर्म-सम्पन्नाः कुलाः, धर्म-महामाताः कुलाः, धर्म-आवय-
कृतम्’ । देवानाम्प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘मार्गेषु अपि मया स्थापिताः (= यथा)
रोपिताः स्तम्भिकाः (= स्थापयता स्तम्भिकाः) भविष्यन्ति यशु-मनुष्याणाम् [इति] ; आश-प्राप्तिकाः
[च] रोपिताः । आशुकीशिकानि’ (= अशुकीशान्तरानि) अपि मया स्थापयामि (= यथा)
स्थानितानि, निश्चिह्नकाः (= स्तम्भानि) च कारिताः । आपानानि (= स्थापयामि-प्राप्तानि) मया
बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिबोधाय यशु-मनुष्याणाम् । समुद्राः च तु एव प्रतिबोधः मेव ।
विविधया हि सुखमया पूर्वं अपि राजभिः मया च सुस्थिताः स्तम्भिकाः । इयं च तु धर्मोन्मुखता
(= धर्मोन्मुखता) अनुप्रतिपद्यता [जनाः] इति एतदर्थं मया एतन् कृतम् । देवानाम्प्रियः
प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘धर्म-महामाताः अपि मे ते बहुष्वेपु अर्पेपु अनुसूयित्वेषु स्थापिताः
प्रवित्तानां च एव सुखमया च, धर्म-प्राप्तयेपु अपि च स्थापिताः । महार्गे (= कीदृशित्व-
सहार्पम्) अपि मया कृतम्—इमे स्थापिताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; एवम् एव मार्गेषु आशुकीशिकेषु
[च] अपि मया कृतम्—इमे स्थापिताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; निश्चिह्नेषु (= स्तम्भेषु) अपि मया
कृतम्—इमे स्थापिताः भविष्यन्ति ; नावा-प्राप्तयेपु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे स्थापिताः भविष्यन्ति
इति ; प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं (= विविधेषु विविधेषु स्थापयामि) तेषु तेषु [विषयेषु] ते ते
महामाताः [स्थापिताः] । धर्म-महामाताः च तु मे एतेषु च एव स्थापिताः सर्वेषु च अन्येषु
प्राप्तयेपु । देवानाम्प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः सुखा
[राजपुरुषाः] दान-विषये (= अर्पयता दान-प्राप्तये) स्थापिताः मया च एव देवीनां च, सर्वस्मिन्

1 One person (and brother) is said to have considered a day's march of an army in ancient India.

2 I.e., the followers of Mahāvīra's Goshā, a staunch fatalist and a contemporary of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. For the inclusion of this, see, e.g., *op. cit.*, No. 25, line 8.

3 I.e., the followers of Nāgārjuna Nāgārjuna (Vardhamāna Mahāvīra).

च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि (—तुष्टिपात्राणि—प्राथिनः) [अस्मान्] प्रतिवेदयन्ति इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च । दारकाणां (—स्व-पुत्राणाम्) अपि च मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवी-कुमाराणाम् इमे [महामाताः] दान-विसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति धर्मापदानार्थाय (—धर्म-कार्याय) धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च] । एतत् हि धर्मापदानं धर्म-प्रतिपत्तिः च—या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं, मार्दवं (=मृदुत्वं), साधवं (=साधुत्वं) च—लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते' इति । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'यानि हि कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते [लोकेन] । तेन [लोकाः] वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयो-महार्यकाणां (—वयो-वृद्धानाम्) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या (—सम्प्रतिपत्त्या), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेषु कृपण-वराकेषु (=दीनानां) यावत् दास-भूतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'मनुष्याणां च तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव आकाराभ्यां—धर्म-नियमेन च, निध्यात्या (—धर्म-संबोधनेन) च । तत् च तु लघुः सः धर्म-नियमः, निध्यात्या एव भूयः [वर्द्धिता धर्म-वृद्धिः] । धर्म-नियमः च लघुः एषः, यत् मया इदं कृतम्—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि । अन्ये अपि च तु बहुकाः धर्म-नियमाः ये मया कृताः । निध्यात्या एव च तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्म-वृद्धिः वर्द्धिता अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणानां [च] । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्म-लिपिः] कृता पौत्र-प्रापौखिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी (—चिरस्थायिनी) भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् [इमां धर्मलिपिं जनाः] इति । एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने [धर्मे] ऐहिक-पारलौकिकं [सङ्गलम्] आराद्धं (—लब्धं) भवति । सप्तविंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 242 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता' इति । एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह ।—'इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिला-स्तम्भाः वा शिला-फलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिर-स्थितिका स्यात्' ॥

E—MINOR PILLAR EDICTS OF AS'OKA

No. 31—Rummindei Pillar Inscription¹

RUMMINDEI TEMPLE near PARADHYĀ, Nepalese Tarāi

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1ff. ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 164.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brahmi

TEXT²

- 1 देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसति-वसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुध्ने जाते सक्य-मुनी ति.(1*)
- 3 सिला-विगड-भीचा' कालापित सिला-थमे च उत्सर्पिते (1*)
- 4 हिद भगवं' जाते ति लु'सिनि-गामे उवलिके कटे
- 5 अठ-भागिये च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदशिना राजा विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B.C.) आत्मना (=स्वयम्) आगत्य महीयित' (=पूजा विहिता), इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति ; शिला-विकृत-भित्तिकाः (=प्रतर-खचिताः इष्टक-प्राकाराः)⁵ कारिताः, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ।

¹ A spurious copy of this record has been discovered near Bhubaneswar in the Pur District, Orissa (*Pravāsī*, Śrāvāṇa, 1335 B.S.). Rummin-dei is the same as Lumbini-dei. The birth-place of the Buddha was the holiest Buddhist Tīrtha. Hiuen-tsang refers to a pillar with a horse capital set up by Aśoka in the Lumbini garden.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I; for other references, see *ibid.*, pp. 164-65, notes.

³ Charpentier and Hultzsch make it सिला विगडभी चा (a stone bearing a horse?).

⁴ A *bhāṅgavā* is one possessing *issariya*, *dhamma*, *yaśa*, *siri*, *kāma* and *payatana*.

⁵ भित्तिका may possibly be भीचा through the intermediate forms भित्तिचा = *भित्तिचा = *भिचा. According to some, विगड = विकट.

इह भगवान् (—बुद्धः) जातः इति लुम्बिनीग्रामः उद्धलिकः (—कर-रहितः) कृतः, आष्ट-
भागिकः (—शस्याष्टमांशदः)¹ च ।

No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Inscription

Western bank of the NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR TANK, near NIGLIVĀ, Nepalese
Tarāī

BÖHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1 ff. ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 165.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिन् लाजिन चोदस-वसा[भिसितेन]
- 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस थुवे दुतियं वढिते (।*)
- 3 [वीसति-व*]साभिसितेन³ च अतन आगाच महीयिते
- 4 [सिक्का-थभे*] [च*] [उस*]पापिते⁴ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियेन प्रियदशिना राज्ञा चतुर्दश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 255 B. C.) बुद्धस्य
कनकमुनेः⁵ स्तूपः द्वितीयं (—द्विगुणं)⁶ वर्द्धितः । विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B. C.)
च आत्मना आगत्य महीयितं, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (= उत्थापितः) ॥

¹ The normal rate was $\frac{1}{8}$ of the produce (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58). For other interpretations, see Hultzsch, p. 165, n. 3. According to some scholars, *bali* here means not a tax over and above the king's grain-share of *bhāga* but a cess collected at holy places.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

³ Restoration due to Bühler.

⁴ Restoration due to Bühler.

⁵ Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i.e. one who attained the knowledge necessary for Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His Stūpa was a Buddhist Tirtha and was visited by Hīnen-tsang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. Of the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, called Bhāṇḍa-Kappa, four (Kakusandha, Koṇagamana, Kassapa and Gotama) have already appeared ; the fifth (Metteyya) is still to appear.

⁶ According to some, दुतियं=द्वितीयं बारम् which would imply that the Stūpa had been once enlarged previously.

No. 33—'Queen's Edict'

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 308f.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 f.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 158f.; C. D. Chatterjee, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXXIII, pp. 57ff.; XXXIV, pp. 30ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंप्रियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
- 2 वतविया (I*) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
- 3 अंवा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-[गहे] [व] [ए] [वा] [पि] [अ] ने
- 4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये पे (I*) नानि [हे] वं [ग*] [न] [येथ*]²
- 5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वस्य महामाताः वक्तव्याः ।—‘यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः (=राज्ञ्याः) दानम् - आम्र-वाटिका वा आरामः वा दान-गृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित् [दानं] गण्यते (=गणितं भवति), तस्याः देव्याः तत् । [युष्माभिः] एनानि एवं गणयेत्—“द्वितीयायाः देव्याः” इति “तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः”³ ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² Hultzsch restores विनति (=विश्रुति) and Chatterjee मनये

³ Cf. the name Tivara in later inscriptions; see also *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, pp. 128 ff. According to some, Kāruvāki belonged to the Kāru or Kāruvāka Gotra; others think Kāruvāki=Chāruvāk.

No. 34—Kausambi Pillar Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 301 f. ; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 ff. ;
BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 120 ff., 141 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins*
Ind., I, p. 159.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवानं*][पि]ये आनपयति (I*) कोसंविं महाम[1]त
- 2[स]म[गे] [कटे] (I*) स[']घसि नो² लहिये
- 3[संघं] [भा]खति³ भि[खु] व[1] भि[खु]नि वा [से] [पि]⁴ चा
- 4 [ओ*]दात[1]नि दुसानि [स]नंधापयितु अ[नावा]स[सि]⁵ [आ]व[1]सयि[ये]⁶ (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः आज्ञपयति । कौशाभ्यां महामातः [एवं वक्तव्यः] ।—॥ ‘....[सङ्घः] समग्रः
(—भेदविहीनः) कृतः । सङ्घे नो लभ्यः [दुश्चरितः भिक्षुः] । [यः] सङ्घं भङ्क्षयति भिक्षुः वा
‘भिक्षुणी (—स्त्री-भिक्षुः) वा सः अपि च अवदातानि दूष्यानि (—[पीतवास-धारिणः भिक्षोः
अयोग्यानि] श्वेत-वस्त्राणि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (—भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) आवास्यः
(—दूरीकृतव्यः)’ ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. Nos. 34-36 were probably issued after the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka's patronage.

² Bühler and Boyer : *विघ. Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam), the ancient capital of Vatsa, was on the Jumna in the Allāhābād District.

³ Bühler and Boyer : न

⁴ Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

⁵ Boyer : [प]चा. He and Bühler add चो⁷ at the end of the line.

⁶ Bühler : आन[पे]स ; Boyer : आनावससि

⁷ Boyer : अवा०.

⁸ According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka gave white robes to the heretical monks whom he expelled. *Saṅghabheda* is the fifth of the six *abhiṭhānas* or deadly sins. See Childers, s. v.

No. 35—Sānchī Pillar Inscription

SĀNCHĪ, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 160f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1[य]१ भे[त]²...[१०] [सं०][धि] [स०]मगे कटे
- 2[य]१ भे[त]²...[१०] [सं०][धि] [स०]मगे कटे
- 3 [भि०]खून[१] च भि[खुनी]नं चा ति [पु]त-प-
- 4 [पो०]तिके चं[द]म-[सू]रि[यि]के [१०] ये संघं
- 5 भ[१]खति³ भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-
- 6 नि दुस[१नि] सनं[धापयि]तु अना[वा]-
- 7 ससि वा[सा]पेतवि[ये] [१०] इछा हि मे किं-
- 8 ति संघे समगे⁴ चिल-थितीके सिया ति [॥०]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

.....[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन सहः केन अपि न शक्यः] भेतुम् । सहः समग्रः कृतः भिक्षूणां च [स्त्री]भिक्षूणां च इति पौत्र-प्रापौत्रिकं चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकं [च] । यः सहं भङ्क्षयति भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा [सः] अवदातानि दूष्यानि (= वसनानि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (= भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) वासयितव्यः । इच्छा हि मे—किमिति ?—सहः समग्रः चिरस्थितिकः [च] स्यात् इति ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanādabojā-mahāvihāra (cf. Sānchī inscription of Chandragupta II, *infra*).

² Possibly भेतवे ; cf. Sārnāth version, line 3.

³ Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

⁴ Bühler and Boyer : संघस मगे.

No. 36—Sarnath Pillar Edict

SĀRNĀTH, Vārāṇasī District., U.P.

BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 119 ff.; SENART, *C. R.*, 1907, pp. 25 ff.;
VENIS, *J. P. A. S. B.*, III, pp. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I,
pp. 161f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवा[नंपिये*].....
- 2 ए ङ
- 3 पाट².....ये³ केन पि संघे भेतवे (1*) ए चुं खो
- 4 [भिखू] [वा] [भिखु]नि वा संघं भ[िखति]⁴ [से] ओदातानि दुस[ानि] [स]-
नंधापयिया आनावाससि
- 5 आवासयिये (1*) हेवं इयं तासने भिखु-संघसि च भिखुनि-संघसि च विन-
पयितविये (1*)
- 6 हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (1*) हेदिसा च इका लिपो तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसल नसि
निखिता (1*)
- 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (1*) ते पि च उपासका
अनु-पोसयं यावु

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² It has been suggested that पाट may be the first two *aksharas* of the name पाटलिपुत्र

³ Boyer restores न सकिये

⁴ This reading is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart : भिखति ; Boyer : भोखति

- 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे (I*) अनु-पोसथं च ध्रुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये
- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I*) आवते च तुफाकं आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (I*) हेमेव सवेसु कोट-विषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा (II*)¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*देवानांप्रियः.....पाटलिपुत्रे

.....[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सहः भेत्तुम् । यः तु खलु भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा सहं भक्ष्यति, सः अवदातानि दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावसे आवास्यः । एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षु-सहं च [स्त्री]भिक्षु-सहं च [भिक्षवः] विज्ञपयितव्यम् । एवं देवानांप्रिय आह ।—ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे (—आवासे ; यद्वा—पथि) निक्षिप्ता ; एकां च लिपिं ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके निक्षिपत । ते अपि च उपासकाः अनूपवसथं (—उपवासदिनेषु) [शासनान्तिकं] यायुः एतत् एव शासनम् (—एतस्मिन् एव शासने) [आत्मनः] विश्वासयितुम् । अनूपवसथं च ध्रुवायाः (—ध्रुवत्वेन) एकैकः (—प्रत्येकं) महामातः उपवसथाय याति² एतत् एव शासनं [आत्मानं] विश्वासयितुम् आज्ञातुं (—ज्ञातुं, बोधुं) च । यावत्कं [स्थानं व्याप्य] च युष्माकम् आहारः (—प्रदेशः), सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं [राजपुरुषान्] एतेन व्यञ्जनेन (=अनुशासनानुसारेण) । एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट-विषयेषु (=दुर्गरक्षित-प्रदेशांशेषु) एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत ॥

¹ The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātrās possibly of Pāṭaliputra. It was made available to monks and nuns (*bhikkhu-bhikkhuni*), to lay worshippers (*upāsaka-upāsikā*) and to officers and the people of the districts (*āhāra*) and sub-divisions (*vishaya*). According to some, *samśalana* is some locality or an office or an assembly hall. If it is believed that the edict was addressed to the Mahāmātrās of Kausāmbī, there was probably a reference to the Buddhist council held at Pāṭaliputra.

² I.e., goes for the *uposatha*-day service which is held on the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eighth days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments, as the Sunday is to the Catholics, and the lay worshippers on that occasion make vows to keep the ten *Silas*. On the two *uposatha* days of the 14th and 15th, all monks assemble in the monastery and the *Pātimokkha* is read out section by section. See Childers, s. v. *Upasatha*.

F—STONE-SLAB¹ EDICT OF ASÓKA

No. 37—Bairāt Inscription

Originally BAIKĀT, near Bhābrū, Jaipur District, Rājasthān; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 165ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 172f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 पि(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे[त्]नं आहा अप[ि]वाधतं च
फासु-विहासतं चा (I*)
- 2 विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गाहवे च(च) प(प्र)सादे
च (I*) ए केचि भंते
- 3 भगवता बुधे[न] भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा (I*) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
हेवं सधंमे
- 4 चिल-[ठि]तीके होसती ति अहहामि हकं तं व[ि]तवे (I*) इमानि भंते [धं]म-
पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से
- 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि सुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसर्प(प्र)सिने
ए चा लाघुलो-
- 6 वादे मुसा-वादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम-
पलियायानि इहामि
- 7 किंति बहुके भिखु[प]ाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सु[ने]यु चा उपधालयेयू चा (I*)
- 8 हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (I*) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखा[प]यामि अभिपेतं
मे जानंतु ति (II*)

¹ Cf. *śilā-phalaka* (stone-slab) mentioned in PE VII, line 22.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, p. xxv; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 3. This edict and the reference to Aśoka's visit to Buddhist holy places prove that he was certainly a Buddhist.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (= मगधदेशीयः) सह (= बौद्ध-भिक्षु-सङ्घम्) अभिवाद्य
आह ।—अपावाधतां (= स्वास्थ्यं) च सुख-विहारतां¹ च । 'विदितम् एव, [हे] भवन्तः,²
यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्गे इति गौरवं (= श्रद्धा) च प्रसादः³ (= परानुरक्तिः) च । यत्
किञ्चित्, [हे] भवन्तः, भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितम् एव । यत् च तु खलु, [हे]
भवन्तः, अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं सद्धर्मः (= बौद्धधर्मः) विरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अहमि
अहं तत् वक्तुम् । इमे, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्म-पर्यायाः (= धर्म-ग्रन्थाः)—विनयसमुत्कर्षः,
आर्यवंशाः (यद्वा—आर्यवासाः), अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च
राहुल-वादः मृपा-वादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः⁴—एतान्, [हे] भवन्तः,
धर्म-पर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—बहुकः भिक्षुपादः [स्त्री]-भिक्षवः च अभीक्ष्णं (= पुनः
पुनः) शृण्वन्तु च उपधारयेयुः च । एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च । एतेन, [हे]
भवन्तः, इमां [धर्म-लिपिं] लेखयामि, अमिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति' ॥

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASŌKA

Nos. 38, 39 & 40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions

BARĀBAR HILL, Gayā District., Bihār.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 168ff.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 361f.;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Better *spārṇa-vihāratā*; cf. Childers, *Pali Dictionary.*, s. v. *phāsu*.

² See *infra*, p. 77, note 3.

³ The word *pasāda* (literally, 'rejoicing'; Sanskrit *prasāda*), together with *chitta-pasāda* and *mano-pasāda*, is invariably used in Pali in the sense of faith in the Buddha because of the joy or peace of mind which belief in the Buddha brings with it. See Childers, *op. cit.*, s. v.

⁴ The first work is differently identified with the *Dhammachakkapavattanasutta*, *Pātīmokkha*, *Turattthakasutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*), *Sappurisasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*), *Sigālovādasuttanta* (*Digha-nikāya*) and *Atthavasavagga* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*). The last of these seems to be actually intended by Aśoka: see *J.D.L.*, XX, *Aliyavasāni* = *Ariyavamsa* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*, II) or *Ariyavāsa* (*ibid.*, III); *Anāgatabhayaṇi* (*ibid.*, III); *Munigāthā* = *Munisutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*); *Moneyasute* = *Nālakasutta* (*ibid.*); *Upatisapāsine* = *Rathavinītasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*); *Lāghulovāda* = *Rāhulovādasutta* (*ibid.*). See V. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1918.

TEXT¹

I

- 1 लाजिना प्रियदसिना दुवाडस वसा[भिसितेना]
- 2 [इयं] [निगोह]-कुभा दि[ना] [आजीविकेहि] (॥*)

II

- 1 लाजिना प्रियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डस-वसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिक-पवतसि²
- 4 दिना [आजीवि]केहि (॥*)

III

- 1 लाजा प्रियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सति-वसा[भि]सिते ज[लघो]-
- 3 [सागमे] थात[वे] इ[यं] [कुभा]
- 4 सुपि[ये] (य) ख[लतिकपवतसि*] [दि]-
- 5 ना (॥*)³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजिविकेभ्यः । II—राजा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता आजिविकेभ्यः । III—राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 250 B.C.) [यदा तदा] जलघोषागमे (—वर्षासु) स्थातवे (—स्थातुं = वासाय [आजीविकानां ?]) [राजा प्रियदर्शिना] इयं गुहा सुप्रियः [इति] खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

² The Khalatika-parvata (Barābar Hill, or possibly the whole group of hills) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* under Pāṇini, I. 2. 52. Barābar has been called Pravaragiri in an inscription of Maukharī Anantavarman.

³ Hultzsch : जलघोषागमथात मे in lines 2-3. S. N. Mitra (*Ind. Cult.*, XV, pp. 78ff.) reads जलघा (or जलघा) उगम (or उगम) थातवे (= जलौघात् उद्गम्य स्थातवे = स्थातुम्), "to dwell aloft beyond the reach of flood". The first three letters of line 4 have been read by Hultzsch as सुपिये and by Mitra doubtfully as ततिये

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

Nos. 41, 42 & 43—Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of
Das'aratha (c. 220 B. C.)

NĀGĀRJUNĪ HILL, Gayā District, Bihār.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 364; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 954-56.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

I

- 1 वहियक[1] कुभा दवलथेन² देवानंपियेना
- 2 आनंतलियं अभिपितेना [आजीविकेहि]
- 3 भदंतेहि³ वाप-निषिदियाये निषिटे
- 4 आ-चंदम-पूलियं (॥*)

II

- 1 गोपिका कुभा दवलथेना देवा[न]पि-
- 2 येना आनंतलियं अभिपितेना आजी-
- 3 विके[हि] [भदं]तेहि वाप-निसिदियाये
- 4 निसिठा आ-चंदम-पूलियं (॥*)

III

- 1 वडथिका कुभा दवलथेना देवानं-
- 2 पियेना आनंतलियं अ[भि]पितेना [आ]-

¹ From the facsimile in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 1, Plate I. For other references, see Lüders, *loc. cit.*

² The name *Das'aratha* appears to mean "one who is equal to ten *Rathins*"; cf. *atiratha*, *ardharatha*, etc.

³ Both भन्त and भदन्त appear to be derived from भवन्. For the āgama of द, cf. Pāli सदत्थ = Sanskrit स्वार्थ. Some scholars think भदन्त = भद्रान्त (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 4f.) It is also suggested that *bhadanta* is derived from *bhadram* etc with which the monks responded to the greetings of the people.

3 [जी]विके हि भदंतेहि वा[प-निषि]दियाये

4 निषिठा आ-चंदम-पूळियं (॥*)¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—वहियका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेण (= अभिषेक-वर्षे) आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः (- महनीयेभ्यः) वर्ष-निषद्याये (- वर्षा-वासाय) निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । II—गोपिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्याये निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । III—वडयिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्याये निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् ॥

No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya King

TAXILA (= Takshaśilā), Rāwalpindī District, West Pakistan.

E. HERZFELD, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 251.

Language	}	Aramaic of about the first half of the 3rd century B.C.
Script		

TEXT²

- 1 ut
- 2 l^dkmyrty 'l...
- 3 kynvta³ 'l...
- 4 a³k_n zv shkynvta³...
- 5 v labvhy⁴ hu⁵...

¹ In some cases, the word आजीविकेहि has been chiselled away in the Barābar and Nāgarjunī cave inscriptions. This may have been done at the time of Maukhari Anantavarman who dedicated one Barābar cave to Kṛishṇa and two Nāgarjunī caves to Śiva and Pārvatī.

² From the eye-copy in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, with the help of Herzfeld's transcript. The second half of all the lines is lost. The Indian Kharoshthī script was derived from Aramaic.

³ They may be the same word, meaning "dwellings" and possibly we have to restore a sh at the end of line 2.

⁴ The first two words mean "and to his father".

⁵ According to Herzfeld, the word with hu⁵ may be one belonging to the moral sphere of ideas, like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds". Cf. the Buddhist idea of *apiro aṭṭhakāṇḍa maggo*, such as *sammā dīṭṭhi*, etc.

- 6 hvptykhty zoh¹...
- 7 zk bhvv ^dn, rh²...
- 8 hvbshtv ³rzy hut...
- 9 mran **Prydr**...³
- 10 h..... lkvt⁴...
- 11 vap bnvhy⁵...
- 12 Imran **Prydrsh**...⁶

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 45—Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription

MAHĀSTHĀN, Bogrā District, East Pakistan.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85; B. M. BARUA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, pp. 57 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

1 ...नेन (।*) स[.]वगि(गी ?)य[।]नं [तल दिन स]-।² सम दिन । [सु]-

¹ The word means "this".

² If this be an Indian word, it may be the same as बहुव्रीहि

³ I.e., *mārāna Priyadar[shi*]*, "our lord Priyadarśi". Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya. It is however known that Chandragupta was also called विपद्मन. The record (palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 3rd cent B.C.) may therefore belong to Chandragupta Maurya. But, if reference is to be found to the Buddhistic *apiro atthaṅgiko maggo*, the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater. For a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Aśoka discovered near Kandahar in Afghanistan, see *East and West*, Vol. 9, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-6 and Plate.

⁴ Herzfeld is inclined to supply *em* in the lacuna and to read *emlketh*, "and his queens" or less probably "his kingdoms".

⁵ The line means, "and also his sons".

⁶ I.e., *li-mārāna Priyadarsh[i*]*, "to our lord Priyadarśi".

⁷ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Some of the सुs here look like व

⁸ The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary. Cf. Kāśī RE XIII, अडवपा । भिदिन । पा, etc.

- 2 [म]ते¹ । सुलखिते पुण्डनगलते² । ए[त]³
3 [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगियानं [च] [दि*]ने *
4 [धा]नियं । निवहिसति । दग-तिया[ि*]यके *
5 ***[यि]कसि । सुभ-तियायिक[सि]⁴ पि । गण्ड[केहि*]
6 *** [यि]केहि⁵ एस् कोठागाले कोसं***
7 *****

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[...महामाताणां वच]नेन । पद्मवर्गीयेभ्यः (यद्वा—संवर्गीयेभ्यः,¹ तिलः दत्तः, सर्पपं (?) [च] दत्तम् । सुमातः (=तदाख्यः पुरुषः) सुलक्ष्मीतः (—अद्धिमत्तः) पुण्ड्रनगरतः एतत् निवाहयिष्यति ; पद्मवर्गीयेभ्यः च दत्तं धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । [उ]दकात्ययिकाय (—तन्निवारणाय, देवात्ययिकाय (यद्वा—अग्न्यात्ययिकाय), शुकात्ययिकाय [च] अपि गण्डकैः (—मुद्राभिः) धान्यैः [च] एषः क्रोष्टागारः कोषः [च परिपूरणीयौ] ॥⁶

¹ Bhandarkar : गलदनम । दुमदिन-[महा]माते ; Barua : तलदनम । दुमं दिन समाते. Barua translates : By this (चनेन) [token], should there be any oil or tree given to the Shadvargikas, (the person concerned) shall cause that to be conveyed from Sumā, Sulakshmi and Puṇḍranagara.

² Puṇḍranagara, "city of the Puṇḍras", was probably the older name of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with Mahāsthān, the find-spot of the record.

³ Bhandarkar : द[']मातियायिके [देवा]तियायिकसि सु-चतियायिकसि ; Barua दमातियायिके [चमि]तियायिकसि. The last part of the first word may have been *केसि. The word चात्ययिक means "emergency".

⁴ Bhandarkar : [भानि]यिकेहि ; Barua : [काकनि]यिकेहि. The Pāli literature speaks of धन-कोठागार (treasury), धान्य-कोठागार (granary) and वस्तु-कोठागार (general stores).

⁵ Bhandarkar : संवह्वीयानां, "of the Samvāgīya people"; Barua : पद्मवर्गिकानां, "of persons of the Shadvargika sect of the Buddhists". Samvarga however might have been the name of a locality.

⁶ It is difficult to understand whether the keeper of the store-house is ordered to replenish the stores in apprehension of an impending scarcity or it was the persons receiving grains who had to pay them back.

No. 46—Piprahwā Buddhist Vase Inscription

PIPRĀHWĀ¹, Basti District, U.P.

BÜHLER, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 387ff.; FÜHRER, *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, p. 3; PÉPPE, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 576 f.; SMITH-DAVIDS-HOEY, *ibid.*, pp. 586ff.; BLOCH, *ibid.*, 1899, pp. 42 f.; DAVIDS, *ibid.*, 1901, p. 398; PISCHEL, *Z. W. M. G.*, LVI, pp. 157 f.; *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 526; LÉVI, *Jour. des Savants*, 1905, pp. 540ff.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 679ff.; *ibid.*, 1906, pp. 149ff.; THOMAS, *ibid.*, pp. 452f.; SENART, *Jour. As.*, X, vii, pp. 132ff.; BARTH, *Jour. des Savants*, 1906, pp. 541ff.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 105ff.; BARTH, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, pp. 117ff.; LODERS, *List*, No. 931.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B.C.

Metre: Irregular

TEXT²

- 1 सुकिति-भतिनं³ स-भगिनीकनं स-पुत्र-दारनं⁴ (१०)
इयं सलिल-निधने⁵ बुधस भगवते सकि[यानं]⁶ (॥७॥)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सुकीर्ति-भक्त्योः स-भगिनीकयोः स-पुत्र-दारयोः ।
इदं शरीर-निधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानां ॥

¹ Within half a mile of the Nepāl border, in the north-eastern extremity of the Basti Dist.

² From the facsimile in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.

³ According to scholars, Sanskrit सुकीर्ति-भक्त्या (according to some सुकृति=). It is generally translated "of the brothers of Sukīrti"; but some scholars think that सुकृति indicates the Buddha himself. It may be suggested that सुकिति-भतिने indicates "of Sukīrti and Bhakti."

⁴ I.e., "with sons and wives".

⁵ I.e., "receptacle of the corporeal remains or relics [of the Buddha]".

⁶ The inscription is incised around the vase; यानं has been engraved above the line owing to want of space. The word is generally taken to be the same as Sanskrit शाक्यानां. Fleet however took it to be Sanskrit सकीयानां, "of the relatives".

⁷ The absence of signs for lengthened vowels in the record led some scholars to believe that it is much anterior to Aśoka. The argument is by no means conclusive. Lengthened vowels are usually neglected in early records. It is moreover too small a record for any clear indication on the point. Thomas recognised in the epigraph a very irregular Aryā stanza, while Fleet wanted to scan the lines as उपनीति or उद्गीति

No. 47—Sohgaurā Bronze Plaque Inscription

SOHGaurā, Gorakhpur District, U.P.

SMITH and HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1894, pp. 85ff.; BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 261; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 510ff.; BARUA, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XI, pp. 32ff.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 54ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 2; LODERS, *List*, No. 937; S. N. Chakravarti, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, VII, pp. 203ff.; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 1-3.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1 सवतियन महमगन² ससने मनवसिति-क-
- 2 द³ (I*) सिलिमते⁴ वसगमे व एते दवे कोठगलनि
- 3 तिघवनि (I*) माधुल-च[च]-मोदम-भलकन छ-⁵
- 4 ल कयियति अतियायिकय (I*) नो गहिग(त)वय (II*)

¹ From the original now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This record is supposed by scholars to be pre-Aśoka or even pre-Maurya. But there is no reason to believe that it is earlier than Aśoka. Above the lines are two three-storeyed structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mountain symbols. The structures refer to the two store-houses mentioned in the record.

² Read महमतन. Fleet translates: 'Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles!'

³ This letter is usually read as *da*.

⁴ The name is possibly *Srimān* (cf. Bk. II, No. 76), but may also be *Srimātra*. The first letter of the following name cannot be read as *u*.

⁵ Bühler: छल (= चारं, collection); Fleet: वल (= वार = storage); Jayaswal: कलि-कयियति (चरी = to be distributed). Bühler translates: 'These two store-houses with three partitions (तिघवनि), [situated] even in famous Vamśagrāma (Banśgaon, 6 miles west of Sohgaūrā), require the storage of loads (भारक) of Madbuka (माधु = मधु), parched grain (लच = लाज), cummin-seed (अवुमीदा = अजमीदा) and Āmba (आम) for times of urgent need.' Fleet: 'At the junction called Manavasi, these two store-houses are prepared for the sheltering (वारण) of loads of commodities of Tiyaṇi = Tryaṇi, Mathurā and Chāṇi'. Barua: 'These two store-houses of fodder and wheat (तिन-यवनि for तिघवनि) and loads of ladles, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes are used in times of urgent need.' Jayaswal: 'only to the tenants (सीरि-माव), only on the advent of drought (उषागमे), store-houses of Trivepi', etc. The readings *usagame*, *tiyavani* and *vala* are however clearly wrong.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामायाणां शासनं मानवाशीति-कटतः । श्रीमान् वंशग्रामः (= तदाख्य-ग्रामद्वयस्थितौ) एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठागारौ विगर्भौ (= वितर्कौ) । [एतौ महामायाः] माथुर-वज्र-मयुदाम-भल्लकानां [ग्रामानां] क्षारः (= शस्यादि-वितरणं) कार्यन्ते आस्ययिकायां (= दुर्भिक्षादि-विपत्काले) । [सुभिक्षकाले कैश्चित्] नो ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥

No. 48—Inscription¹ on the Silver coins of
Sophutes² (Saubhuti)

(circa 330-300 B. C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 7; RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3f.

*First Side*³

Head of the king or a warrior to right, in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.

Second Side

Cock standing to right; Caduceus in left upper field; inscription in Greek characters in right:—

[ΣΩ]ΦΥΤΟΥ (= Sōphutou = [coin] of Sophutes).

¹ Though the characters are not actually "inscribed" on coins, many numismatists refer to the coin-legends as "inscription" which would then mean any writing; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 1ff.

² At the time of Alexander's invasion Sophutes ruled a district on the banks of the Akesines (= Asiknī = Chenāb). "These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophutes presumably submitted to him. The portrait of Sophutes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophutes."—Smith, *loc. cit.* See, however, *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 338, 414, 463, 623. Strabo calls him a *nomarkh* possibly because he had offered allegiance to Alexander.

R. B. Whitehead in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1949) has tried to prove, on the basis of the similarity of this type with certain coins found near the Oxus, that the Sophutes coins actually belong not to any Indian ruler but to some king of Central Asia. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 23-26. His arguments are however unconvincing and inconclusive. Lévi believes that the name is associated with the Saubhūta country mentioned in the *Ganapāṭha*.

³ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate I, No. 1.

BOOK II

**Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya Period
down to the Gupta Age**

CHAPTER I

NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED RECORDS

(i) CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śūṅgas

BARHUT¹, former Nāgaudh State, Madhya Pradesh.

CUNNINGHAM, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 128f., No. 1, Plates XII and LIII; R. L. MITRA *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1890, pp. 58ff.; HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 138f. and Plate; Z. D. M. G., XL, p. 60, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 227, No. 1; BARUA and SINHA, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1f.; LODERS, *List*, No. 687.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.²

TEXT³

- 1 सुगनं⁴ रज्जे रज्जो गागी-पुत्तस विसदेवस
- 2 पौत्तेण गोत्ति-पुत्तस⁵ आगरजुस⁶ पूत्तेण
- 3 वाडि-पुत्तेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां
- 4 सिला-कमंतो च उपण (॥*)

¹ The name is also written Bharhut, Bhārhut and Bharaut.

² The lower part of the *akshara* व is of the triangular shape.

³ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 139, and *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate V, No. 20.

⁴ Cunningham and Mitra took it to stand for सुग्न-राज्ये, "in the kingdom of Srughna". The absence of the Śūṅga king's name in the inscription may suggest that the Śūṅga power was then on the decline.

⁵ Cunningham equated it with Sanskrit कौत्सीपुत्तस्य

⁶ Cunningham and Mitra equated it with Sanskrit अग्रराजस्य

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः मार्गी-पुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य¹ पौत्रेण गौप्ती-पुत्रस्य अङ्गारयुतः पुत्रेण वात्स्यीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणम् । शिलाकर्मान्तः (- प्रस्तर-निर्मित-प्राकारादिः) च [तेन] उत्पन्नः ॥

No. 2—Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra.—Regnal Year 14

BESNAGAR², Bhilsa District, Madhya Pradesh.

VOGEL, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 126; RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 157; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIII, p. 104; RAYCHAUDHURI, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, pp. 99ff.; LODERS, *List*, No. 669.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa end of the 2nd century B.C.

TEXT³

Part I

- 1 [दे]वदेवस वा[सुदे#]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
- 2 कारिते इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भाग-
- 3 वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तख्खुसिल्लकेन
- 4 योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस⁴
- 5 अंतलिकितस उप[*]ता सकासं रजो

¹ King Viśvadeva appears to have been the feudatory of a Later Śuṅga king of Vidiśā. Note that the Śuṅgas were still ruling when Śimuka defeated the last Kāṇva king Suśarman about 30 B. C.

² Ancient Vidiśā, capital of Akara or Daśārpa (East Mālwa).

³ From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate II, and *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1908-09. For several papers on this record, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909 and 1910.

⁴ Note the difference between the epithets of the Indian king and the Greek king. Titles like महाराज and राजातिराज (cf. later महाराजाधिराज) were popularised by the foreigners. Many coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas have been found in the Panjāb. Bhāgabhadra may be identified with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

- 6 कासी-पु[त्र]स' [भ]।गभद्रस खातारस'
7 वसेन च[तु]दसेन' राजेन वधमानस' (॥*)

Part II

Sup
TT

- 1 विनि अमृत-पदानि [इअ*] [सु]-अनुष्ठितानि
2 नेयन्ति [स्वर्गं] दम चाग अप्रमाद' (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

1—देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गहड-ध्वजः (—शिवरस्य-गहडमूर्तिसनाथः शिलामयः ध्वज-स्तम्भः) अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण (Heliodoros) भागवतेन (—वेङ्गवधर्मान्तर्गत-भागवतमार्गानुसारिणा) दियस्य (Dion) पुत्रेण ताक्षशिलाकेन (—तक्षशिला-निवासिना) यवन-दूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य अन्तर्लिकितस्य (Antialkidas) उपान्तात् (—समीपात्) सकाशं राज्ञः काशी-पुत्रस्य (=काश-गोत्रीया०) भागभद्रस्य खातुः वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन [च] वद्धमानस्य । II—वीणि अमृत-पदानि इह स्वनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं—दमः त्यागः अप्रमादः [च] ॥

No. 2A—Barli Stone Inscription of the time
of Bhagavata

Barli, Ajmer District, Rājasthān.

K. P. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 67-68; D. C. Sircar, *J. B. R. S.*, XXXVII, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5; *ibid.*, XL, Part 1, pp. 8-16.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the close of the 2nd century B.C.

¹ Bhandarkar reads कौसीपुत्रस (कौसीपुत्रस्य). But कौसीपुत्र would have been कौसीपुत्र in Prakrit. The paternal *gotra* of Bhāgabhadra's mother seems to have been Kāśa. For the absence of *gotrāntara* in some forms of ancient Indian marriage, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1945, pp. 48ff.

² This word which is a translation of Greek *Seteros* and found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings shows that a Greek (possibly Heliodoros himself) was responsible for the draft of the record.

³ Read *दसेन

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar reads in this line: वासिना मभ[दि]से नरेराजे नवध[]मा[नुसा]-[सनाय*]

⁵ Cf. *Mbh.*, V, 43, 22 : दमत्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वस्तमाहितम् । Cf. अप्रमादो अमृतपदं पमादो मधुनी पदं (*Dhammapada*, II, 1).

TEXT¹

1 (A) द्व ²	(B) रय भगव-	(C) ते...
2 (A) ठ[भ]	(B) चतुरसिति ³ व-	(C) [व]...
3 (A) काये	(B) साला मालिनि-	(C) [ये]...
4 (A) रं निसि-	(B) ठं माक्षिमिके-	(C) [न]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् (?) ॥ राजनि भागवते...स्तम्भाः चतुरशीतिः...कायां साला, मालिन्शी...
निसृष्टं माध्यमिकेन (-मध्यमिकावासिना)...

No. 3—Ghosuṇḍī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatata

GHOSUṆḌĪ, near Nagarī, Chitorgaḍh District, Rājasthān.

Kavirāja SHYĀMAL DĀS, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LVI, Part. i, pp. 77 ff.;
K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 6.

Language: Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT⁴

1 [कारितो अयं राजा भागव*][ते]न⁵ गाजायनेन पाराशरी-पुत्रेण स-

¹ From impressions and the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI.

² The intended reading may be सिद्ध. Jayaswal: वीराय भगवते. He believed that the passage refers to Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism.

³ Ojha suggested that this word indicates Year 84 of the Jain Nirvāṇa era (*Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 2-3), which is never known to have been used in early records. Jayaswal referred the year to an imaginary era starting in 374 or 373 B.C. The word may also refer to a unit of 84 villages, in which case the preceding letters may stand for a geographical name.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, with the help of the facsimile and text of the Hāthibādā inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 203 f.

⁵ व is clear before ते in the Hāthibādā record. Read कारितोयं

- 2 [वैतातेन अश्वमेध-या*]जिना' भगव(द्*)भ्यां' संकर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां
3 [अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा*]भ्यां' पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायण-वाटका' ॥*)

Nos. 4, 5 & 6—Badvā Stone Pillar (Yupa) Inscriptions
of the Maukharis.—Kṛita Year 295 (=238 A.D.)

BADVĀ, former Kotāh State, Rājasthān.

A. S. ALTEKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁵

No. 1.

- 1 सिद्धं दम् (1*) क्रितेहि⁶ २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[1*]स्मृण-शुक्रस्य⁷ पञ्चे⁸ दि०

¹ The Hāthibādā inscription supplies सर्वतातेन अश्वमेधयाजिना after पाराशरौपदेय. Sarvatāta has been supposed to be a Kāṇva king. He however seems to have been a local ruler. The name may be actually Sarvatrāta.

² Cf. ऐश्वर्यस्य समस्तस्य धर्मस्य यशसः शिवः ।

ज्ञानदेवामृतयोश्चैव यक्षा भग इतीहना ॥ विष्णुपुराण १६।५।७२

³ The Hāthibādā inscription supplies अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां after वासुदेवाभ्यां

⁴ Read वाटकः. I.e., a stone-enclosure for the place of worship (or, an enclosure for the Śālagrāma) called the Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka. The enclosure is supposed to be the structure now known as Hāthibādā at Nagari.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

⁶ Read कृतैः. The passage means कृतैः २०५ वर्षेषु अतीतेषु, "when 295 years of the Kṛita era had passed away." It has been supposed that the era was invented (कृत) by astronomers or founded by Kṛita. It was an era of Skytho-Parthian origin, brought by the Mālavas from their original home in the Jhang District, Panjāb, to Rājputānā before the time of Śaka Uśavadāta (c. 118-23 A.D.). It then became known as the era used by the Mālava tribe. With the growth of the tradition of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (capital of the country later called Mālava), who is no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 376-414 A.D.), conqueror of Mālava from the Śakas, the era was gradually connected with Vikrama and was eventually known as the Vikrama Samvat beginning from 58 B.C. It should be noted that the use of an era was popularised in India by the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas. See notes in Ek. IV, No. 21; also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 125, note.

⁷ Read: काल्पुन

⁸ Read पञ्चमे. दि is the abbreviated form of दिवसे

श्री-महासेनापतेः¹ मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं⁴ [१०००]⁵ (1*)

No. 2.

- 1 सिद्धं दम् (1*) क्रितेहि⁶ २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[१]गुण-शुक्रस्य पञ्चे⁶ दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य सोमदेवस्य यूपः (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गव[१] सह[स्रं]⁴ [१०००]⁵ (1*)

No. 3.

- 1 क्रितेहि⁶ २००(+*)९०(+*)५ फ[१]गुण-शुक्रस्य पञ्चे⁶ [१]दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः[१] [मो]खरे-
2 बल-पुत्रस्य² बलसिंहास्य⁷ यूपः⁸ (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं⁴ [१०००] (1*)

(ii) MADHYADEŚA AND EASTERN INDIA

No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription

PARKHAM, now Mathurā Museum.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. I. R.*, XX, p. 41, Plate VI; VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, p. 83; STEN KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 147; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 550f.; *ibid.*, VI, pp. 173ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29-32; *Journ. Dep.*

¹ Feud श्रौ०. The title *Mahāsenāpati* was sometimes used by feudatory rulers. Bala may have been subordinate to the Mālavas of Nagari (old Mālavansgarī, in the Tonk District, Rājasthān).

² Read मोखरेः बलस्य पुत्रस्य. It is improbable that Bala's three sons were *Mahāsenāpati* at the same time.

³ Read दक्षिणा. त्रिरात्र-संमित is the same as the त्रिरात्र sacrifice.

⁴ Altekar : सहस्रं (स). There is a symbol after सहस्रं in all the three inscriptions—a triangle at the head of a vertical line. It may indicate the number 1000.

⁵ Read कृतैः

⁶ Read फागुन-शुक्रस्य पञ्चमे

⁷ Read ०सिंहस्य

⁸ Altekar : यूप(प):

Lett., IV, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 47 ff.; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 150.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa second half of the 1st century B.C.¹

TEXT²

(Right side) [म*][नि]भद्र पुगरिका³ • • • रजोज ?⁴ (1*)

(Between the legs) अठि • • • पि • (1*)⁵

(Left side) कुनिकतेवासिना गोमितकेन कृतो (॥*)⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

मणिभद्रः पुगरिकायां (यद्वा—पुगरिकासु, पुगरिकाणां) दक्ष-राजः (यद्वा—नाग-राजः) ।
अर्धप्रियेण (?) स्थापितः । कुनिकान्तेवासिना गोमितकेन कृतः ॥

No. 8—Pātnā Image Inscriptions

PĀTNĀ, Bihār

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, XV, 1p. 2 f.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 88 ff.; 214 f.; 516 ff.; R. D. BANERJĠ, *ibid.*, pp. 210 ff.; SMITH and BARNETT, *ibid.*, pp. 512 ff.; H. P. SASTRI, *ibid.*, pp. 552 ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 25 ff.; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*,

¹ Note the angular shape of प. Jayaswal and his followers believed that the image is a portrait statue of the Saisūnāga king Kuṇika Ajātaśatru. After the publication of Chanda's learned article in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, Jayaswal's theory may be passed over in silence. That the Parkham and Patna images represent Yakshas has been exclusively proved by Gargoly.

² From facsimiles in *J. B. O. R. S.* and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

³ Vogel and Chanda read पुगरिना; but in that case the last *akshara* is only half the size of the other *aksharas*. The intended reading may be पुगरिकाये or पुगरिकासु or पुगरिकान्.

⁴ The *akshara* before र has been suggested by some to be ग. It may possibly also be read as ख. The reading intended may be नागरज or दक्षरज.

⁵ The *akshara* after अठ may be पि. The intended reading seems to be अठपियेन दपित

⁶ Different readings :—Vogel : ...[नि] भद्रपुगरिका[क]...; ग अठ...पि; ...कुनि[क]तेवासिना [गोमितकेन] कृता. Etan Kercw : श्रीर भद्रपुगरिका र...रज; अठ...र...Jayaswal : निभद्र प्रीति अजाश्व राजो सिरि; ४ प (=१०) दो (=१०) ४ छ (=८); कुनिक तेवासिनागो नाग[धा]न राजा.

IV, pp. 47 ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 29 ff.; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 957-58.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 1st century A.D.

I¹

[यखे]² अचछनीवीके³ (= यक्षः अत्यक्षयनीविकः ?)

II

यखे⁴ [स]वटनंटे⁵ (= यक्षः संवृत्तनन्दः ; यद्वा—संवर्तनन्दः ; यद्वा—आनन्दः)

No. 9—Ayodhya Stone Inscription of Dhana[deva]

AYODHYĀ, Fyzābād District, U. P.

J. D. RATNAKARA, *Nāgarīprachārīnī Patrikā*, V, Pt. 1, pp. 99-104 ; G. H. OJHA, *ibid.*, pp. 201 ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, X, pp. 202-08 ; *ibid.*, XIII, pp. 247-49 ; N. K. BHATTASALI, *Mod. Rev.*, February, 1925, p. 202 ; A. BANERJĠ-SASTRI, *ibid.*,

¹ From the photographs, facsimiles and eye-copies in *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. The triangular form of व in वी, the curved bar of क in के and base of न in नं, the developed slanting form of च—all go to show the unsoundness of the theory of Jayaswal and his followers that the statues are of two Śaśunāga emperors and that the *aksharas* are pre-Mauryan. These are evidently much later images of Yakshas. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 67) assigns them stylistically to the 2nd century B.C. Cunningham assigned them to the 1st century A.D., apparently on palaeographic grounds. I am inclined to rely more on palaeographic than on stylistic grounds.

² Only the upper part of these two *aksharas* are clear, the ground line of य, as also the lower part of ख, being obscured by the horizontal lines.

It must be noted that Cunningham, the earliest decipherer of the inscription, read यखे. Later writers have read भगे, भग or गते and have tried to explain away the difficulties of such readings.

³ Cunningham : अचुसनीवीक ; Jayaswal : अचो छोनीवीके ; Farnett : अचछनीवीके ; Chanda : अचछनीवीक ; Majumdar : अचछे[वि*] ४०(+*)४. In my opinion Jayaswal and Majumdar are beside the mark. For अचक = अत्यक्षय, cf. भोगज्ञान = भौद्धव्यायक.

⁴ Jayaswal : सप or सव

⁵ Or ०नंटे. Jayaswal : ०खते (or ०खेते) वट (or वेट)-नंदी ; Chanda : यख स (?) रेटनंदि ; Majumdar : यखे सं वजिर्ना ००

January, 1925, p. 59 ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, VII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 160-63 ; D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 1st century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 कौसलाधिपेन द्विरखमेध-याजिनः सेनापतेः² पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन³ कौशिको-
पुत्रेण धन...⁴
- 2 धर्मराजा⁵ पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं⁶ कारितं तम् (॥*)

No. 10—Pabhosa Cave Inscriptions of the
time of Udaka.—Regnal Year 10.

PABHOSĀ, near Kosam, Allāhābād District, U. P.

HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1887, p. 104 ; A. FOHRER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 242f. ; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 904-05.

¹ From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, X. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except स्, the constant use of *serif* and the angular forms of म, न, प, फ, स, ल and ष show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much earlier than the first century A.D.

² Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also styles him as *Senāpati*. The title appears to have been popular even after his accession to the throne. Pushyamitra possibly never assumed any royal title even after his accession to imperial power. Cf. the case of the Peahwas.

³ I.e., sixth in descent from Pushyamitra probably from the side of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require पुष्यमित्रात् ; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit. The interpretation "sixth brother of Pushyamitra" is out of the question.

⁴ We may have धनदेवेन, धनदेन, धनकेन, धननन्दिना, धनभूतिना, धनमित्रेण, धनदत्तेन, धनदासेन, etc. But the father's name फल्गुदेव makes the case of धनदेवेन a little better. He was apparently a local ruler of the Ayodhyā region.

⁵ Read धर्मराजिन.

⁶ A building (for the accommodation of an image of the deceased); or, a structure or pillar (ध्वज-स्तम्भ) on the cremation ground in memory of Phalgudeva.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.¹

No. I

(on a rock outside the cave)

TEXT²

- 1 राज्ञो गोपाली-पुत्रस
- 2 बहुसतिमित्रस³
- 3 मातुलेन गोपालिया-
- 4 वैह[१]दरी-पुत्रेन [आसा]⁴
- 5 आसाटसेनेन लेनं
- 6 कारितं ऊदाक[स]⁵ दस-
- 7 म-सवकुरे • • हि • त⁶ अरहं-
- 8 [त•]। (॥•)

¹ Führer assigns the records to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and Bühler to circa 150 B.C. The characters have however some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Sakas of Mathurā. They exhibit angular forms of *aksharas* and also the *serif*; cf. व in lines 1-2, न in line. 2 etc., in No. I. Note also the developed sign for medial i, and the curved base of न and developed medial u in No. II.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

³ He appears to be the king whose coins have been discovered at Rāmbagar (ancient Abichchhatra, capital of Pañchāla), Bareilly District, and Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī, capital of atsa), Allāhābād District, U. P. See Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 146, 155, 185. This king may possibly be identified with Bahasatimita, king of the Magadhas, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B.C.). For two names of Mitra kings on the Bodhgayā rail pillars and on coins found at Kumrahar (Gayā District), see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 327. The line is carried further by the Mora inscription describing the daughter of Bahasatimita as the wife of the king (possibly of Mathurā) and as the mother of living sons. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 120; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 525.

⁴ These redundant letters of the name were afterwards erased.

⁵ Führer: उदा०, स is partially preserved. Odāka was apparently a king of the Kosam region. He has been identified with the Śuṅga king who succeeded Vasumitra. This record however cannot be placed so early as the 2nd century B. C.

⁶ Führer: कयापीयानं; but the last letter is certainly त, not न; या is different in shape from या in line 3; य is doubtful. The reading may be: १ • अहिहव •

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः गोपाली-पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्रस्य (यद्वा—बृहत्स्वातीमित्रस्य) मातुलेन गोपालिका-
वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आपादसेनेन लयनं (=गुहावासः) कारितम् उदाकस्य दशम-संवत्सरे
अहिच्छत्रार्द्धतां [सुपरिमहे = ०महाय] ॥

No. II

(inside the cave)

TEXT¹

- 1 अधिकृताया राज्ञो शौनकायन-पुत्रस्य² वंगपालस्य
- 2 पुत्रस्य राज्ञ[¹] तेवणी-पुत्रस्य भ्रागवतस्य³ पुत्रेण
- 3 वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण अ[^{1*}]पादसेनेन कारितं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अधिकृतायाः (=अहिच्छत्रायाः⁴) राज्ञः शौनकायनी-पुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः
सैवर्णी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आपादसेनेन कारितं [लयनम्] ॥

No. 10A—Kosam Stone Inscription

MASHARFA near Kosam, Allahabad District, U.P.

D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 158-9 ; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. B. R. S.*,
XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT⁵

1 नमो भगव[तो]⁶

2 सथवाहस

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

² Read शौनकायनी. Faint traces of a medial i are visible. The metronymics may have something to do with the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society. But they are certainly directly connected with Indian polygyny. A metronymic distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers.

³ Read भाग०.

⁴ The more popular अहिच्छत्र is a Prakritized form of अहिच्छव.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

⁶ Sahni : भगवते.

3	मानिभद्रस ¹ (1*)	9	तस पुतेन
4	गृहपतिकस	10	गृहपतिकेन
5	पूजावति-पुतस	11	गोतिपुतेन
6	वारिस ² पुतस गृहपतिको	12	अशिकायं कारिता
7	सेलिया-पुतो	13	वेदिका (1*) पियतं
8	कुसपाळो(ळ)-नामा (1*)	14	[भगवा] (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते सार्थवाहाय³ मानिभद्राय (=मणिभद्र इति यक्षाय) । गृहपतिकस्य इज्यावती-पुतस्य वारिणः पुतः गृहपतिकः शैलिका-पुतः कुसपाळ-नामा । तस्य पुत्रेण गृहपतिकेन गौरीपुत्रेण अशिकायां (=अशिकाख्य-स्थाने)⁴ कारिता वेदिका [मणिभद्र-मन्दिरे] (यद्वा—मणिभद्र-प्रतिमा-स्थापनार्थ-पीठः) । प्रीयतां भगवान् [मणिभद्रः] ॥

No. 10B—Jagatpur Brick Inscriptions of ^{1/-}Silavarman

JAGATPUR, Dehradun District, U.P.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *J.O.R.*, XXI, pp. 1-31; XXII, p. 100; *Indian Archaeology 1953-54—A Review*, ed. by A. Ghosh, p. 11.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the third century A.D.

Metre: इदोक (अनुष्टुप्)

¹ Sahni takes *Māṇibhadra* to mean 'a devotee of Yaksha Maṇibhadra'. But *Māṇibhadra* is just another form of the Yaksha's name.

² These letters had been omitted and were later incised above the line.

³ The Yaksha Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra was especially worshipped by the merchants and seems to have been conceived as a merchant or a leader of caravans; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III. 65, 22. See also *Journ. Or. Inst.*, II, pp. 352, 354.

⁴ *Āśikā* may be the old name of Masbarfa in the vicinity of Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). Sahni takes *āśikā* to stand for *āśmikā* and translates *āśikāyam.....vedikā* as "this railing of stone"!

TEXT¹

No. 1

1 सिद्धम्²

युगेश्वरस्याश्वमेधे युगशैल-महीपतेः (१०)

इष्टका वार्षगण्यस्य नृपतेः शीलवर्मणः (॥०)³

No. 2

नृपतेर्वार्षगण्यस्य पोण-पष्टस्य धीमतः (१०)

चतुर्थस्याश्वमेधस्य चित्योऽ⁴यं शीलवर्मणः (॥०)⁴

No. 10C—Bhadrak Stone Inscription of the time of Gaṇa—Regnal Year 8

A locality near BHADRAK, Balasore District, Orissa.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 169-74.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the third century A. D.

TEXT⁵

1 'महराज-सिरि-ग[णस सं ८ ।] मूलजपे[न] देवा ३ दता (१०)

2 • • वप⁷ ८० (१०) महाकुलपति-अस्य-अगिसमेणं पानिदे वडिदं पडिडिदं (१०)

3 ⁸[भद] अपवस महासर खलि भडसम [१]

¹ From the text quoted and Plates published by Ghosh and Ramachandran.

² This is followed by a symbol often found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (see No. 49 below).

³ The inscribed bricks belonged to king Śilavarman of the Vṛishagaṇa or Vārshagaṇya gotra. He is called 'lord of Yuga' and 'lord of the Yoga hill'. It is difficult to determine whether Yuga-śaila and Yuga were the names Śilavarman's capital and kingdom. Ramachandran sometimes reads वयंमहस्य which is unwarranted.

⁴ Śilavarman performed no less than four Aśvamedhas. He was the sixth in descent from Popa who seems to have been the progenitor of his family. This line of kings possibly succeeded in founding a kingdom about the present Dehradun region on the ruins of the Kushāṇa empire. The bricks were used to build the *chitya* of the Śilavarman's fourth horse-sacrifice. The word has been used in the sense of *chaitya*, "an altar," or "a sacrificial shed". In this sense, both *chitya* and *chityā* are sometimes used in literature. Ramachandran sometimes wrongly reads पनयंहस्य (पुण्यपहस्य).

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ There are traces of the *siddham* symbol at this place.

⁷ Probably a land measure like *ādhatvāpa* is intended.

⁸ Traces of the damaged letters here suggest a word like *adhivāsika*.

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य श्रीगणस्य सं ८ (=संवत्सरे अष्टमे) । मूलजपेन देवाः
 ३ दत्ताः (=तिष्ठः देव-प्रतिमाः उत्सर्गिताः) । [आढ]वापाः ८० (=अशीत्याढवापात्मिका
 भूमिः च प्रदत्ता) । [तत् सर्वं] महाकुलपत्यार्याग्निशर्मणा (=तदाख्य-मन्दिराध्यक्षेण)
 पानिदे (=तदाख्य-स्थाने) वंष्टितं (=भूमिवण्टनं - भूमिभागः) प्रतीच्छितं (=परिमृहीतम्) ।
अधिवासिकाः (=अमुक-स्थान-वास्तव्याः) भद्रः अपवर्षः महासारः खली अटशर्मा
 [इति दानकर्मणः साक्षिणः] ॥

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS¹

No. 11—Inscription on some Coins of Demetrios (c. 190—160 B.C.)²

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 1³

*First Side*⁴

Bust of king to right, diademed, wearing elephant's scalp.

¹ The Bactrian Greeks (=Yavanas) were a factor in Indian politics from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; but they had gradually to give way to the Skytho-Parthians from about the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Sometimes several Indo-Greek kings of more than one royal house ruled contemporaneously from their capitals at places like Kāpiśi, (capital of Kāpiśa = Kafiristan), Pushkarāvati (Charsadda), Takshaśilā and Śākala (Sialkot). Duplication of kings and their relation or contemporaneity are sometimes suggested on the basis of similarity or dissimilarity of coin types. But in some cases they may be due to local or other reasons. See *supra*, p. 83, n. 1; *infra*, p. 111, n. 3.

² About the middle of the 3rd century B.C., Diodotos I, governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleukidan emperor of Syria. He was succeeded by Diodotos II whose successor was Euthydemos. Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiochos II (the Seleukidan emperor who had given him a daughter when the independence of Bactria was recognised), conquered portions of Northern and Western India including probably Kābul, the Punjab and Sind about 190 B.C. The scalp of the Indian elephant refers to conquests in India.

³ For the coins noticed in these pages, consult also other Catalogues of Coins, such as the British Museum Catalogue of Gardner and the Punjab Museum Catalogue of Whitehead and also works like those of Cunningham. The wide extent of the empire of Demetrios is suggested by the existence of a city named Demetriaspolis in Arakhosia and of another named Dattāmitra (after Dattāmitra = Demetrios) in Sauvira (eastern part of lower Sind). He has been identified with Tunita of a Besnagar seal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 319.

⁴ From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate I, No. 9.

Second Side

Young Herakles¹ standing, facing, crowning himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin in the left; monogram; inscription in Greek characters:—

(right) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (= *basilēōs*)

(left) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (= *Demetriou*).²

No. 12—Inscription on some oblong Copper Coins
of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 1

*First Side*⁴

Leopard,⁵ standing to right, in square incuse; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΑ[ΕΩΣ] (= *basilēōs*)

(below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (= *Pantalēontos*)

Second Side

Female figure⁶ to left, dancing, clad in loose robe and trousers,⁷ with long ear-rings; flower in right hand⁸; no monogram; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

(right) रजने (left) पतलवस (= राजः पन्तलेवस्य ।)

¹ Herakles (Roman Hercules) is the Greek god of strength.

² *Basilēōs Demetriou* = [the coin] of king Demetrios.

³ Pantaleon was a king of the north-western part of India about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The oblong shape and Brāhmī script are peculiarly Indian. He was probably related to Agathokles (c. 155-135 B.C.), Antimakhos (c. 150-135 B.C.) and Apollodotos I (c. 140-120 B.C.), all possibly belonging to the house of Demetrios. The provenance and script of Pantaleon's coins show that he ruled over a wide area for a short time. The suggestion that Pantaleon and Agathokles were kings of Western Paropanisadae and Arakhesia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 546) is rendered doubtful by their use of Brāhmī.

⁴ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 1. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Pantaleon".

⁵ Maneless lion, according to Smith.

⁶ She is generally regarded as a dancing girl. Coomaraswamy suggests Sri or Lakshmi (*Eastern Art*, I, pp. 175 ff.).

⁷ The dress is described as "oriental costume" by Whitehead.

⁸ Possibly the lotus held in the hand is what is called *lilā-kamala*.

No. 13—Inscription on some Coins of Eukratides (c. 175-155 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right, diademed and with helmet in the shape of high-crowned *Kausia* (flat cap), adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs mēgalou*)

(below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (= *Eukratidou*).

Second Side

The Dioskuroi³ standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; monogram E and Y combined; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) राजस महतकस

(below) एउक्रतिदस

(= राजः महतः एवुक्रतिदस ।)

No. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander

(c. 115-90 B.C.) and of Vijayamitra—Regnal year 5

SHINKOT, Bajaur Tribal Territory⁴

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 7; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 318ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 114-15; Sten Konow, *N.I.A.*, January, 1940, pp. 639-48; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 52ff.

¹ Eukratides became the lord first of Bactria and then of North-Western India. He was contemporary with the early kings of Euthydemus's line and wrested many parts of the Kabul Valley and North-Western India from the latter.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 9. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the great king Eukratides". *Rajasa mahatakasā* in the Indian translation was soon changed to *maharajasa*. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 12, No. 17.

³ The Greek twin gods Kastor and Pollux like the Indian *Aśvinikumāra*. They were typically represented as horsemen and were patrons of games and equestrian exercises, Kastor being a horse-tamer and Pollux a boxer.

⁴ The place is about 20 miles west of the Panjkora-Swat confluence beyond the borders of the former North-West Frontier Province.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi¹

TEXT²

Group I

A

(on the rim of the lid)

.....सिनेद्रस³ महरजव कटिघस दिवस ४(+*) ४(+*) ४(+*) १(+*)⁴
प्र[ण]-[स]मे[द]...

¹ In Gr. I the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes; but in Gr. II the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. The first has ऋ with a rounded head; in the second it has an acute angle. The letter ऋ in Gr. I has a long sweep in its top curve as in Aśoka's edicts; in Gr. II however the curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance as in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The letter स of the first Group is generally of the closed type as in Aśoka's edicts and Graeco-Bactrian coin-legends, while in Gr. II the letter shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop as in the records of the Śaka period. These characteristics have led Majumdar to think that there is a gap of more than 50 years between the two Groups. He places Gr. I in the 2nd and Gr. II in the first century B.C. According to Sten Konow, the record does not mention any feudatory of Menander who himself installed the relics and Vijayamitra, the same as Vijayamitra, restored the relics about a century after Menander. None of the suggestions appears to be acceptable. We are inclined to suggest that Vijayamitra was the son or more probably the grandson of Viyakamitra (Viryaka* or Viryāṅkamitra), a feudatory of Menander. He was the father of the Apracharāja Indravarman whose coins have been discovered (*Num. Chron.*, 1941, pp. 99 ff.). This Indravarman was the father of Aspavarman who was a *strategos* first under Azes II and then under Gondopheres (21-46 A.D.). The approximate chronology of these rulers would thus be as follows: Viyakamitra—close of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century B.C.; Vijayamitra—2nd and 3rd quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Indravarman—3rd and 4th quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Aspavarman—1st half of the 1st century A.D. This seems to suggest that Menander could not have flourished so early as the middle of the 2nd century B.C. as is usually supposed (see note on No. 15 below). The absence of the mention of Vijayamitra's overlord in the latter part of the inscription seems to suggest that Vijayamitra was ruling at a period when the Greek power was already on the decline after Menander's death.

² From Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

³ The date portion at the beginning is lost. Note the Indianisation of the name.

⁴ The third figure is inscribed below the line. It is to be noted that the number 14 is here not expressed as in Brāhmī with 10 and 4. The months' names were popularised in Indian epigraphy by foreigners.

A₁
(in the centre of the lid)

... [प्रति*] [थवि] त (1*)

A₂
(inner face of the lid)

प्रण-समे[द] [शरिर*] [भगव*] [तो] शकमुनिस (1*)¹

B²
(inside of the casket)

वियकमित्तस³ अप्रचरजस (1*)

Group II

C

(centre of the lid)

1 विजय[मित्ते]ण⁴...

2 पते प्रदिथविदे (1*)

¹ According to Sten Konow, sections A, A₁ and A₂ only belong to Menander's time.

² Sten Konow reads section B between पंचविश्वे and इयो in section D, line 2.

³ The additional stroke at the foot of स may indicate that the *akshara* is स्व. Viyakamitra appears to have been a feudatory of Menander. प्राण-समेत refers to the Buddhist belief that the Buddha's relics could perform miracles.

⁴ ण is clear, but ignored by Majumdar. There were at least two *aksharas* after ण, the lower parts of which are visible. Konow : विजयमित्त [प्रवर]. Vijayamitra, successor of Viyakamitra, has been identified with the king of that name whose son's coins bearing legends in Greek and Kharoshthi characters and belonging to the first century B. C. have been discovered in Taxila. See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, p. 168, Plate XVII. He reads the legend on the coins as विजयमित्त-पुत्रस इववर्मेस अप्रचरजस (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99-104).

D

(inside of the casket)

- 1 इमे शरिर पलुगभुद्रओ न सकरे अलित (1*) स शरिअलि कलद्रे नो¹ शओ न पिण्डोयकेयि पित्ति पिणयति (1*)²
- 2 तस ये पत्ते अपोमुअ वषये पंचमये ४(+*)³ वैशखस मसस दिवस पंचविशये इयो
- 3 प्रलिथविले विजयमित्तेन अप्रचरजेन भगवतु शक्तिमुणिस मसस[']बुधस शरिर (1*)

E

(on the back of the casket)

विशिपलेन अणंकतेन⁴ लिखिले (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Gr. I: A [संवत्सरे]... मीनेन्द्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्तिकस्य [मासस्य] दिवसे १४ प्राग-समेतं [शरीरं] A₁ [भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः] प्रतिष्ठापितम्। A₂ प्रागसमेतं शरीरं (= देहावशेषः) भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः। B वीर्यकमिलस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य¹ (= महाराजासम-राजस्य - सामन्तस्य। यद्वा - अपत्यराजस्य) ॥ Gr. II: B विजयमित्तेन...पात्रं प्रतिष्ठा-पितम्। C इदं शरीरं प्रहण-भूतकं (= भग्नं भूतं) न सत्कारेः आदृतम्। तत् शीर्यते कालतः, [अत्र कः अपि] न श्रद्धः (= श्रद्धालुः) न [च] पिण्डोदकानि पितृन् ग्राहयति। तस्य एतत् पात्रं वर्षके पञ्चमके² वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पंचविंशके इह पुनः] प्रतिष्ठापितं

¹ Sten Konow : इमे शरिर पलुग भुत उन सकरेषति ; तस शरिषति कलद्रे नो शओ न [पिंती]यकेयि पित्ति पिणयति. 'This relic, its place having become damaged, is caused to be repaired. Its periodical offering is discontinued: not does anybody let the Pitaras get Śrāddha, not Piṇḍodaka.'

² Majumdar : न

³ Sten Konow : अणंकयेन. According to this scholar, *anamkaya* = Greek *anamkaios* was used to indicate the king's advisors, court and friends and became something like an honorific title (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 265). Both the reading and interpretation are unconvincing.

⁴ *Apracharāja* has been interpreted as "king without a rival" "king of the west (a-prāchyas)", etc.

विजयमित्तेन अप्रत्यग्नाजेन, भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्पक्सम्बुद्धस्य [नवं] शरीरं [च अस्मिन्
पात्रे प्रतिष्ठापितम्] । ॥ विश्वलेन आज्ञाकृता (= आज्ञाकारिणा लिखितम् ॥

No. 15—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 22

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right, helmeted; inscription in Greek characters: —

(above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (= *basilēōs sōteros*)

(below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (*Mēnandrou*)

Second Side

Pallas Athene³ to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunderbolt with right hand; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthi characters:—

(above) महारजस्य व्रतरस्य

(below) मेन्द्रस्य

(= महाराजस्य व्रातुः मेन्द्रस्य ॥)

¹ He seems to have extended his power over some parts of Western India. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A.D.) refers to the coins of Appolodotus and Menander current in his time at Barogaza (Brosch). Numismatists usually assign Menander to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; but Gardner placed him about 110 B.C. (Smith, *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 258). He has been identified with the Yona (= Yavana or Greek) king Milinda who became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, according to the *Milindapañho* which places him 500 years (i.e. in the 5th century) after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that occurred in 544 B.C. according to the Ceylonese tradition. Milinda's capital was at Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab). He possibly ruled about the end of the second century B.C. The name is found as Milindra in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kshemendra and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 4n.).

² From Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate V No. 1. The Greek inscription means: "[the coin] of king Menander, the saviour."

³ The Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom (= Roman Minerva).

No. 16—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Strato
I¹ and [his mother] Agathokleia the
Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 21

*First Side*²

Bust of queen to right, bare-headed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ] [ΘΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (= *basilisses thēotropou*)³

(below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (= *Agathoklēias*)

Second Side

Herakles seated to left on rock; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) [महरजस] व्रतर]स धर्मिकस

(below) [स]तस

(= महाराजस्य तानुः धार्मिकस्य स्ततस्य ॥)

¹ He ruled probably in the Eastern Punjab from about 85 to about 80 B. C. He is supposed to have been the son of Menander and to have been ousted by Heliokles (c. 130-80 B.C.) from Nikaia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 699). This Heliokles need not have been the son and immediate successor of Eukratides.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IV, No. 11.

³ It is interesting that the obverse refers to the queen-regent and the reverse to the minor king. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of queen Agathokleia true to the gods." She may have been the daughter of Agathokles and the wife of Menander.

No. 17—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 15, No. 1

First Side²

Bust of king to right, diademed: inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΥ (= *basilēōs nikēphorou*)

(below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (= *Antialkidou*)

Second Side

Zeus³ on throne, to left, laureate, holding long sceptre in left hand; and, in right hand, a small figure of Nikē⁴ who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant⁵ to left, with bell round neck, extends its trunk; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस जयधरस

(below) अंतिअलिकितस

(= महाराजस्य जयधरस्य अन्तियलिकितस्य ॥)

¹ Antialkidas belonging to the house of Eukratides ruled in the Taxila region about the end of the second century B.C. He is mentioned in the Beznagar inscription of the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra who must be placed some years later than Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.) and Agnimitra (c. 148-140 B.C.) and possibly after their two successors who ruled for 17 years according to the Purāṇas. He might have sought assistance of the Vidiśā king against the aggression of the great conqueror Menander, king of Śākala and a scion of the rival house of Euthydemus.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate III, No. 1. On some copper specimens modified later forms of *sigma* and *omega* are noticed.

³ Roman Jupiter, the parallel of Indian Indra.

⁴ The Greek goddess of victory: cf. the title *nikēphoros* = जयधर. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the victorious king Antialkidas."

⁵ The elephant which reminds us of Indra's Airāvata possibly indicates an approach towards the identification of Zeus with Indra.

No. 18—Inscription on some Coins of Hermaios¹
(c. 20-30 A.D.) and [his queen] Kalliope

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 31

*First Side*²

Busts of king and queen to right, both diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (= *basilēos sōteros Ermaiou*)

(below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (= *kai Kalliopes*)

Second Side

King helmeted and diademed, on prancing horse to right, with bow and spear at his back; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महर्जस क्षतरस हेरमयस

(below) कलियपय

(=महाराजस्य त्रातुः हेरमयस्य कलियपायाः [च] ॥)

¹ He seems to have belonged to the house of Eukratides and to have ruled in the first half of the first century A. D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul region and was supplanted by the Parthians, probably by Gondopheres. These joint issues may indicate a union of the rival houses of Eukratides and Euthydemus.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VI, No. 11. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour, and of Kalliope."

No. 19—Inscription on some Copper Coins of
Hermaios and of the Kushana Yavuga
Kujula Kasa¹ (c. 25-55 A.D.)

SMITH,² *Catalogue*, p. 33

First Side

Bust of Hermaios to right, diademed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΤΗΡΟ]ΣΣΥ³ ΕΡ[ΜΑΙΟΥ] (= *basileōs sterosou Ermaiou*)

Second Side

Herakles facing, diademed ; with right hand he holds club resting on ground, and with left hand lion's skin ; circular inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

कुजुल-कसस [कूपन-यवु]गस धर्म-यिदस⁴

(= कुजुल-कसस्य कुपाण-यवुगस्य [= कुपाणवंशीय-नायकस्य] धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥)

¹ He has been identified with Kadphises I. *Yavuga* is supposed to be a Turkish word meaning "a prince". The Kushānas gradually ousted the Greeks and the Skytho-Parthians from the sovereignty of the Kabul region and the north-western part of India. The joint issues may indicate that Kadphises I at first accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Greeks of Kabul. They may be similar to the coins of the East India Company issued in the name of Shāh 'Alam II (Whitehead, *Cat.*, II Nos. 2964-67). In Kabul the Greeks were supplanted by the Parthians and the Parthians by the Kushānas. Kadphises I did not conquer the region of the Indus.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VI, No. 14.

³ Read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. ΣΥ was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name. The Greek inscription means : " [the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour ;" but in some cases *sōtēros* is wrongly translated as महत्सु.

⁴ On Kadphises' own coins (see *infra*) we sometimes get सुव-धर्म-यिदस (= सुव-धर्म-स्थितस्य) which possibly refers to his devotion to the religion of the Buddha.

No. 20—Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros

A Paṭhān village in the SWĀT VALLEY ; now Panjab Museum.
F. W. THOMAS, *Fest. Ernst Windisch*, p. 362 ; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 4.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthī of circa 1st century B. C.

TEXT¹

1 थेउदोरेन मेरिदख्खेन प्रतिठविद्र इमे शरिर शकमुणिस भगवतो बहु-जण-[हित्ति]ये² [॥•]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

थेउदोरेण मेरिदख्खेण (=विषयपतिना=प्रदेश-शासकेन ; Greek *meridarkhes*)
प्रतिष्ठापितम् इदं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) शाक्यमुनेः (=बुद्धस्य) भगवतः बहुजन-हिताय ॥

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND THE KUSHĀNAS

(i) INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE OLDER SKYTHO-PARTHIAN RECKONING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

No. 21—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Maues

(c. 20 B.C.-20 A.D.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 39

First Side⁴

Zeus standing to left, clad in himation ; grasping long sceptre

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² Thomas : •ज्जित्तिट्ठिये ; Konow : •ज्जसित्तिट्ठिये

³ This date of Maues is based on the supposition that he is the same as Moga of the Taxila record (*infra*, No. 27). He seems to have originally been a subordinate of Vonones of East Iran and to have carried to India the use of the latter's era which started from 58 B.C. and was later called the Kṛita, Mālava or Vikrama era. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125 ff. Maues imitated the coin-types of Demetrios and Strato I.

⁴ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VIII, No. 2.

with left hand ; right arm extended ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above, in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΜΑΥΟΥ (= *Mauou*)

Second Side

Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand and palm bound with fillet in left hand ; monogram in right field ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above, in semicircle) रजदिरजस महतस

(below) [मो]अस¹

(= राजातिराजस्य महतः मोयस्य [= मोगस्य] ॥)

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azes I² (c. 10-35 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 43

*First Side*³

Zeus standing to left ; right hand extended ; long sceptre with fillet in left hand ; inscription in Greek characters⁴ :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΟΥ (= *Azou*)

¹ Another Indian form of the name is *Moga*. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Maues, the great king of kings." The title is derived from *Khshāyathiya* of Old Persian inscriptions.

² He possibly succeeded Maues = *Moga* in the Gaudhāra region and conquered the Eastern Punjab from Hippostratos. He was probably the son of Spalirises of East Iran and the son-in-law of Maues and succeeded to the Indian possessions of Maues. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 126.

³ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VIII, No. 9. On some specimens the square *omicron* is noticed.

⁴ The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azes, the great king of kings."

Second Side

Winged Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand, and palm with fillet in left hand; monogram to right; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयस

(= महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयस्य ॥)

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azilises¹

(c. 30-40 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 49

First Side

King on horse-back to right, with lance; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (= *Azilisou*)²

Second Side

Pallas Athene to left, thunder-bolt in right hand and aegis in left hand; monogram in the left and Kharoshthī 𑀘 in the right field; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयिलिषस

(= महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयिलिषस्य ॥)

¹ He was succeeded by Azes II (c. 35-75 A.D.). Aspavarman was a *strategos* (= सेनापति or governor) first under Azes II and then under Gondopharnes, while his nephew Sasa under the latter and Pakores.

² The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azilises, the great king of kings."

No. 24—Mathurā Lion-Capital Inscriptions of the
time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śoḍasa
(c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttra) District, U.P.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJĪ, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XXVI, pp. 542-44; F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 141 ff.; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i, p. 48 (No. XV).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT

Group I

A (i)

- 1 महक्ष[ल]वस रजुलस
- 2 अग्रमहेषि अयसिअ
- 3 कमु[स]अ^१ धिव
- 4 स्वर(हं?)ओस्तस युवरज
- 5 मत्र नददि(सि?)अकस[ण?]^२

¹ From the Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IX, and *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II i. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* modifies the sound of the superscript consonant

² The first section may be and has been differently interpreted: "By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājula, daughter of Ayasī Komūsā (masculine), mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaosta, Nandasi-Akasā [by name]" (Thomas); "The chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasix Komuis, the daughter of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka" (Konow). *Kshatrapa* is from Old Persian *Khshathrapāvan*, "a provincial governor". The late Marāṭhī royal title *Chhatrapati* is an echo of *Chhatrapa*, the Prakrit form of *Kshatrapa*. The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājān and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations. Rājula and Rañjuvula are different forms of the same name.

³ Konow: कमदअ. Kharaosta is from Old Persian *khshathra-osta*, 'the blessing of sovereignty'. Konow identifies him with Kharaosta, son of Artā.

† Konow: नद दिअकस [तवे].

A (ii)

- 6 सध मल अबुहोल[ए]
- 7 पिलमहि' पिप्रसिअ अ-
- 8 त्र हयुअरन सध हन धि[ल]²
- 9 अतेउरेन होरक-प³-
- 10 रिउरेन इअ प्रदवि-प्रले-
- 11 अ निसिमे' शरिर प्रत्रिटविखो
- 12 भक्रवत्रो शकमुनिस बुधस
- 13 म(?)किहि(?)र(त ?)य⁴ सइप [अ]भुसवित(?)⁵
- 14 युव च सघरम च चलु-
- 15 दिअस सघस सर्व-
- 16 स्तिवत्रन परिग्रहे (I*)⁷

C

- 1 कलुइ-अ-
- 2 वरजो

D

- 1 नउलुदो (I*)

¹ Better read 'महिअ.

² Konow takes Hana to be the daughter of Hayuara.

³ Konow and Lüders think होरक = होरमुते, a Skythic rendering of दानपति. But cf. *hūr* in Arabic and Persian meaning 'a virgin' or 'a celestial virgin'.

⁴ Bühler explained निसिम (= नि:सम) as an equivalent to सूप, and Thomas as नि:सौम, a सूप outside the सीमा.

⁵ Konow : मुकि[त्रि]रय, etc., "after having performed solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (=Maues) and his horse." Thomas : म(स?)किटे(टि?)र(?)य ; Indrajī : मुकिहितय (=मुक्तिहिताय). The reading and interpretation of line 13 are doubtful.

⁶ Thomas : सइपए भुसवेति ? (=शाश्वतं भूयात् इति). Better read अइप

⁷ Konow reads section E after A.

Group II

B

- 1 महक्षत्रवस
- 2 वज्रुलस्य¹ पुत्र²
- 3 शुडसे क्षत्रवे³

E

- 1 खर(हं)ओस्तो युवरय
- 2 खलमस कुमार
- 3 मज कनिठ
- 4 समनमोत्र-

E (b)

- 1 क (I*) करित

K and L

- 1 अयरिअस
- 2 बुधसेवस
- 3 उलणुन अयिमित(स ?)-

H

- 1 गुहविहरे

H(n)

- 1 धमदन (?)

F

- 1 बुधिलस नकरअस
- 2 भिखुस सर्वस्तिवन्नस (I*)

¹ Read रज्जुलु०

² Konow reads section C here.

³ Konow reads section D here.

G

- 1 महक्ष[स]वस्य कुसुलत्रस पदिकस मेव(?)किस'
- 2 मियिकस क्षत्रवस पुयण् (॥*)

E (a)

- 1 कमुइओ (१*)

Group III

M

- 1 क्षत्रवे शुडिसे
- 2 इमो पद्वि-
- 3 प्रलेश्रो

I

- 1 वेयउदिर्न² कधवरो वुसप-
- 2 रो कध-
- 3 वरो
- 4 वियउ-

J (1 and 2)

- 1 वं * * * * * पलिडिन (?)³
- 2 निसिमो करित नियखितो

J (3)

- 1 सर्वस्तिवसन परि(?)ग्रहे

¹ This Patika may have been identical with the person of the same name mentioned in No. 27 below. Mevaki (Maues?) may be the same as Moga of that record. The families of all these Śaka chiefs may have been interrelated. But a difficulty in identifying Patika of the two records is that the date of the present inscription, in which Śoḍāsa is called a Kshatrapa, is earlier than the Mathura inscription of year 72 (15 A.D.) when Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa. Kusuluka Patika is here called a Mahākshatrapa; but in the Taxila epigraph of year 78 (21 A.D.) he is represented as a Mahādānapati under his father, Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka. Kusuluka Patika of this record thus seems to have been the father of Mahākshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and grandfather of Mahādānapati Patika of the latter record.

² वेयउ seems to be the same as वियउ in section I, line 4.

³ Konow reads here उवरपरण पलिडिन, 'limited by Urvarapara.' Thomas however notes that 7 or 8 aksharas before पलि are quite obscure owing to the stones having peeled away. Thomas : पलिटे(?)न. Konow's reading ऊ here as well as in No. 33, line 2, is justified by the form of the letter in the Central Asian documents. See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Plate XIV, Nos. 35-37.

N

- 1 अग्ररिअस बुधिलस नकरकस भिखु-
- 2 स सर्वस्तिवग्रस पग्र-
- 3 न महसधिअन प्र-
- 4 म(?)ज-वित्तवे खलुलस (॥*)

O

- 1 सर्वबुधन पुय (॥*) धमस
- 2 पुय (॥*) सघस पुय (॥*)

P

- 1 सर्वस सकस्त-
- 2 नस पुयण (॥*)

Q

- 1 खर्दअस
- 2 क्षववस (॥*)

R

- 1 रक्षिलस
- 2 क्रोनिनस (॥*)

J (a)

- 1 खलशमु-
- 2 शो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Group I : A (i). महाक्षवपस्य राजूलस्य अग्र-महिषी, आयसेः कोमुसाः दुहिता, खरवस्तस्य युवराजस्य माता [या, तया] नदसियकसया—

A (ii). सार्द्धं माता आवुहोल्या, पितामह्या पिशपस्या, भ्राता हयुयरेण, सार्द्धं हना [इति] दुहिता, आन्तःपुरेण 'होरका-परिवारेण (= अन्तःपुरस्य स्त्रीसङ्घेन [च]) अस्मिन् पृथिवी-प्रदेशे निःसोमे (= स्तूपवहिःस्थे परंतु तत्संलग्ने तत्स्वत्वके च स्थाने) शरीरं (= देहावशेषः) प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः बुद्धस्य, [सर्वेषां] मुक्ति-हिताय (?) अभ्युत्सर्पितः (= उत्थापितः = कारितः) स्तूपः च सहारामः च चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य सर्वास्तिवादानां (= ०वादिनां) परिग्रहे (= ०ग्रहाय) ॥

C कालुष्यवरजः

D नववृद्धः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group II : B महाक्षत्रपस्य राजलस्य पुत्रे शोडाशे क्षत्रपे [शासति],

E खरवस्तः युवराजः, खलमसः कुमारः, मजः कनिष्ठः [च इति] समनुमोद-

E(b) काः [वक्ष्यमानस्य धर्मदानस्य] ; कारितम्

K and L आचार्यस्य बुद्धदेवस्य [शिष्येण] उदयेन आजिमिल (यद्वा—आयिमे) :-

H, H (a). गुहाविहारे धर्मदानं

F बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय (= नगर-वास्तव्याय)¹ भिक्षवे सर्वास्तिवादाय (= तस्य परिग्रहाय ।

G महाक्षत्रपस्य कुसुलुकस्य (कूसुलुक-पुत्रस्य ?) पतिकस्य, मेवकेः (मेवकि-पुत्रस्य ?)
मियिकस्य [च] पूजायै ।

E(a) कामूयीयः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group III : M क्षत्रपे शोडासे [शासति] अयं पृथिवी-प्रदेशः

I, J (1&2).—विजयोदीर्णम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, पुसापुरम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः,
[तंस्कन्धावारद्वये] विजयोर्व ...परीक्षिणा (= तदाख्यपुरुषेण) निःसीमः (= स्तूपवहिःस्थं परंतु
तदधीनं तत्स्वत्वकं च स्थानं) कारितः, निर्यातितः (= दत्तः) [च]

J (3). सर्वास्तिवादानां (= ०वादिनां) परिग्रहे,

N आचार्याय बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय भिक्षवे, प्राग्राणां माहासाहिकानां प्रामाण्यविष्ये²
*खलराय (? = महभुवे = निकपसदृशाय) ॥

O सर्व-बुद्धानां पूजा । धर्मस्य पूजा । सहस्य पूजा ।

P सर्वस्य शक-स्थानस्य (= शकदेशस्य ; Skythia, Indo-Skythia)³ पूजायै ।

Q, R स्वर्दकस्य क्षत्रपस्य [पूजायै] । रक्षिलस्य, कोणिनस्य [च] [पूजायै] ॥

J (a) खलशमुशः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

¹ Possibly Nagara or Nagarahāra, modern Jalālābād. We may also have :
आचार्याय बुद्धदेवाय (= तस्य परिग्रहाय) उदयेन ... धर्मदानम् । बुद्धिलस्य ... सर्वास्तिवादस्य
[पूजायै] ।

² I.e., "with reference to the knowledge of proof of the vanguard of the
Mahāsāṅghikas (a Buddhist sect that was antagonistic to the sect of the Sarvāstivādins)." Konow makes प्रमां जपयितुम्, "to teach the truth".

³ Fleet makes शक-स्थान and Majumdar शक-स्थान. Some take सर्व as a proper name.

No. 25—The Mathura Votive Tablet Inscription of the time of Śodasa—Year 72(=A.D. 15)

Kathali Tila at Mathura

Deussen, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 199; Lohassa, *List*, No. 59; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brahmi

TEXT

- 1 नम आहारी वर्षमासम् (१०)
- 2 अहो विम मरुतमम मीमासम मीमासरे ७०* (+०२ हेम) म-मासे २ दिवसे
२ हविनि-पुष्पम पालम मवासे ममास-म-म[१]विद्यावे
- 3 सोमिने अयोद्विदिने मदा पुषेदि पालयोरेम वीद्ययोरेम पालयोरेम आर्यवति
[२]विद्याविदा (१०) वि०***

* From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

† Varāhaṇḍya, Jina or Mahāvīra was the 18th Jain deity, Kṛṣṇa. An arhat is described as अहो विम मरुतमम मीमासम मीमासरे ७०* (+०२ हेम) म-मासे २ दिवसे. Varāhaṇḍya was the actual founder of Jainism. The name Kathāliṭṭa means the mound of KATHALI, one of the 24 Tirthaṅkars according to Jain works.

‡ Bühler suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 (see, however, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 88, n. 1 where he gives up that view) or 70. It is 40 according to Rapson (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 335). Though it may be confused with the figure for 40 on the Kathatrapa coins (*Ind. Pal.*, Vol. ix, Col. vi), there is no doubt that it is the same figure for 70 which is found in Kathatrapa inscriptions (*op. cit.*, Col. viii); see also this very figure in the Plate for the second No. 25 of the same Mathura series (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 210) where Bühler definitely reads it as 70. Most scholars (*ibid.*, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 337, n.) now agree that the figure is to be read as 70. For the controversy between Rapson and Lohassa, see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 1149; XI, p. 389. The year has to be referred to the old Saka-Parthian era which we identify with the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. See note on No. 25 below.

* The restoration is due to Bühler.

† Bühler: पालयोरेम. The name seems to refer to the figure of the Arpa or Arhat on the Kathatrapa.

‡ Bühler: अहो विम. The reading intended seems to be अहो विम.

१ आचरन्ति' अरुह-पुत्राये (३०)

TEXT SANSCRITIZED

समा अहनि वर्षमासाय : स्वामिना' (— महाप्रभुपण्य श्रीहृदयस्य सर्वशक्ति
[विभक्तितयमे] ०२ हेमन्तमासे [द्वितीये] २ (— चातुर्मासिकस्य हेमन्तर्तौ द्वितीये मासे/ द्वितीये
[तृतीये] २ हारीती-पुष्कर पातस्य आर्येया अमय अविचया (— केवलिपु-विचया/ श्रीपया
(— श्रीपयोग्यपया) अमोहिन्या सह पुनैः पादयोधेन, श्रीहृदयोधेन, चरयोधेन [४] आर्येयती
(— त्रैमासी आचार्यपटासया पुत्रासिना अविहृषिता : [विचया अमयती] आर्येयती
अहं-पुत्राये ॥

No. 26—Mathura Stone Inscription of the time of Śodasa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURA, U. P.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., V, p. 188, No. 26; CHRISTENSEN, *Arch.
Surv. Rep.*, III, p. 30; H. L. DUNES, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 247.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT*

- १ स्वामिण्य महाप्रभुपण्य श्रीहृदयस्य' सर्वशक्ति' आकुलेन सेवक-मयीसेन [पुण्ड०]-
- २ इति हमासी पद्म-पुष्करतीर्थ पवित्रा पुष्करणि वरपासी आरासी अमयी ह' (ती०)
- ३ [सिना]पुत्रे य — — (३०)

* Publisher : अर्येयती

* See notes on infra, No. 26.

* The ancient Indian year was divided into three seasons, viz., *grishma* (Chaitra-Vaishāḥa-Jyeshṭha-Āshāḍha), *varsha* (Śrāvaṇa-Māgha-Kārtika-Mṛāṣṭhī) and *hemanta* (Māgha-Pushya-Māgha-Puṣya), each ending with a chaturthī tithi, either on Bh. I, No. 26 above and on No. 40 below). Here is a compromise between the Greek tithi date of No. 14 above and Indian tithi Śrāvaṇa inscriptions, noted systems of dating.

* From the *Varsha* in Arch. Surv. Rep., III.

* Possibly *Śodasa* and *Śodhika* were two forms of the name; cf. *Śādhika* = *Śādhika*.

* This word is originally *Prakrit*. The *Śāstra*, VII, 48 (Hira, *Texts*, pp. 11-12) speaks of an officer concerned with *pratikṛtya* (domestic affairs) placed in charge of a *gopāṭra* (treasury) and *śodhika* (assessors). *Śodhika* is another *Prakrit* word.

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य गजवरेण (=कोषाध्यक्षेण) ब्राह्मणेन शैब्यव-सगोत्रेण पुष्करिणी—आभ्यां यमल-पुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा (=पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थिता) पुष्करिणी, उद्पानः (=कूपः), आरामः, स्तम्भः, अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारितः] ॥

No. 26A—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śodasa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

From a well at MORA, 7 miles from Mathurā, U. P.

CUNNINGHAM, *A.S.R.*, XX, p. 49, Plate V, No. 4; J. Ph. VOGEL, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Math.*, p. 184, No. Q. 1; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 194.

Language: Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

Metre: Bhujaṅgavijrimbhita

TEXT¹

- 1 [Svastika] महक्षत्रपस राजबुलस पुलस स्वामि[स्य² महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे*]...
- 2 भगवतां वृष्णीणां पंचवीराणां³ प्रतिमाः शैल-देवगृ[हे स्थापिताः*]...
- 3 यस्तोष[ा*]याः शैलं श्रीमद्रुहमतुलमुदधसमधार (?)⁴ — — — — —
- 5 आर्चादेशां(?)⁵ शैलां पंच ज्वलत इव परम-वपुषा — — — — — (1*)
- 6 — — — — —
- 7 — — — — — (II*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

² In Sanskrit : महाक्षत्रपस्य राजबुलस्य पुलस्य स्वामिनः

³ For the five deified Vṛishṇī heroes, see the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, LXXIX, 1-2 :

सः पंचो वासुदेवः प्रद्युम्नः सान्ध एव च ।

चनिरुद्धश्च पञ्चैते दंशवोराः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

See J. N. Banerjĳa, *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*, X, pp. 65-68.

⁴ The meaning of the section is not clear. The reading is also not beyond doubt.

⁵ The meaning of the passage is doubtful.

No. 26B—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the
time of Śodasa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, U. P.

R. P. CHANDA, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 5, pp. 169-73; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 208; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.B.R.S.*, XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 45-48.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1-5 ²
- 6 वसुना भगव[तो वासुदे•]
- 7 वस्य महास्थान[के देवकु•]-³
- 8 खं तोरणं वे[दिका प्रति•]-
- 9 ष्टापितं(तम्)⁴ (।•) प्रीतो भ[गवान् वासु•]-⁵
- 10 देवः स्वामि[स्य(नः) महाक्षल•]-
- 11 पस्य शोडास[स्य शासनं•]⁶
- 12 संवर्त्तयतां(ताम्)⁷ (॥•)

¹ From impressions.

² Only traces of some letters in this part are visible.

³ Chanda : महास्थान...[चतुःशा]लं ; Lüders : ...[शै]लं

⁴ Others read °ष्टापितो. Chanda : वेदिका:

Chanda : भ[वतु वासु]°

⁵ Lüders : ऐश्वर्ये or आयुर्बलं. Chanda suggests a word meaning 'dominion' but used in the dual number.

⁷ Chanda reads संवर्त्तयतां and suggests the emendation संवर्त्तयतां

No. 27—Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78 (= A.D. 21)

THUPKIA, near Taxila, Rawalpindi District, West Punjab

Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 221ff.; Bhagawanlal INDRAJI, *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 551ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 55f.; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 28 (No. XIII).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 [संवत्स]रये² अठसततिमए २०(+*)२०(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४(+*)४
महरयस महंतस [मो]गस प[ने*]मस³ मसस दिवसे पंचमे ४ + *)⁴ एतये पुर्वये
क्षहर[स]⁵
- 2 चुहसस च क्षलपस लिअको कुसुलुको नम तस पुखो [पति][को*] तखशिलये
नगरे (।*) उतरेण प्रचु-देशो क्षेम नम (।*) अत्र
- 3 (दे*)शे⁶ पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकमुनिस शरिरं (प्र*)[ति]थ[वेति]⁷ [सं]घरमं
च सर्व-बुधन पुयए मत-पितरं पुयय[तो]
- 4 क्षलपस स-पुल-दरस अयु-वट-वधिण अतर सर्व [च] [अतिग]धवस⁸ च पुययंतो
महदनपति पतिक सज उव[झ]ए[न*]⁹
- 5 रोहिणिमिहेण य इम[मि?] संघरमे नवकमिक (॥*)

¹ See *supra*, No. 21. From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II; *Ep. Ind.*, IV

² The conjunct मस is read by some as तस

³ The restoration is due to Dowson. The Macedonian month Panemos is equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa (July).

⁴ Bhagwanlal and others: क्षहर[तस]. In that case, the meaning would be: "the Kaṣa-arāta and the Kaṣa-trspa of Chukhsa (road Chach, N. W. of Taxila)."

⁵ The restoration is due to Bühler.

⁶ The restoration is due to Dowson.

⁷ Bühler suggests the emendation *natiga-bamdhava*. But *natigudhavasa* may stand for Sanskrit *jāṭik-ādhitāsān*. *Adhitāsa* means a neighbour.

⁸ See F. W. Thomas in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6. Konow who found the word अउवअए, "by the Jāṇva order", after Patika's name, has accepted (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 257, note 6) this reading and the translation of the passage as "the great gift-lord Patika together with the उपाध्याय Rohiṇimitra who is overseer of work in this सङ्गाराम". The original suggestion was अउ वअए = अय; वअए.

Second Side

6 पतिकस क्षत्तप लिअक (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके अष्टमसति[त]मके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य [Maues] 'पनेमस्य (-यव-
नानां मासविशेषस्य; Macedonian Panemos) मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५-एतस्यां पूर्वायां
[तिथौ-पूर्वोक्त-दिवसे] क्षहरस्य चुल्लस्य च [देशस्य] क्षत्तपस्य, लियकः कुमुल्लकः नाम
[यस्य], तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः तक्षशिलायां नगरे [स्थितः] । उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (-उत्तरस्थ-
विभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम । अत्र-देशे पतिकः अ-प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं
(-देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति । सहारामं च सर्व-बुद्धानां^१ पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्, क्षत्तपस्य
स-पुत्र-दारस्य आयुर्वल्लवृद्धये, भ्रातृन् सर्वान् च जातिकाधिवासान् (= जातिकान् प्रतिवेशिकान् च)
च पूजयन् [प्रतिष्ठापयति] महादानपतिः पतिकः, सार्द्धम् उपाध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्तेण यः अस्मिन्
सहारामे नवकर्मिकः (-निर्माणसंस्कारादिकार्यनियुक्तः) ॥

पतिकाय क्षत्तपः लियकः (=पतिकमुद्दिश्य क्षत्तपेण लियकेन फलकः अयं प्रेषितः) ॥

No. 28—Takht-i-Bāhī² Stone Inscription of
Gondophernes—[Regnal] year 26; Year 103(=A.D. 46)

TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ, near Mardān, Yūsufzai territory, Peshawar District,
West Pakistan

DOWSON, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1871; *J. R. A. S.*, 1875, pp. 376ff.;
1877, pp. 144ff.; CUNNINGHAM, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1873 (*Ind.
Ant.*, II, p. 242); *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, V, 1875, pp. 58ff.; SENART,
Journ. As., VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 144ff.; BOYER, *ibid*, 1940, X, iii,
pp. 457ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 282; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*,
II, i, p. 62 (No. XX).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

¹ According to Buddhist conception, there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

² There is no absolute certainty that the stone was discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. It was possibly found at Shāhbāzgarhī. Both the places are situated in the same neighbourhood. Shāhbāzgarhī is 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles north-west of Mardān in Yūsufzai.

TEXT¹

- 1 महारजस गुदुहरस² वष २०(+*)४(+*)१(+*)१
- 2 संव[त्सर] [ति]शतमए १(×*)१००(+*)१(+*)१(+*)१ वैशाखस मासस
दिवसे
- 3 [प्रथमे] [पुजे] (व*)[ह]ले पक्षे व(वि?)लसमिस [वो(गो?)]यणस
- 4 [परि]वर शध-दग स-पुअस केगमिर(स?)बोअणस
- 5 एभुण³ कप⁴ * * * * * स पुअए (।*) मदु-
- 6 पिडु पुअए (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य गुदुहरस्य [राज्य]-वर्षे [षड्विंशे] २६, संवत्सरके [च] त्रिशत[त]मके
(=अधिक-शततमे) १०३, वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे प्रथमे पुण्ये बहुले पक्षे बलस्वामिने
'बोयनस्य परिवारः' (=प्राकारः; यद्वा-क्षुद्र-वासगृहं) श्रद्धा-दानं सपुत्रस्य केनमिर-बोयनस्य,
'एभुन' (=कुमार?) -कप...स्य [च] पूजायै; मातापितोः पूजायै (-संमाननाय) ॥

No. 29—¹inscription on some Coins of Gondophernes (c. 21-50 A.D.)⁶

SMITH, *Catalogue* p. 54

First Side⁷

King diademed on horseback to right; monogram to right; inscription
in Greek⁸ characters:—

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

² Two *aksharas* are erased between दृ and बृ

³ Boyer read एभुन and saw in this word the name of a prince. Konow reads एभुण which is according to him a Khotani word meaning कुमार

⁴ Konow, who ignores the fact that some 8 letters are lost between प and स, reads Kap[sha]sa, as he thinks that there are traces of a श or प under प. He identifies Kapsha with Kadphises I. The stone however, as noticed by Cunningham, was used as a *Silā* (a flat stone for grinding condiments on) and some letters are apparently lost owing to the rubbing by the muller. The reading of lines 3-5 is doubtful in many places.

⁵ This shows that the month was regarded as Pūrṇimānta.

⁶ See No. 28. He was a Parthian king of Southern Afghanistan, but later conquered the Indus Valley. He is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas (first half of the 1st century A.D.). See notes on Bk. III, No. 21.

⁷ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IX, No. 8.

⁸ *Sigma* on these coins has a developed form.

BACIAEΩ[C] [BACIAEΩN] [MEΓAΛOY] YNΔOΦ[EPPOY]
(=basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou Undophērrou)¹

Second Side

Pallas Athene standing to right, with spear and shield²; monogram to right; Kharoshthī monogram reading मि and व(?) ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरज-रजतिरज-[खतरस] [देववतस]

(below) [गु]द्वह १)रस

(=महाराज-राजातिराज-खातुः देववतस्य 'गु-द्वर्णस्य ॥)

No. 29A—Inscription on some Billon⁴ Coins of Gondophernes and As'pavarman

R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 150

First Side

King on horseback to left with right hand extended; some symbols; inscription in Greek characters corrupt and illegible.

Second Side

Zeus to right; some symbols; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(left) इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस

(above) खतेगस

(right) जयतस खतरस

(below) अश्ववर्मस

(=इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस्य³ खतेगस्य⁵ जयतः खातुः अश्ववर्मणः ॥)

¹ I. e. "[the coin] of Undopherres, the great king of kings".

² Not the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with the Gorgon's head and signifying a life-charm.

³ The reading देववत is due to Rapson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 286). Some specimens clearly read गुदुव्हरस (*C.H.I.*, Plate VIII, No. 51). व्ह was formerly read as फ. Rapson later took व to be a modified व and Sanskritised the word as *Devapāta* (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 309 n.). Some scholars take व to be a modified फ.

⁴ Billon is an alloy of silver with copper, tin or the like.

⁵ *Stratega*=Greek *strategos*=Sanskrit *senāpati*. As'pavarman was ruling in the N.W.F.P. region as a viceroy of Gondophernes. He was previously ruling the same area as a subordinate of Azes II. This is indicated by coins bearing the name of Azes on the obverse and of As'pavarman on the reverse (Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-33.)

No. 30—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, pp. 65f.

First Side

Bust of Hermaios², diademed; very corrupt inscription in Greek characters intended for:—

KOPANO-KOZOYΛO-KAΔΦIZOY (= *Koshano-Kozoulo-Kadphizou*)⁴

Second Side

Herakles standing, facing; right hand resting on club, lion-skin over left arm; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

[कुजुल-कस,स कुपन-[यवुगस] [धर्म-ठिदस]
(= कुजुल-कसस्य कुपाण-यवुगस्य धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥)

¹ See *supra*, No. 19. He possibly ruled over the region extending from the Jaxartes to the borders of the Indus region.

² On some coins the head resembles very closely that of Augustus in his later years (c. 12 A.D.). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ Note the peculiar character *P* indicating *sh* and the letter *U* for *Y*.

⁴ I.e., "the coin] of Kozoula-Kadphises, the Kushāṇa." Some coins have the Greek inscription:—

XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEΣ (= *Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes*) and the Kharoshthī inscription:—खुवनस यउषस कुयुल-कफसस सवध्रमठितस (= कुपाणस्य यवुगस्य कुजुल-कफसस्य सत्य-धर्म-स्थितस्य). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 6. According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66), the full Kharoshthī legends on some coins are:—

- (a) महारजस रयरवस देवपुत्रस कुयुल-कर-कफसस (= महाराजस्य राजराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुजुल-कर-कफसस्य);
- (b) कुयुल-कर-कपस महारजस रयतिरजस (= कुजुल-कर-कपस्य महाराजस्य राजाति-राजस्य);
- (c) महारजस महतस कुपाण-कुयुल-कफस (= महाराजस्य महतः कुपाण-कुजुल-कफस्य);
- (d) महारजस रजतिरजस कुयुल-कफस (= महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य कुजुलकफस्य).

The title देव-पुत्र is of Chinese origin. Ku'ula Kara Kadphises is usually supposed to be different from Kujula Kadphises I. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

No. 31—Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises (II)¹ (c. 55-75 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 68

*First Side*²

Upper part of king, diademed, to right; emerging from clouds; without the usual cap or helmet³; flames arising from his shoulders; club in the right and elephant-goad in the left hand; monogram behind the head; inscription⁴ in Greek characters:—

BACIAEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC (= *basilēus Ooemo Kadphises*).

Second Side

Two-armed Siva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin⁵ over left arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand;⁶ monograms to right and to left; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

[महरजस•] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोग-इश्वरस महेश्वरस विम-कश्चिदस्य [वतरस•]
(=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य [यद्वा—महीश्वरस्य] विम-
कश्चिदस्य वतुः ॥)

¹ He was the successor of Kujula-Kadphises I and extended his dominions over a large portion of Northern India.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XI, No. 5.

³ On some copper coins we have: king diademed, wearing high cap and long coat, standing to left, with right hand over altar; trident with battle-axe to left in left field; monogram in right field.

⁴ The inscription means: "[the coin] of king Ooemo Kadphises." On some copper coins, the Greek legend is OOHMO KAΔΦICHC BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN CωTHP MEΓAC (= *Ooemo Kadphises Basilēus Basilēon Sōter Mēgas*). Note the developed form of the Greek letters. He seems to be the ruler referred to in the so-called *Sōter Mēgas* coins. They were issued possibly by one or more kings who contended for sovereignty during the troubled period following Wema's death.

⁵ Cf. Siva's name कृत्तिवास.

⁶ On some copper coins we have:—Siva two-armed, standing, facing, in front of bull standing to right; holding trident in right hand.

⁷ The subscript *r* is used to modify the pronunciation of व. Rapson reads कश्चिदस्य (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 316) which is supported by the Central Asian Kharoshthī documents. Is the real reading कळ्विदस्य = कळ्विदस्य?

No. 32—Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushāna King.¹ —Year 122 (= A.D. 65)

PANJTĀR (72°31' E, 34°4' N), below the Mahāban Range between the Swat and the Indus near the borders of the Peshawar and Hazara Districts, West Pakistan.

CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, 1854, p. 705, Plate 4; *ibid.*, XXXII, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; *A.S.I.*, V, pp. 616f., Plate XVI, 4; SENART, *J.A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130, no. i; IX, xiii, 1899, p. 535; BÜHLER, *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; *W.Z.K.M.*, X, p. 173; R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 31, 44; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 1010 f.; 1914, pp. 372; pp. 1002f.; STAEL HOLSTEIN, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 81n., pp. 758 f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No 47; KONOW, *S.B.A.W.*, 1916, pp. 802f.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 134; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 70 (No. XXVI).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 सं १(×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १(+*)१ अवनस मसस दि प्रढमे
१ महरयस गुषणस रज[मि]
- 2 स्पमुअस^३ प्रव-[देशो*]^४ मोइके उरुमुज-पुत्रे करविदे शिवथले (1*) तत्र दे मे^५
- 3 दनमि तरक १(+*)१ (1*) पजकरे ण(णे)व अमत^६ शिवथल रम • • म॥

¹ We may identify this king with one of the semi-independent governors of the Indian possessions of Wema Kadphises. He may have been responsible for the issue of the *Sāter Mēgas* coins without using his personal name. Note the absence of the ruler's personal name in this inscription as well as in No. 34 below. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

² From Cunningham's eye-copy in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The original stone is missing, and the reading especially of line 3 is doubtful.

³ The first *akshara* may also be read as स्पे, क or के.

⁴ The eye-copy suggests the restoration.

⁵ Cunningham : खव दे मे ; Konow च मे.

⁶ Cunningham : पमुख.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे द्वाविंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२२ श्रावणस्य मासस्य दि[वसे] प्रथमे १, महाराजस्य
कुपाणस्य राज्ये 'स्वसुवस्य प्राच्यदेशः (= पूर्वभागः) [तत्र] मोयिकेन उरुमुज-पुत्रेण कारित'
शिवस्थलं (- शिवमन्दिरम्) । तत्र द्वौ मे (- मोयिकस्य १) दाने [स्तः] तरुको (- वृक्षौ)
२ । पुण्यकरं नवम् अमृतं (- चिरस्थितिकं) शिवस्थलम्.....

No. 33—Kalawan Coper-plate Inscription —Year 134 (= A.D. 77)

KALAWĀN, near Sirkap (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. p. 259.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

- 1 सवत्सरये १(×*)१००(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४ अजस^२ श्रवणस मसस
दिवसे लेविशे २०(+*) १(+*) १(+*) १ इमेण क्षुणेण चंद्रभि उअसिअ

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

² See *infra*, No. 34. According to Marshall, the expression अजस or अयस means "of the era of Azeas." Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Konow at first proposed to take it as an equivalent of Sanskrit आयस, "of the first [Śrāvaṇa]", there having been two in the year including the intercalary one, though it is impossible to have an intercalary Śrāvaṇa in the year 134 and an intercalary Āshāḍha in the year 136 of the same reckoning (cf. No. 34 below). He also showed that it cannot stand for आदस in the language of the Kharoshthi inscriptions. He now wants to explain अयस as meaning "of Azeas," i.e. in the year so-and-so, Azeas style (i.e. of the era used by Azeas). The suggestion is not convincing. The reading सक १८१ in the Taxila silver vase inscription (*infra* No. 36) to which Konow refers is problematical, and I do not think अयस is satisfactorily explained even if we accept the reading. The original of No. 36 has no trace of any letter before क, though the photograph shows another क before it. For another date क ४००, see Majumdar, *Guide*, II, p. 92. क seems to stand for कले=काले. The style, e.g., of the Taxila copper plate of Patika which reads संवत्सरए अठसततिमए

- 2 धर्मस ग्रहवतिस धित भद्रवलस भय छडशिलण शरिर प्रइस्तवेति गहयू-
- 3 वमि सध भ्रदुग नंदिवडणेग ग्रहवतिग सध पुलेहि शमेग सइतेग च धितुग च
- 4 धमण सध णपणहि रजण इद्रण य' सध जिवणंदिग शमपुलेण अयरिण' य स[वं]स्ति-
- 5 वअग परिग्रहे रठ-णिकमो पुयइत सर्व-स्वत्वग' पुयण (1*) जिवणस प्रतिअण होतु (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके [चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३४ अयस्य [Azes II] श्रावणस्य मासस्य दिवसे त्रयोविंशे २३—अनेन क्षणेन चंद्राभी [इति] उपासिका, धर्मस्य गृहपतेः दुहिता, भद्रपालस्य भार्या, छत्रशिलके' शरीरं (—भगवतः बुद्धस्य देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति गृह-स्तूपे' सार्द्धं भ्राता नन्दिवर्धनेन गृहपतिना, सार्द्धं पुत्राभ्यां शमेन सजितेत च, दुहित्रा च धर्मया, सार्द्धं स्नुषाभ्यां लजया इन्द्रया च, सार्द्धं जीवनन्दिना शम-पुत्रेण आचार्याणां च सर्वास्तिवादानां (=वादिनां) परिग्रहे, राष्ट्रनिगमौ (—जनपदं नगरं च) पूजयित्वा, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै । निर्वाणस्य प्रत्याये (—लाभाय) भवतु ॥

७८ महरयस महंतस मोगस पनेमस मसस दिवसे पंचमे would prove that अयस also refers to a king, though he is not called a महरय and महंत. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in comparing these dates with the *atīta-rājya* years of Govindapāla and Lakshmanasena. Azes II lost the region to foreigners who were not favoured by the people. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 434, and *supra*, No. 32. The founder of this Skytho-Parthian era is not known; but I do not think it possible to connect its origin with Azes on the strength of the word अजस or अयस. Azes II is often considered to have been a predecessor of Gondophernes (21-44 A.D.) and his reign period is assigned to c. 1-19 A.D. (R. B. Whitehead, *Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99-104). Elsewhere we have suggested that the old Skytho-Parthian era was started from the foundation of an independent kingdom in East Iran by Vonones, that its use was carried to India by his Śaka feudatories and that Azes II was being mentioned as the reigning king by some people even after his overthrow by Gondophernes. The Kushānas probably conquered the country from the Parthians on behalf of Azes II and the fiction of the latter's rule continued for some time. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, 131.

1 *I.e.* च

2 The Sanskrit word is सत्त्व ।

3 This may be the name of a locality (modern Kalawan?) or of a Vihāra.

4 *I.e.*, "in the *Stūpa* (a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic) in her house."

5 Read अयरिचण

No. 34—Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushana King—Year 136 (= A. D. 79)

TAXILA, Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 295; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 77 (No. XXVII).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

- 1 स १(×*)१०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ (+*) १अयस अषडस
मसस दिवसे १० (+) ४ (+*) १ इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धनु[ओ] उर[स]-
- 2 केण इ^२तन्निअ-पुत्तण^३ वहलिण^४ णोअचण^५ णगरे वस्तवेण (१*) तेण इमे प्रदिस्तवित
भगवतो धनुओ धमर-
- 3 इण^६ तक्षशि(ल*)ण तणुवण^७ बोसिसत्व-गहमि^८ महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्तस
खुषणस अरोग-दक्षिणण
- 4 सर्व-बुधण पुयण प्रचग-बुधण^९ पुयण अरह(त*)ण पुयण सर्व-स(त्व*)ण पुयण मत-पितु
पुयण मित्रमच-जति-स-
- 5 लोहि(त*)ण पुयण अत्तणो अरोग-दक्षिणण णि[व]णण (१*) होतु अ[व]दे
सम-परिचगो (१*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे षट्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३६ अयस्य [Azes II] आषाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे
[पञ्चदशे] १५—अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः (= देहावशेषाः) औरशकेन

¹ From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For references, *ibid.*, pp. 70f. See *supra*, No. 33. The king may have been one of the issuers of the *Sôter Mēgas* coins (p. 129, n. 4) who appears to have contended for the throne with Kanishka I (acc. 78 A. D.). The discovery of the earlier records of Kanishka I in the eastern part of U. P. may suggest that he was originally employed about the eastern fringe of the empire of the Kushāpas.

² May be लोतवृद्धिय०.

³ Some take Urasaka as a proper name and Bahalia as "belonging to Balkh".

⁴ Dharmarāja is an epithet of the Buddha. A Dharmarājikā seems to be a Stūpa with the Buddha's relics.

⁵ Bodhisattva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous births and also before his enlightenment.

⁶ Read प्रचग०. See *supra*, p. 68, n. 5.

(— उरशा-देशीयेन) इन्तप्रिय-पुत्रेण (यद्वा—०पुत्राणां=तत्स्थानजातानां [केनचित्]) बाहलिकेन नवाजये (?) नगरे वास्तव्येन । तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्मराजिके (— धर्म-राजिका-स्तूपे) तक्षशिलके (यद्वा—‘शिलायां’) तनुवके (— स्वकीये) बोधिसत्त्व-गृहे—महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुपाणस्य आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (— आरोग्य-दान-प्राप्तये), सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, प्रत्येकबुद्धानां पूजायै, अर्हतां पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै, मातापितोः पूजायै, मित्रामात्य (— ०स्वगृहवासि० ; यद्वा—प्रतिवेशि०)-ज्ञाति-सलोहितानां (= ०रक्तसम्बन्ध-युक्तानां) पूजायै, आत्मनः आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च] । भवतु आयातः सम्यक्-परित्यागः ।

No. 35—Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu(?)
—Year 187 (? = A. D. 130 ?)

KHALATSE, Ladakh, Kāshmir.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 81 (No. XXIX) ; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 139 n.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

1 सं १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) + २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) ४
(+*) [१ (+*) १ (+*) १]

1 महरजस उविमिकस्तु(वटु?)सस² (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे सप्ताशीत्यधिकशततमे] १८१ महाराजस्य उविमिकस्तुसस्य (यद्वा—उविमि-
कस्तोः स) ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The record may be incomplete.

² Konow reads उविम-कव्थिसस and identifies the king with Wema Kadphises (II). But his reading and interpretation are doubtful. The second *akshara* may also be read as च, रि or ति and the third as द or दे. The fifth *akshara* is doubtful. The date may also be the year 184. The identity of the alien king mentioned in the record cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 36—Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihonika—Year 191 (= A. D. 134)

SIRKAP (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 82 (No. XXX).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

1 क² १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*)
१ महरज* * * * *स^३ पुलस जिहोणिकस चुससम क्षवपस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

काले (—संवत्सरे) एकनवत्यधिकशततमे] १९१ महाराजस्य [मणिगुलस्य ?] पुलस्य
जिहोणिकस्य चुसस्य (= चुस्साख्य-प्रदेशस्य)^४ क्षवपस्य (— राजाधीन-प्रदेशशासकस्य) ॥

(ii)—INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KANISHKA'S RECKON- ING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

No. 36A—Kosam Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (= A. D. 81)

KOSAM, Allahabad District, U. P.

K. G. Goswami, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210-12.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² क appears to have the same value as सं. It may, as formerly suggested by Konow, be an abbreviation of कले = Sanskrit काले, "in the year." I do not think that we can restore सक (= शक). See *supra*, p. 13¹, n. 2.

³ Konow restores महरज-भत-मणिगुलस. Jihonika has been identified with the Satrap Zeionises of the coins, who was son of the Satrap Manigala and is supposed to have been a contemporary of Azes II. This Jihonika was apparently the son of a Mahārāja and may have been the grandson of Zeionises. The old Skytho-Parthian era was for sometime being used in certain areas side by side with the Kanishka era during the suzerainty of the house of Kanishka I. Cf. the simultaneous use of the Mālava and Gupta eras in Western India during the suzerainty of the Guptas.

⁴ See *supra*, No. 27. Chukhsa is identified with the Plain of Chach near Taxila.

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे ३^२ हे २ दि ८ बोधिसत्त्वो(त्वं) प्रति-
- 2 द्वापयति भिक्षुनि बुद्धमिता लेपिटिका भगवतो बुद्धस चक्रमे^३ ॥*

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हे[मन्त-मासे द्वितीये] २
(- पूर्णिमान्त पाँचे) दि[वसे अष्टमे] ८ बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिद्वापयति
भिक्षुणी बुद्धमिता लेपिटिका (- लिपिटिकाचार्या) भगवतः बुद्धस्य चक्रमे ॥

Nos. 37-39—Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of the
time of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (= A. D. 81).

SĀRNĀTH, near Banaras, U. P.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173ff.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

No. 1

TEXT⁴

- 1 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० (+*)^२
- 2 एताये पूर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुण्यबुद्धिस्य सद्धेयवि-
- 3 हारिस्य भिक्षुस्य वल्लस्य लेपिटकस्य

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

² Goswami reads the date as the year 2. Kanishka I was the founder of an era, that is to say, his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors for some reason (e. g., assumption of power by the successor during the life time of the predecessor owing to the latter's prolonged illness, infirmity due to old age, etc.). This era seems to be the other early Indian era (beg. 78 A. D.), known as 'Śaka' owing to its constant use by the West Indian Śakas. Traditions assigning Kanishka to the 2nd century A. D. probably refer to Kanishka II of the Āra inscription. Kanishka I's dates range between years 1 and 23. He may have been originally in charge of the easternmost district of the Kushāṇa empire. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 141ff.

³ The *chaṅkrama* of a *vihāra* is a piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down for exercise and meditation. See Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, trans., p. 45, n. 4.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

- 4 बोधिसत्त्वो छत्तयष्टि [च] प्रतिष्ठापितो
- 5 वाराणसिये भगवतो च[']कमे सहा मात[1*]-
- 6 पितिहि सहा उपद्वायाचर्येहि¹ सद्धेयविहारि-
- 7 हि अन्तेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमित्तये लेपिटिक-
- 8 ये सहा क्षत्रपेण² वनस्परेण खरपल्लान-
- 9 नेन च सहा च च[तु]हि परिषाहि सर्वसत्त्वानं
- 10 हितासुखार्थं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हेमन्त-[मासे तृतीये] ३ (= पूर्णिमा-
न्त-माघे) दिवसे [द्वाविंशे] २२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (- तिथौ पूर्वोक्त-दिवसस्य)³ भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः
साद्धं-विहारिणः (= सतीर्थस्य ; Pāli सद्धि⁴) भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य (- लिपिटकविद्ः)
बोधिसत्त्वः (= बोधिसत्त्वस्य विग्रहः) छत्तयष्टिः च [शिलामयौ] प्रतिष्ठापितौ वाराणस्यां भगवतः
चद्धमे (- गन्धकूटीविहारालिन्दे)—सह मातापितृभ्यां, सह उपाध्यायाचार्यैः साद्धं-विहारिभिः
अन्तेवासिकैः (= शिष्यैः) च, सह बुद्धमित्तया लेपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन
च, सह च चतसृभिः परिषद्भिः⁵—सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

No. 2

TEXT

- 1 भिक्षुस्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो ।⁶
- 2 महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥⁷

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन, सह
क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

¹ Vogel : उपद्वायाचरेहि²

² Actually however Vanaspara was the Kshatrapa and Kharapallāna the Mahākshatrapa (cf. *supra*, No. 24, n.). They were ruling over the easternmost province (including the Banaras region) of Kanishka's empire.

³ Expressions like एतस्यां पूर्वायां, एतस्य पूर्वायां, एतस्यां दिवस-पूर्वायां, etc. suggest that पूर्वा, 'the above', was used with reference to the तिथि.

⁴ The four classes of Buddhists are Bhikkhu, Bhikkhupī Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

⁵ A short slanting stroke is visible after तो. Vogel thinks that one or two letters are lost here. It is possible that the sign actually signifies a half-stop.

⁶ Two short slanting strokes are found below न. They probably indicate a full-stop.

No. 3

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस्य क[णिष्कस्य] सं ३ हे ३ दि २० (+*) [२*]
- 2 एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य बलस्य लेपिट[कस्य*]
- 3 बोधिसत्त्वो उत्तय[ष्टि] [च] [प्रतिष्ठापितो *]² (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३ (-तृतीये) हे ३ (-हेमन्तर्तोः मासे तृतीये)
दि २२ (=दिवसे द्वाविंशे—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः
उत्तयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

No. 40—British Museum Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 10 (= A. D. 88)

H. LUDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 240

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्ध['] (॥*) महाराजस्य देव[पुत्रस्य]
- 2 काणिष्कस्य⁴ सवत्सरे [१०]⁵
- 3 अि २ दि ९ एतये पू[र्वये]
- 4 उत्तराय न[व]मिकायं [हा]-⁶
- 5 [म्यं]न्दत (१*) प्रियतां⁷ देवि ग्राम[स्य] (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

² This word is lost with the exception of the medial i sign of ति.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, IX.

⁴ The चनुस्वार should have been engraved on the following *akshara*.

⁵ There seems to be no space for another symbol after 10.

⁶ The reading हायं is not beyond doubt.

⁷ Omit the चनुस्वार above प्रि.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे [दशमे] १० ग्रीष्म-मासे द्वितीये २
(- पूर्णिमान्त-वैशाखे^१) दि[वसे नवमे] ९ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] उत्तरायां नवमिकायां
(- उत्तर-नवमिका-ग्रामे ; यद्वा - नवमिकाग्रामस्य उत्तरांशे) हर्म्यं^३ दत्तम् । प्रियतां देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

No. 41—Sui Vihar Copper-plate Inscription
of Kanishka I—Year 11 (= A. D. 89)

SUI VIHĀR, a ruined *Stūpa*, near Babāwalpur, West Pakistan; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1870, pp. 477f.; BAYLEY, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 65; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 324ff.; BHAGAWĀNLĀL INDRAJĠ, *ibid.*, XI, pp. 124f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, i (1922), pp. 459ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 136; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 141 (No. LXXIV).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

महाराजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य क[निष्कस्य] संव[त्स]रे एकदशे सं १० (+*)^१
ददसिंकस्य^३ मस[स्य] दिवसे^४ अठविशे दि २०^५ (+*) ४ (+*)४

¹ There was no unanimity regarding the beginning of a season, as the two *Paurṇamāsīs* that follow those referred to above (notes on Bk. I, No 28; cf. above, No. 26), were also recognised by some as *Chāturmāsīs*. It must however be noticed that the universal custom of the Buddhists was to observe *Varshā* from the day following the *Aśhāḍhī Pūrṇimā* up to the *Kārttikī Pūrṇimā* (Childers, *op. cit.*, *vassō*, *vassūpanāyikā*). Note also the duration of Viṣṇu's slumber during the four months of the rainy season from *Aśhāḍha-śukla 11* to *Kārttika-śukla 11*. See notes on Bk. III, No. 52. Cf. also चाषाढ-युक्-दादश्यां पौर्णमास्यामथापि वा । चातुर्मास्यवतारम् कुर्यात् कर्कट-संक्रमे ॥ अभावे तु तुलाकेपि मन्त्रेण नियमं व्रतौ । कार्तिके युक्-दादश्यां विधिवत् तत् समापयेत् ॥ (*Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in the *Sābdakalpadrūma*). See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa*, ch. 26, verses 14-17: पूर्वोदयं वार्धिकी मासः त्रावणः सलिनागमः । प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चलारी मासा वार्धिकसंज्ञिताः ॥...कार्तिके-समनुप्राप्ते त्वं रावणवधे यतः । एष न समयः सौम्य प्रविश त्वं स्वमालयम् ॥

² From the facsimile in *Corp. ns. Ind.*, II, i.

³ Read ददसिंकस्य as the name of the month is *Daisios*. *Daisios* roughly corresponds to the Indian *Jyāishṭha-Aśhāḍha*.

⁴ Read दिवसे

⁵ The figure for 20 is clear. The reading 10 in *C. I. I.* is possibly a misprint.

- 2 [अ]त¹ दिवसे भिक्षुस्य नागदत्तस्य ध[र्म]-कथिस्य² अचार्य-दमस्त-शिष्यस्य
अचार्य-भवे-प्रशिष्यस्य³ यष्टि⁴ आरोपयत इह द[म]ने⁵
- 3 विहारस्वामिनि⁶ उपासिक [व]लनन्दि-कु[टु]मिनि बलजय-मत च इमं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठनं
उप[इ]चं अनु परिवरं ददरि⁷ (I*) सर्व-सत्वनं
- 4 हित-सुखाय भवतु (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दैसिकस्य
(— दैसिकाख्यस्य ; Makedonian : Daisios) मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि २८—अत्र दिवसे
भिक्षोः नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः (= धर्मतत्त्वव्याख्यातुः) आचार्य-दमस्ता-शिष्यस्य आचार्य-
भव-प्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिम् आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका—वलनन्दि-कुटु-
मिनी (— ० भार्या), बलजय-माता च इदं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा (— विहाय⁸— यष्टिपीठात्
अधिकम्) अनु (— तदनु— साम्प्रतं) परिवारं (= प्राकारं) ददाति । सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय
भवतु ॥

No. 42—Zeda Inscription of Kanishka I
—Year 11 (= A.D. 89)

ZEDA, near Und, Rawalpindi Dist., West Pakistan

CUNNINGHAM A. S. I., v, 1875, p. 57f. ; SENART, J. A., VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135ff. ; BOYER, *ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 466ff. ; E. THOMAS, J.R.A.S., 1877, p. 9, n. 1 ; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 535 ; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46, 72 ; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 1 ff. ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 145 (No. LXXV) ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No. 95.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Kharoshthi

¹ This word was read अत by Bayley, अत्र by Dowson, अथ by Indrajī, अत by Hoernle and Majumdar, and उत्त by Bühler (*ZDMG*, XLIII, p. 133) and Johansson, (*Actes du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128, n. 1). Read अथ

² म looks like म्

³ Read भव

⁴ The word indicates monumental pillars which are even now called *ldth*. Majumdar suggests that there is reference to a relic of Nāgādatta, i.e. the pillar contained the corporeal relics of Nāgādatta. Konow suggests यष्टिम् आरोपयतः

⁵ Damana seems to have been the older name of the locality around Sui Vihār, possibly an old Śūchi-vihāra.

⁶ Read स्वामिनि.

⁷ Read ददति

⁸ Or, यष्टिपीठं कारयित्वा, if we have आरोपयतः in line 2.

TEXT¹

- 1 सं २० (+ ७)। अषडम मसम दि २० उत्तर-फगुणि^२ इशे भ्रुणमि
- 2 खदे(णे?) कुप^३ [वेरो]डस^४ मसंकस^५ कणिष्कस रजमि [तोयं]द^६ च भुइ दणमुख
हिपेअधिअस^७ स[वंस्ति]वदतिवधस पु[ज?]ने छिअक-
- 3 स क्ष[त्र?]पस^८ उप[क]चअ म[हु] (।*) कत दण अनुग्रहेण [बुध]स^९ संघमित्त-
रजस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकादशे] ११ आपाडस्य मासस्य दि[वसे विंशे] २० 'उत्तरफल्गुने (-उत्तर-
फल्गुन्यां नक्षत्रे)—अस्मिन् क्षणे खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मसंकस्य, कणिष्कस्य राज्ये । तोयदा
(—प्रपा ?) च भूयः दानमुखं (—दानवरं = दानं) हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादाति-
वृद्धये—पूजने (—पूजायै) लियकस्य क्षत्रपस्य, उपकृत्यायाः (=तदाख्यायाः) [दातुः] मातुः
[च] । कृतं दानम् अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य (—वृद्धस्थविरस्य) सङ्घमित्तराजस्य ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The stone is rough and damaged; the reading and interpretation of lines 2-3 are uncertain in many places.

² In Āshāḍha, the *Nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī falls on the 5th-8th days of the Śukla-pakṣa. The month therefore seems to have been Pūrṇimānta. See notes on No. 28 above and No. 69 below.

³ Cunningham read चनं उप्प, Senart भनं उक्क, Boyer खनं उप्प, Lüders खदे कुप; खदे कुप is Konow's reading corresponding to Sanskrit खातः कूपः.

⁴ Cunningham read खरडस, Senart * चस, Boyer सु*चस, Lüders धर(री?)डस, and Majumdar वेसडस. Konow reads सुरोड and connects it with Saka सुरस, 'a master, lord'.

⁵ Cunningham read महुंकस and Boyer and Lüders मडंकस. Konow takes मसंक to be an older form of the Khotani-Saka word *malysaki*, i. e. *malzaki* which is possibly equivalent to मृदुपति.

⁶ Cunningham read the passage धये ददमस इदमुखस्वपे च दे चस...; Senart : ...ददमद [न]मुख * [पि चधिच]स [दचदचस] ति[ध]...; Boyer : तोयदलभइ दनमुख सपेचधिच ससयपे सति बुधे. Konow translates, "and moreover a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dhis for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda."

⁷ Konow finds in it a Greek name like Hippeos, Hippias.

⁸ Boyer : चणपस; Senart : चहरस.

⁹ Boyer read पुनईधसं सघमिचस दन, "gift of Saṅghamitra, in order to increase his merit".

No. 43—Manikiala Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 18 (= A.D. 96).

MĀṆIKIĀLA, Rāwalpindī Dist., West Pakistan

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, 1834, pp. 557 f.; CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129; *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 703 ff.; *A. S. I.*, ii, 1871, pp. 161 ff.; DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1863, pp. 250 ff.; SENART, *J. A.*, IX, vii, 1896, pp. 1 ff.; LÜDERS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 645 ff.; PARGITER, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff.; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46 f.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 373 f.; 1003 f.; STAEL-HOLSTEIN, *ibid.*, pp. 757, 759; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1928, p. 67; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, pp. 149f. (No. LXXVI).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- A : 1 सं १०(+*)४(+*)४ [B : कर्तियस मस(म*) दिवसे २०]^२ [एल] पुर्षण
महरजस कणे-
२ ष्क[स्य] गुषण-वश-संवर्धक लळ
३ दडणयगो वेश्पशिस क्षलपस
४ होरमु[र्तो]^३ स तस अपनगे^४ विहरे

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i. Lines 1-6 form the main part of the record; lines 7-9 are at the left; line 10 is at the upper left corner; line 11 is above the main part; and line 12 is at the right above B.

² This portion is engraved in the second line on the right side of the record. Konow: मसि; Pargiter: मस

³ Stael-Holstein suggested गुषण or गुषण (which he explained as the gen. plu. of गुषि) corresponding to KOPANO (i. e. कुषान) on the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors.

⁴ According to Lüders, होरमुर्तो is a Skythian word corresponding to Sanskrit दानपति. Cf. "an incarnate image of Ahura" (Senart); "attached to horās or muhūrtas" (Pargiter).

⁵ Senart took अपनग to represent अत्य-नाग, i. e. "in the विहार of the small नाग." Pargiter took it to be अपनगके, "in the market place."

- 5 होरमुर्तो एत णग भगव-बुद्ध-सुव¹
6 [प्र]तिस्तवयति सह तण[न]² वेइपशिण्ण खुदेचिण[न]³
C : 7 बुरितेण च विहरकर[व्ह]एण
8 संवेण च परिवरेण सध (I*) एतेन कु-
9 शलमुलेन बुधेहि च प[व]ण्हि⁴ [च]
D : 10 समं सद⁵ भवतु
E : 11 भ्रतर स्वरबुधिस अग्रप[डि]अशण
F : 12 सध बुधिलेन नवकर्मिणेण (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे अष्टादशे] १८ कार्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे [विंशे] २०—अत्र पूर्वायां [तिथौ]
महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्ये] । कुषाण-वंश-संवर्धकः ललः दण्डनायकः,⁶ [यः] वेइपसेः⁷
क्षत्रपस्य 'होरमुर्तः' (=दानपतिः)—सः तस्य आत्मके (=आत्मीये) विहारे होरमुर्तः—अत्र
नाना भगवद्-बुद्ध-स्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति सह त्वयेण—वेइपशिकेन खुदेचियेन (=खुदेचि-
वासिना?), बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्ब्येन च—परिवारेण सार्द्धम् । एतेन कुशलमूलेन
(=स्तूपरूपेण सत्कार्येण [जातं पुण्यं]) बुद्धेः च श्रावकैः च समं (=सह) सदा भवतु भ्रातुः
स्वरबुद्धेः अग्र-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्य-भागाय)—सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्मिणेण (=निर्माण-
संस्कारादि-कार्यनियुक्तेन) ॥

1 Read : बुव. Lüders : ठुव ; Pargiter : अव ; Konow : भव (relics?).

2 Pargiter : तएण = तेन ; Senart : तएण = त्वयेण.

3 Senart खुइचिण ; Lüders : खुनचिण ; Pargiter : खुदेचिण.

4 Senart read स्पवण्हि. Pargiter स्पण्हि and Majumdar चठकहि. Lüders takes ववकहि to represent Sanskrit श्रावकैः.

5 Senart read सध सद. Pargiter सवसन and Lüders सवसन.

6 *Danḍanāyaka* literally means 'the commander of an army'; but persons enjoying the designation were often governors of districts.

7 The first part of this name and of Piśpasi in *supra*, No. 24, seems to correspond to Sanskrit विश्व.

No. 44—Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kanishka I (A D. 78-102)

SET(OR SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [म][हाराजस्य*]².....[दे*]-
- 2 [वपु][तस्य*] [कणिकस्य?] [सं.....दि...]
- 3 [भिक्षुस्य*.....³] [सखेय*] [व]हा[ि]र-
- 4 [स्य] [भिक्षुस्य*] [पुत्रवृद्धिस्य*] [सखेयविहारि*]-
- 5 स्य [भिक्षुस्य*] [वलस्य*] [लेपिट]कस्य
- 6 दानं बोधि[स]त्त्वो छत्तं दण्डश्च
- 7 श्रावस्तिये [भगवतो*] [चं*]कमे कोसंब-
- 8 [कुटिये*] [आचार्यान्]⁴ [सर्वास्ति*]वादिन[*]⁵
- 9 [परिमहे] (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile and photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. This record is practically the same as *infra*, No. 45; cf. also *supra*, Nos. 37-39. Nos. 44-45 prove that Śrāvastī stood on the site of modern Sahet-Mahet.

² As a line of the record appears to contain about 12 *aksharas*, I think it possible that there was the word राजातिराजस्य between महाराजस्य and दे in line 1.

³ The existence of the name of another Bhikshu in line 3 would give an approximately equal number of *aksharas* in all the lines.

⁴ Only the *ā*-sign and the superscript *r* of *या* are visible.

⁵ Only the superscript *s* and the *i*-sign of *स्ति* are visible.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे दिवसे १६] भिक्षोः
.....सार्द्धं-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धं विहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य
लैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्यां
(=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥

No. 45—Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription
of Kanishka I (A.D. 78-102)

SET(SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts,
U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 180f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT¹

- 1 [महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य सं • • • दि]² १० (+•)९ एतये
पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुण्य[बु•]-
- 2 [द्विस्य•]³ सद्धेयविहारिस्य⁴ भिक्षुस्य ब[ल]स्य ल पिटकस्य दान['] [बो]धिसत्त्वो छत्रं
दाण्डश्च श्रावस्तिये भगवतो चंकमे
- 3 ⁵कोसंबकुटिये [अचर्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादिनं परिग्रहे (॥•)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे दिवसे ऊनविंशे] १९—एतस्यां पूर्वायां
[तियौ] भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धं-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटकस्य दानं
बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे)
आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII

² Only traces of the lower parts of these letters remain.

³ The name can be confidently restored with the help of the Sârāth image inscriptions (Nos. 37-39).

⁴ The literary Pāli form of the word is सद्धिविहारो.

⁵ This line begins from below the *akshara* नं of the word दानं in the preceding line.

No. 45A—Mathurā Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I —Year 23 (= A. D. 101)

Mathurā Museum, U. P.

B. Ch. CHHABRA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 42-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 महरख कनि^२ २०(+*)३ अ १^३ एतस्य पुर्वयं वहारिस्य^४ मस्यगु[त्त]स्य^५
धिता पु[शद][ता*]
- 2 (a) बोधिसत्त्व
(b) प्र[ि]तष्टपयति]
- 3 स्व[के] विहारे (१०) [सर्वसत्त्वानं] [हितसुखाय भवतु*] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनि[ष्कस्य संवत्सरे त्रयोविंशे] २३ ग्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १ [दिवसे....]
एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] व्यवहारिणः (—व्यवहारिकस्य) मत्स्यगुप्तस्य दुहिता पुष्यदत्ता
बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिष्ठापयति स्वके (—स्वकीये—स्वनिर्मिते) विहारे ।
[सः] सर्वसत्त्वानां [हित-सुखाय भवतु] ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII.

² The intended reading is apparently महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.

³ य=यौ is a contraction of ग्रीष्म-मासे; but the reference to the particular दिवस is omitted through oversight.

⁴ This has been read as महारख and corrected as महाराजस्य. But the first *akshara* does not look like म. For वहारिख, the intended reading seems to be बोधारिख = Sanskrit व्यवहारिणः = व्यवहारिकस्य, i. e. 'of the magistrate'.

⁵ The reading intended is probably मत्स्यगुप्तस्य. The subscript in त्त is traceable partially. The name Matsyagupta literally means 'one who is protected by the fish (i. e. the Matsya avatāra of Viṣṇu)'.

No. 46—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, pp. 69f.

First Side¹

King standing to left, bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders; grasping spear in left hand and holding in right hand an elephant-goad over altar; sword at waist; inscription in modified Greek script and Old Persian language:—

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ (= *Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano*)².

Second Side

Four-armed Siva, standing, facing with head to left, holding in upper right hand thunder-bolt³, in lower right hand an elephant-goad⁴, in upper left hand trident and with lower left hand on hip; antelope⁵ on its hind-legs in right field; monogram to left; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΟΗΡΟ (= *Oesho*)⁶.

¹ From representation is Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XI, No. 9.

² I. e., "Kanishka, the Kushāna, the king of kings." On some copper coins we have the Greek legend:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ (= *Basileus Basileōn Kaneshkou*, "[the coin] of Kanishka, the king of kings"). *Shaonano Shao* is the same as Old Persian *Khshāyathiyānām Khshāyathiya*, Modern Persian *Shāhān Shāh*, Indian *बाहानुषाहि*

³ Cunningham suggested 'a small hand-drum.'

⁴ On some coins we have in the lower right hand of the god a water-vessel with mouth downwards.

⁵ Gardner suggested 'a goat.' Possibly it is the crude representation of a seated bull.

⁶ The word has been supposed to indicate Bhavaśa; but *O* seems to represent *H* or *V*. *Oesho* may possibly be taken as Sanskrit *इष* (cf. *इषाह*, etc.) which was perhaps considered as a name of Śiva. Cf. the *Pushkalāvati-devatā* coins with the figure of a bull standing for Śiva (with the legend TAVPOS and *ushabhe* = *Vṛishabhah*); also the same on Mibirakula's coins with the legend *jayatu vṛishah* (Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. 162, Plate XXIX, No. 15; Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 236, Plate XXV, No. 5). Śiva in his animal (i.e. bull) form was known to the Greeks as the god of Gandhāra. Hesychius says *Gandaros*, ο *Taurokrates par Indois*. See J. N. Banerjia, *Dev. Hind. Icon.*, p. 142. On the reverse of Kanishka's coins, we have representations of the fire-god ΑΘΡΟ (= *Athsho*, modern

No. 47—Kurram Copper Casket Inscription —[Śaka] Year 21 (= A.D. 99)

KURRAM, near Peshāwar, N. W. F. P.

V. Natesa Aiyar and F. W. Thomas, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 15ff.;
STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 (A) [सं २० (+*)] मस]स^२ अवदुनकस^३ दि २० इ[शे] क्षुनंमि (B) इवेइवर्म^४
यश-पुल तनु[व]कंमि रंजंमि (C) [नव-विह*]रंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परि- (D)
[ग्रहं]मि धुवंमि भग्नवतस शक्यमुनिस
- 2 (A) शरिर प्रदिठवेदि (1*) यथ^५ वुत भग्नवद (B) अविज-प्रचग्र संकरं संकर-प्रचग्र
विजन (C) [वि]जन-प्रचग्र नम-रुव नमरुव-प्रचग्र पड[य]- (D) [दन] पडयदन-प्रचग्र
कप पप-प्रचग्र
- 3 (A) वेदन वेदन-प्रचग्र तण्ण^६ तण्ण-प्रचग्र उवदन (B) उवदन-प्रचग्र भव भव-प्रचग्र
जदि जदि-प्रच[ग्र] (C) जर-मर[न]-शोग्र'-परिदेव-दुख-दोर्मनस्त-उपग्रस^७ (1*)
(D) [एवं] [अस] केवलस दुख-कंधस संमुदण भवदि (1*)

Persian Atash), the moon-god MAO (= Mao), the sun-god MIPO (Miuro), MIYPO (Miuro) [or MIPO (Mithro)] or MIOPO (Mioro), i. e. Neo-Sans. Mihira, the mother-goddess NANA (Nana), NANAIA (Nanaia) or NANAPAO (Nanashao), the war-god OPAATNO (= Orlagno, i. e. Bahram), the fire-god *APPO (Pharro, Persian Farr); the sun-god HAIOX (Elios); the wind-god OAOO (Oado, i. e. Vado, Sanskrit वात); CAKAYMO BODDO (= Śakyamuni Buddha); MOZDO OANO (= Ahura Mazda); the Greek fire-god H*AICTOC (ephaistos), CAAHNH (Salene), MANAOBARO (Manaoabago), etc. Some scholars identify Nana with Anaitis, the tutelary goddess of Balkh, or Nana adored by the Khaldeans. Cf. Bibi Nānī worshipped in Baluchistan and Nainā Devī of the lower Himalayas (*Census of India*, 1931, I, i, p. 455). For many of these deities. see Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" in *Ind. And.* XVII, 1888, pp. 89 ff., and comments on Stein's views in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, II, 1888, pp. 237-44.

¹ From the Facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² Originally सं २० मसस was engraved.

³ Makedonian Audunsios roughly corresponds to the Indian Pausa-Māgha.

⁴ Thomas: व्युचवर्मयपुवस नवकंमिचस संघ

⁵ Thomas: यठ उत्तं

⁶ Cf. पाप in No. 33, line 4.

⁷ Thomas: शोय

⁸ Thomas: दोमनवि(वि) उवेग संभवति

- 4 (D) सर्व-सत्त्वन पुयण् अय च प्रतिच-संमुपते (I*) (A) लिखिद् महिफतिण् सर्वसत्त्वन पुयण् (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकविंशे] २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (= अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ; Audunaio*) दि[वसे विंशे] २०—अस्मिन् क्षणे इवैतवर्मा यशः-पुत्रः तनुवके (= स्वकीये) रम्ये नव-विहारे आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (- ०ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति । यथा उक्तं भगवता—“अविद्या-प्रत्ययात् (- ०कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कार-प्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञान-प्रत्ययात् नाम-रूपे, नाम-रूप-प्रत्ययात् षडायतनानि, षडायतन-प्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्श-प्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदना-प्रत्ययात् तृष्णा (- तर्पः), तृष्णा-प्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादान-प्रत्ययात् भवः, भव-प्रत्ययात् जातिः, जाति-प्रत्ययात् जरा-मरण-शोक-परिदेव-दुःख-दौर्मनस्योपायासाः ।” एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (- समग्रस्य) दुःख-स्कन्धस्य (= दुःख-समूहस्य) समुदयः (- उत्पत्तिः) भवति ।” सर्व-सत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्य-समुत्पादः [इवैतवर्मणा लेखितः] । लिखितः [च] महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ॥

No. 47A—Isapur Yupa Inscription of the time of Vasishka—[Śaka] Year 24 (= A.D. 102)

ISĀPUR, near Mathurā, U. P.

J. Ph. VOGEL, A.S.I., A.R., 1910-11, pp. 40 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

1 सिद्धम् (II*) महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपु-

¹ The quotation, said to be a saying of the Buddha, is the well-known *Pratityasamutpāda* formula possibly belonging to some canonical text. Konow translates: “in interconnection with delusion the *saṃskāras*: with the *saṃskāras* consciousness; with consciousness name and form; with name and form the six organs; with the six organs touch; with touch sensation; with sensation thirst; with thirst grasping; with grasping life; with life birth; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair.” Cf. *Milindapañho*, B.S.P., p. 102. Pāli अविज्जा, etc. Here य stands for य; cf. उपायासः (= उपायः); see अप्रमेयो = अप्रमेयो, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 111; also पयाय = पयायो, परियायो (Ratnachandra, *Jainasiddhāntakaumudī*, p. 27).

² From the facsimile published in A.S.I., A.R.

- 2 सस्य पाहेर्वासिष्कस्य राज्य-संवत्सरे च-
- 3 तुर्विंशे २० (+*)४ गृष्मा(ग्रोष्म) -मासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे
- 4 विंशे ३० अस्यां पूर्व्यायां रुद्रिल-पुत्रेण द्रोण-
- 5 लेन ब्राह्मणेन भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण मा-
- 6 ण-च्छन्दोगेन इष्टा सत्वे(त्वे)ण द्वादशरात्रेण
- 7 यूपः प्रतिष्ठापितः (I*) प्रियन्तामग्नयः (II*)

No. 48—Sāñchi Buddhist Image Inscription of
Vasishka—[Śaka] Year 28 (= A.D. 106)

SĀNCHĪ, Raisen Dist., Madhya Pradesh

BOHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 369-70; LÜDERS, *ibid.*, IX, p. 244; *List*, No. 161; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 326ff.; 1910, p. 1913; N. G. MAJUMDAR in *The Monuments of Sāñchi* by Marshall and Foucher, Vol. I, p. 386.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [महाराज*]स्य र[1]जा[१]तराजस्य [देव*]पुत्रस्य पा[१]ह-वा[१]सिष्कस्य^२
सं २०^३ (+*) ८ हे १ [दि ५] [ए*]तस्या[१] पुर्वा[यां*] भगव-

¹ The date corresponds to Āshāḍha-sudi 15 (Pūrṇimā).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

³ Bühler: वामुष्क. He has been identified with Jushka of the *Rājatarāngiṇī* and Vajrabhaka of No. 51. The *Rājatar*, suggests that Huvishka (Huv'shka), Jushka and Kanishka (II) ruled contemporaneously. पाहि = Shāh = Kshāyatiya (p. 147, n. 2).

⁴ The figure was originally read by Bühler as 20; but later he consulted Cunningham and read it as 70 of the looped variety. There is however no resemblance between this figure and the looped sign for 70 in the Mathurā record No. 22 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 204) to which Bühler refers. The date is supposed by Smith and Lüders to be 69. This "४ without bar" type of 20 is found on the coins of the Western Satraps and in the Nānāghāt and Gadghā inscriptions. That Huvishka began to rule earlier than the date of this record is proved by *infra*, No. 49.

- 2 [तो*] स्य¹ जम्बुजाया-शैल[1]प्र[स्थ?]स्य² धर्मदेव-विहारे प्रति[ष्ठ]ापिता
खरस्य³ चितर मधुरिक*⁴
- 3 णं⁵ देयधर्म-परि[स्यागेन]....

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य पाहि-वासिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे अष्टाविंशे] २८ हे[मन्त-
मासे प्रथमे] १ (= पूर्णिमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे पञ्चमे ५-पृतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भगवतः
शाक्यमुनेः जम्बुजायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य (यद्वा -०शैल-गृहस्थ ; यद्वा -०शैलाग्रीयस्थ) धर्मदेव-विहारे
(= धर्मदेवस्य विहारे) प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहित्वा मधुरिकया [अने]न देयधर्म-परिस्यागेन..... ॥

No. 49—Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] year 28 (= A.D. 106)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā Dist., U.P.

K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVIII, pp. 4ff.; H. K. DEB, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, pp. 117ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 60f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

T.S.H.J. TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्ध [symbol]⁷ (॥*) संवत्सरे २० (+*) ८ गुर्णिये दिवसे १ अयं पुण्य-
2 शाळा प्राचिनोकन सरुक्मान-पुत्रेण खरासले-

¹ Bühler's suggested restoration is शाक्यमुनिस्व. A word like प्रतिमा is to be added.

² May be शैल-गृ[ह]स्थ.

³ Bühler suggests the alternative reading खर which is unlikely, as there is no trace of the serif of ख.

⁴ Bühler reads चितरे मधुरिका

⁵ The intended reading is अनेन.

⁶ From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, 1932. See *infra*, No. 56, for the date of this king.

⁷ See *infra*, No. 52, notes.

- 3 र-पतिन वकने-पतिना¹ अक्षय-नीवि दिना[1] (1*) तुतो² वृ[द्धि]-
- 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुर्दिशि पुण्य-शा[ला]-
- 5 यं ब्राह्मण-शतं परिविपितव्यं (1*) दिवसे दिव[से]
- 6 च पुण्य-शालाये द्वार-मुले धारिये साद्यं-सक्तना[³] आ-
- 7 डका ३ लवण-प्रस्थो⁴ १ शक्त-प्रस्थो⁵ १ हरित-कलापक-
- 8 घटक[1]⁶ ३ मल्लक[1] ५ (1*) एतं अनाध[1]नां कृतेन द[त्तव्य]
- 9 वभक्षितन पिवसितनं (1*) य चत्त पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य
- 10 वाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य (1*) येषां च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
- 11 भवतु (1*) सर्वायि⁷ च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु (1*) अक्षय-निवि दिना
- 12 [रोक-श्रेण[1] ये पुराण-शत ५०० (+*) ५० समितकर-श्रेणी-
- 13 [ये च*] पुराण-शत ५०० (+*) ५० (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे [अष्टाविंशे] २८ गुर्पिये (=यवनानां गुर्पियाख्ये मासि ; Gorpiaios)¹ दिवसे [प्रथमे] १—इयं [या] पुण्यशाला (=धर्मशाला), प्राचीनीकेन सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण (यद्वा—प्राचीना=पूर्वोद्दिग्वर्तिनी [यद्वा—पुरातनी]. कनसरुकमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा—प्राचीनीकनस्य रुकमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा—प्राचीनीकानां सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण) खरासलेर-पतिना वकन-पतिना² [तस्यै] अक्षयनिविः¹⁰ दत्ता । ततः वृद्धितः मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य (=शुद्ध-पक्षस्य)

¹ H. W. Bailey traces *Bakanapati* to Iranian origin and explains it as "an official in charge of temples (or, a temple)" (B.S.O.A.S, XIV, p. 421).

² Read ततो.

³ Read स्वाद्य (or सद्यः)-सक्तुनां. क looks like कृ of कृतेन

⁴ Possibly लवण was intended. Read लवण

⁵ Read शक्त. Others read शकु

⁶ Taken separately घटका may mean water-jars.

⁷ Read सर्वायि

⁸ Makedonian Gorpiaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Bhādra-Āvina. Note that this date is earlier than that of *supra*, No. 48.

⁹ Kharāsālera and Vakana are possibly place names. The latter may be Wakhan (37N, 74E) in Central Asia. Prāchinika came to Mathurā for some unknown mission.

¹⁰ The *Akshayanivi* or **nivi* was a permanent endowment which could not be withdrawn and whose interest alone could be enjoyed. The *Śrenis* were banking and trading corporations. *Purāṇa* is the ancient punch-marked coin of silver (32 Ratis=58.56 gr.), also called *Kārahāpana*. See *infra*, No. 58, p. 158, and notes.

चतुर्दश्यां पुण्यशालायां ब्राह्मण-शतं परिवेशयितव्यं (—भोजयितव्यं); दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्यं (—स्थापनीयं, स्वाद्य-सकूनाम् (यद्वा—सद्यः०) आढकाः^२ [त्रयः] ३; लवण-प्रस्थः [एकः] १, शुक्र-प्रस्थः (=अम्बरस०) [एकः] १, हारित-कलापक-घटकाः^३ [त्रयः] ३, मल्लकाः (—पान-पालाणि) [पञ्च] ५। एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन (—कृते) दातव्यं बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानाम् [अपि च] (यद्वा—एतत् अनाथानां कृते न दातव्यं, [परंतु] बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानां [च])। यत् च अत्र पुण्यं तत् देवपुत्रस्य पाहेः ह्रविष्कस्य। येषां च देवपुत्रः प्रियः तेषाम् अपि पुण्यं भवतु। सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुण्यं भवतु। अक्षयनीविः दत्ता..... श्रेण्यां पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५०; समिताकर-श्रेण्यां (—गोधूमचूर्णविक्रयि०) च पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५० ॥

No. 50—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 33 (= A.D. 111)

MATHURĀ, Muthurā Dist., U. P.

LÜDERS, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 39; Bloch, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁴

- 1 महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य ह्रविष्कस्य सं ३० (+*)३ गृ^११ दि ८ भिक्षु]स्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य अन्तेवासि[नी]ये भिक्षणीये ले[पिटका*]ये बुद्धमित्राये
- 2 भागिनेयीये भिक्षणीये धनवतीये बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिथा[वितो] [म]धुरवणके^६ सहा मातापिति[हि]....(॥*)

¹ Konow takes शुद्ध (cleared off) with उद्धित; and चतुर्दिशि (open) with पुण्यशाला

² *Ādhaka* is usually 256 handfuls (about 16 or 20 Bengal seers; 1 seer=80 *tolās*=a little above two pounds). *Prastha* is usually $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *Ādhaka*. But the designations indicated different measures in different areas.

³ Jars of a preparation of different green vegetables?

⁴ From the photograph and rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

⁵ Read यी.

⁶ The *akshara* म and the *u* sign of य are not clear. Bloch reads the first *akshara* as म. *Madhuravana* is the same as *Madhuvana* or *Madhurā* (modern Mathurā).

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] [व्यस्ति]शे ३३ ग्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १
 (-पूर्णिमान्त-चैत्रे) दि[वसे] ८ (-अष्टमे) भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः
 (-शिव्यायाः) भिक्षुव्याः (-स्यो-भिक्षोः) लैपिटक्याः बुद्धमितायाः भागिनेय्या भिक्षुव्या धन-
 वत्या बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्व-विग्रहः) प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके (=मथुरायां) सह माता-
 पितृभ्याम्... ॥

No. 51—Ārā Stone Inscription of Kanishka II

—[Saka] Year 41 (=A.D. 119)¹

ĀRĀ, near Attock, Punjab, West-Pakistan

R. D. BANERJĪ, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 58ff.; LÜDERS, *ibid.*, 1913, pp. 132 ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 143; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 165 (No. LXXXV).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT²

- 1 महारजस रजतिरजस देवपु[त्रस] [क]इ[स]रस
- 2 व[स्ति]ष्म-पुत्रस³ कनिष्कस संवत्सरण एकवप[रि]-
- 3 [शण] सं २०(+*)२०(+*)१ जेठस मसस दिव[से]१⁴ इ[शे] दिवस-क्षुणमि
 स[दे]

¹ Kanishka II is sometimes identified with Kanishka I. The absence of father's name in any of the latter's numerous records and that of any record of a year between 23 and 41 render the theory untenable. Kanishka II seems to be the Kanishka whom traditions place in the 2nd century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others. The exact reign period of Kanishka II and his relations with Huviṣka are not known.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

³ Banerji: वसिष्ठ^०; Lüders and Konow: वभेष्क. His probable identification with Vāsiṣka of No. 48 and Jushka of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* may suggest that ष्क was intended by व, the difference between the two forms being slight. See *supra*, Nos. 47A-48.

⁴ Konow: दि २०(+*)४(+*)१. There is a gap between व and से owing to some defect of the stone.

- 4 [कुपे] दपव्हरेन¹ पौषपुरिअ-पुल्लण मतर-पितरण पुय[ए]
 5 [हि]रंगस² सभर्य[स] [स]पुल्लस अनुग्रहर्थए सर्व[सप]ण
 6 जति[पु] छ³तए⁴ (10) इमो च लिखितो⁵ म[धु]....(110)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुल्लस्य 'कैसरस्य' (-कैसर इति रोमक-सम्राट्-विरुद्ध-भृतः ; Caesar, Kaiser) वासिष्क-पुल्लस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्यैष्ठ्य मासस्य दिवसे [प्रथमे] १ - अस्मिन् दिवस-क्षणे (= दिवस-पूर्वायां = दिवसस्य तिथौ ; यद्वा— दिवसस्य क्षणविशेषे) स्वातः कृपः दापपरेण पौषपुरिक-पुल्लणां (यद्वा— पौरुषपुरिक^० ; यद्वा— ०पुल्लेण)^५ मातापित्रोः पूजायै, हिरण्यस्य सभार्यस्य सपुल्लस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय (-०ग्रहलाभाय), सर्व-सत्त्वानां जातिषु (=जन्मनि जन्मनि) छदाय (-रक्षायै) । इदं च लिखितं मधु....(-तदाख्येन) ॥

No. 52—Mathura Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 44 (? = A.D. 122?)

KANKALĪ TĪLĀ, Mathurā, U. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 387, No. 9; *ibid.*, II, p. 212, n. 37;
 R. D. BANERJĪ, *ibid.*, X, p. 114, No. 7.

Language: - Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Sometimes read दपव्होनेन, दपमेरेन

² Konow : चत्वारिंश

³ Konow : छितए and मे धम...

⁴ Cf. the i-sign of लि in line A 4 of No. 47 and of पि in line 2 of No. 55.

⁵ *Putra* may have been used here in the sense of 'an original inhabitant'. Poshapura may be modern Peshāwar

TEXT¹

- 1 स्थ [symbol]² (॥*) नम [अ?]र[ह]तव³ (।*) महर्जस्य हुवचस्य संवसरे ४०*(+*)४ पन गृ[स्य]-मस ३ दिविस २ ए[त]-
- 2 य पूर्वय....गने अर्यचेटियिग-कुले हरितमाल-कडि[यक-शखय]⁵..... [वा*]-चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन.....तगसेण दन...⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हज्यः (यद्वा—अर्हत्तमाय) ॥ महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [चतु-
श्रत्वारिंशे] ४४ पुनः (—विशेषेण) ग्रीष्ममासे [तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमान्त-ज्यैष्ठ्ये) दिवसे [द्वितीये]
२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तृतीयां]....वारणगणे ?) आर्यचेटीयक-कुले हरितमालगढीयक-शाखायां
वाचकस्य भगनन्दिनः शिव्यकेण तकाशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

No. 53—Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 48 (= A.D. 126)

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 412 ; No. 5

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X.

² For another contraction of सिद्ध', see *infra*, No. 57. This seems to be the way in which the variants of the anaspicious symbol at the beginning of later records developed. The following symbol, found in several Kuehāṇa records, resembles an Aśoka टा with the opening to left. It is supposed to be a full-stop or म् (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212, n.; XXI, p. 56). It may be connected with the सिद्धम् symbol.

³ The last *akshara* may be intended for नं or म. Bühler and Banerji: शरसतम (= शरसतम).

⁴ Banerji read चटपन (i. e., 58) in place of Bühler's ४०(+*)४ दन. The first symbol has also been supposed to be ३०. The second may be a variant of ८

⁵ Bühler: अचेटिये कुले and कटियगख ; Banerji: कटियातो शा...

⁶ Bühler: हगिनंदिय शिसग...नागसेणस्य नि... ; Banerji: हगिनादिस्य शिसगन... नगसेनो दनं

TEXT¹

- 1 मह[१]राजस्य हु[वि]त्तस्य^२ सवचर ४० (+*)८ व २ दि १० (+*) ७ एतस्य पुवार्य [कोट्टीये गणे] [वम][दा*]-
- 2 [सि]ये [कु]ले पचनगरिय-शाकाय [ध]जवलस्य^३ शिशि[निये] धज[शि]रिये निवतन
- 3 [व]धुकस्य वधुये शवत्तात-पो[लिये] यशा[ये] दान स[*]भवस्य प्रोदिम प्र-
- 4 त[स्थ]पित^४ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [अष्टचत्वारिंशे] ४८ व [र्षा-मासे द्वितीये] २ (- पूर्णिमान्त-भाद्रपदे) दि[वसे सप्तदशे] १७-एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] कोट्टीये गणे ब्रह्मदासीये कुले पचनगरीय-शाखायां धान्यपालस्य शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निवर्तनात् (= अनुरोधान्) बन्धुकस्य वध्वाः शवत्तात-पौत्र्याः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य^५ प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

No. 54—Mathura Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (= A.D. 129)

Jamalpur mounds, MATHURĀ, U.P.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 113; No. 6

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁶

- 1 महारजस्य दवपुत्रस्य हुवष्कस्य सवत्सरे ५० (+*)^१ हेमन्त-मास १ दव... [एतस्यां] पु[र्वी]यां [भिक्षुणा] [बु]द्धवर्म[णा]^२ [भग*]वतः श[क्य][मुनेः*]

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The find-spot of the record was possibly Mathurā.

² द is evidently a mistake for ष (cf. *supra*, No. 52).

³ Banerji read धुभवल, धुभशिर, दधुक and शवतन

⁴ These *aksharas* stand below the middle of the previous line.

⁵ Sambhavanātha is the third Jain *tirthaṅkara* whose *lāṅchhana* is the horse. His image is usually connected with the Yaksha Trimukha, the Yakshinī Śāsacanevī or Duritārīdevī, the Kevāla tree Śāla and the chowrie-bearer Satyavīrya.

⁶ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X.

⁷ Banerji : भिक्षुनी बुद्धवर्मणः शक्य

- 2 प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थ[म्] (1*) अ[नेन] [दे]यधर्म-परित्यागेन उपाध्यायस्य सघदासस्य [निवनावा]स्ये(5*)स्तु मा[तापितो च] (1*) [बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं ?]
- 3 बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्व-[हु]खोपशम[1]य सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थ['] [म]हाराज-दे[वपुत्र-वि]हरे (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ हेमन्त-मासे [प्रथमे] १ (- पूर्णिमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे... एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्म-परित्यागेन [जातं पुण्यं] उपाध्यायस्य सघदासस्य निर्वाणावास्ये अस्तु, मातापितोः च । बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वहुखोप-शमाय सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थं महाराज-देवपुत्रविहारे (- मथुरायां हुविष्क-प्रतिष्ठापित-विहारे) ॥

No. 55—Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (= A.D. 129)

Ruined Stūpas, Kḥawāt (Wardak)¹, Afghanistan

J. Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 231-68; F. E. PARGITER, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 210 f.; Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 170 (No. LXXXVI).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Kharoṣṭhī

TEXT²

1 सं २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) १ म(स*)स्य अर्थ(?)मिसिय^३ सस्तेहि
१० (+*) ४ (+*) १ इमेण गडिग्रेण कमगुल्य-पुल वप्प-मरेप्प^४ स इय खवदस्मि कदलयिप्प
वयमरिय-विहरस्मि थुस्तिन्नि^५ भग्गवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति (1*)

¹ The place is about 30 miles to the west of Kābul. Khawat is the same as Khavada of the record.

² From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For other references, see *ibid.*, p. 166.

³ Konow reads मस्ये चर्थमिसिय सस्तेहि. He takes the last word to be identical with Khotani Śaka *sasta*, the Past Participle of the base *sad*, 'to shine', 'to appear', which is used about the sun. सस्तेहि १५ = when 15 had appeared. Senart proposes संस्था = चङ्कीराव. This word is used in the sense of day in several Kharoṣṭhī records. Makedonian Artemisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Vaiśākha-Jyāishṭha.

⁴ Some read वयमरियस्य वप्प. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sounds of the consonants.

⁵ Read चर्थमि which is Konow's reading.

- 2 इमेग कुशल-मुलेग महरज-रजतिरज-होवेष्कस्य अग्र-भग्न भवतु (1*) मद-
पिदर मे पुयण भवतु (1*) अदर मे हृथुणः-मरेग्रस्य पुयण भवतु (1*) यो ग्र मे
भुय गतिग्र-मित्र-संभतिग्रग पुयण भवतु (1*) महिय ग्र वग्र-मरेग्रस्य अग्र-भग्न-
पडियंश[ए]
- 3 भवतु (1*) सर्व-सत्त्वग अरोग-दक्षिण भवतु (1*) अविग्र नरग्र-पर्यंत यव भवग्र यो
अल अंरं अंजो जलयुग शप(फ)तिग अरुप्यत सर्विण पुयण भवतु (1*) महिय
ग्र रोहण सद सधिण अवपडिण सपरिवर ग्र अग्र-भग्न-पडियंश[ए] भवतु
मिध्यगस्य ग्र अग्र-भग्न भवतु (11*)
- 4 एप विहरं अचं चर्यण महसंविगण परिग्रह (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[घत्सरे एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ मासस्य अर्थमिस्याः (— अर्थमिस्याख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ;
Artemisios) सस्तेहि १५ (— दिवसे पञ्चदशे)—अनेन घटिकेन (— अस्यां घटिकायां)
कमगूल्य-पुल्लः वग्र-मरेगः—सः इह खवदे (— खवदाल्ये प्रदेशे) कृतालयकः (— कृतावासः)—
वग्र-मरेग-विहारे स्तुपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (— देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति । अनेन कुशल-
मूलेन (= इदं पुण्यस्य मूलं) महाराज-राजातिराज-हुविष्कस्य अग्र-भागाय भवतु ; मातापितोः मे
पूजायै भवतु ; भ्रातुः मे हृथुणः-मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु ; एतत् च मे भूयः शक्तिक-मित्र-संभ्रातृ-
काणां (= ० बान्धवानां) पूजायै भवतु । मम च वग्र-मरेगस्य अग्रभाग-प्रत्यंशाय (— मुख्यभागरूपां-
शाय) भवतु । सर्व-सत्त्वानाम् आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (= ० दानप्राप्तये) भवतु । अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात्
(— अधस्तनलोकानां शेषसोमातः समारभ्य) यावद् भवाग्र (— स्वर्गलोकं)—यः अल अन्तरे
अण्डजः, जारायुकः (— जरायुजः, शष्पादिकं) (= उद्भिजः), अरुप्यात्मा (— स्वेदजः)—सर्वेषां
पूजायै भवतु । मम च रोहणां (— वंशधराणां) सदा सर्वेषाम् अपापण्डिकानां (— धार्मिकानां)
परिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु, मिथ्यागस्य (— वितथधर्म-सेविनां) च अग्रभागः भवतु ।
एपः विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाहिकानां परिग्रहः ॥

1 See Khar. Ins., III, Plate XIV, Nos. 81, 93.

2 Pargiter suggests the correction चरिय.

3 Konow : मिथ्यगस्य.

4 Some read शोच.

5 Konow : टैतिग.

6 Cf. पशवश्च मगारैव व्यालाद्योभयतोदतः । रक्षांसि च पिशाचाश्च मनुष्याश्च जरायुजाः ॥ अण्डजाः
पक्षिणः सर्पा नृक्षा मत्स्याश्च कच्छपाः । यानि चैतन्पुकाराणि स्थलजान्योदकानि च ॥ स्वेदजं दंशमशकं
यूक्ता मलिकमत्कुणम् । उष्णवशीपजायन्ते यच्चान्तं किञ्चिदौदयम् ॥ उद्भिजाः स्थावराः सर्वे वीजकाण्ड-
प्ररोहिणः । श्लेषश्च कलपाकान्ता बहुपुष्पफलोपगाः ॥ (मनुसंहिता १२४३-४६). अण्डपम् = अल्पदपम् =
चूडाकारः ; अण्डपी + आत्मा (देहः) [मस्य] Buddhist works refer to (1) aṇḍaja, (2) jalābuja,
(3) saṁśedaja or sedaja and (4) opapātika (Sanskrit aupapātika, 'born of accident', i. e.
without the agency of parents).

No. 56—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 76

*First Side*²

Half-length figure³ of king, rising from clouds, richly dressed, with round jewelled helmet or cap, to left; with ends of the diadem hanging down behind; club and sceptre in hands; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ (= *Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano*)⁴

Second Side

War-god (Mahāsena), standing, facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird⁵ and with left hand resting on sword at his side; monogram to left; inscription to right in Greek characters:—

ΜΑΑΧΝΟ (= *Maaseno* = Sanskrit *Mahāsena* = Kārttikeya)⁶

¹ Huvishka's inscriptional dates range between the years 28 and 60.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 8.

³ On some gold coins we have a very large head (or bust) of the king, covered with round jewelled helmet with spreading crest and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind; a large ornamental ear-ring in the ear, and flames springing from shoulders. On some specimens we get half-length figure of the king to left, rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand and club in right hand before face. Sometimes we have *añkuṣa* for sceptre, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider as seen on his copper coins.

⁴ I.e., 'Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of the kings'.

⁵ This is the *Sikhi-dhvaja* of Kārttikeya. The bird is evidently a peacock. On some specimens, we have *Skando-Komaro* (Skando-Kumāra), *Maaseno* (Mahāsena), and *Bizago* (Viśākha), conceived as three different deities whose figures appear on the coins. See below.

⁶ On the reverse of Huvishka's coins, we have representations of the god ΑΘΡΟ (= *Athsho*) with hammer in the right and tongs in the left hand (cf. Greek Hephaistos and Indian Viśvakarman); the goddess of abundance ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ (*Ardekhsho*), the moon-god ΜΑΝΑΟ-ΒΑΡΟ (*Manao-bago*) or ΜΑΟ (*Mao*), the sun-god ΑΝΙΟ (*Anio*), ΜΙΙΡΟ (*Miuro*) or ΜΙΟΡΟ (*Mioro*), the goddess ΝΑΝΑΡΑΟ (*Nanashao*), the goddess ΟΑΝΑΟ (*Oanao*) or ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ (*Oaninda*), the god ΟΗΡΑ (*Oesha*, i.e. Śiva), the war-god ΠΑΟΡΡΟΡΟ (*Shaorero*; Persian *Shāhrevar*; cf. Greek Ares), ΗΡΑΚΑΕΣ (*Herakles*), the fire-god ΦΑΡΡΟ (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*) and the four-armed god ΟΟΡΝΑ (*Ooshna*, possibly Vishnu, not Śiva as generally suggested).

No. 56A—Mathura Buddha Image Inscription of
the time of Vasudeva—[Śaka] Year 64 or 67
(= 142 or 145 A.D.)¹

PALIKHRA, Mathura, U.P.

M. M. NAGAR, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 163-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 181 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 सस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ६०(+*) [४ or ७] वर्षा-मासे द्वितीये*) २ दिवसि(से)
- 2 नं सर्वष यत्नोपनान पूजार्थ [']*
- 3 न परिग्रहा(य*) अचरियन महासधिका[नं*]
- 4 [नि]स्य प्रतिमा सगिहा मातापित्रेण अभसितनं
- 5 कुटुम्बिकानं [गुह]सेने[न]...³

On a few specimens we have on the reverse the word मद्देश in Brāhmī characters; but the god represented is an archer, standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. The inscription and representation seem to refer to Śiva. Of course it may be pointed out that sometimes on Huvishka's coins we have the representation of Mao with the legend *Ardeksho* and that of *Ardeksho* with the legend *Mao*. But the elephant-headed Ganeśa is known to be a post-epic god. For Śiva Tripurāntaka with two hands carrying bow and arrow, see Gopinatharao, *El.H Icon.*, pp. 168, 171, Plate 38. Śiva is the 'lord of the *Gaṇas*' in early literature. Of other Indian gods and goddesses represented on Huvishka's coins, we may mention OMMO (*Ommo*, i. e. the Mother-goddess *Umā* = Dravidian *Amma*, 'mother', sometimes identified with *Nana*; cf. J. N. Banerjēa, *Dec. Hind. Icon.*, pp. 139-40). A group of two gods, viz. SKANDO KOMARO (*Skanda-Kumāra*) and BIZATO (*Viśākha*), is represented on some coins while others have the group of three, viz., *Skanda-Kumāra*, *Viśākha* and *MAACHNO* (*Mahāsena*). These were originally different divinities later identified with *Kārttikeya*. A *Kushāṇa* seal-matrix, attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka, represents a four-armed figure of Vishnu with the king standing reverentially looking up at the god with his hands in the *añjali* pose. See Banerjēa, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹ His reign period is circa 152-76, A.D., as his inscriptional dates range between the years 74 and 98. After him, the *Kushāṇas* appear to have gradually lost much of the Punjab and U.P. to local dynasties like that of the *Nāgas*. The *Nāgas*, especially of Mathurā, became a notable power in the 3rd century A.D.

² See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

³ Apparently the word पतिडापिता is lost here.

...[देव]पुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे [चतुःषष्टितमे यद्वा सप्तषष्टितमे] ६४ (यद्वा—६७) वर्षमासे द्वितीये (=पूर्णिमान्तभाद्रपदे) २ दिवसे...[सत्त्वानां सर्वेषां यत्रोत्पन्नानां] पूजार्थं.... [सर्व-बुद्धा]नां परिग्रहाय आचार्याणां माहासंघिकानां [शाक्यमु]नेः प्रतिमा स-गृहा मातृपितृभ्यां [सह] अभासितानां...कुटुम्बकानां गुहसेनेन [प्रतिष्ठापिता] ॥

No. 57—Mathura Image Inscription of
Vasudeva—[Śaka] Year 80 (= A D. 158)

Kaṅkālī Tīlā, MATHURĀ, U.P.

BOHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 392, No. 24; LODERS, *List*, No. 66;
R. D. BANERJĪ, X, p. 116, No. 10.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 स्थि² (॥*) महाराजस्य व[र]सुदेवस्य स['] ८० हसव³ १ दि १० (+*)२ एतस
पुव[र]यां सनक[दासस?]
- 2 धि[स] संघतिधिस वधुये बलस्य.....(॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं[वत्सरे अशीतितमे] ८० हेमन्त-[मासे प्रथमे] १
दि[वसे द्वादशे] १२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां सनकदासस्य दुहिता सङ्घातिथेः वध्वा बलस्य [माता]... ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X. Line 2 begins from below the middle of line 1.

² See *supra*, p. 156, n. 2.

³ Bühler : हसव. Read हसंत.

No. 57A—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadramagha—[Śaka] Year 86 (= A.D. 164)¹

Hasanābād, near Kosam, Allahābād District, U.P.

D. R. Sabni, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class of c. 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 [स्वस्ति]³ महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रम[वस्य*]⁴
- 2 [संवत्सरे*] ८० (+*) ६⁵ वर्षा-पक्ष ३ दिवस ५
- 3 * * * कस्य⁶ शम(प?)रस्य पुत्र-हेमाङ्गन⁷
- 4 * * * * [दत्ता]⁸ अयाया⁹ देवदार¹⁰ ।

¹ Sabni reads 88, refers the year to the Gupta era and assigns the record to 407 A.D. Palaeographically however the record seems to be earlier. At that date, moreover, no महाराज of Kosam could have failed to mention the name of the Gupta महाराजाधिराज. Jayaswal refers it to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*Hist. Ind.*, pp. 230-31), while A. Ghosh prefers a local era connected with the dynasty (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715). The inscriptions of the Maghas and others like that of Bhīmavarman dated in the year 139 (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 267), if referred to the Gupta era, would suggest a less developed state of the Brāhmī script in the Kosam region than in other parts of North India. Jayaswal's theory however cannot be accepted until the use of the Kalachuri era in the above region is proved satisfactorily. Ghosh's suggestion is better than that of Jayaswal. As indicated above, p. 136, n. 2, the foundation of an era was possible with any independent ruling dynasty. As these kings ruled apparently before the Gupta emperors, the era may have started about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. But since almost the whole of U.P. formed part of Kaniṣka's empire, I prefer the Kaniṣka or Śaka era to an otherwise unknown local era. Numismatic evidence suggests that Kushāna influence spread over large parts of Bengal and Orissa. We have now an inscription dated in the year 108 (A.D. 186) of the Kaniṣka era in Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 229ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

³ The indistinct *aksharas* may also be सिद्धम्.

⁴ Generally corrected to *मेघ. Sometimes reads *माघ.

⁵ Sabni reads ८. Read वर्षापक्षे and दिवसे.

⁶ Are we to restore कौशाम्बिकस्य ?

⁷ Read हेमाङ्गेन, or better पुत्रेण हेमाङ्गेन.

⁸ Possibly दत्त is intended.

⁹ Possibly आयाया: is intended.

¹⁰ Possibly देवदार (= दिव्य-तोरण) is intended. Sabni suggests आया यादवदारा.

(iii) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀKAS
OF WESTERN INDIA

(a) KSHAHARĀTA FAMILY (HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA)

No. 58—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of
Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

—[Śaka] Years 41, 42, 45 (= A.D. 119, 120, 123)¹

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Immediately below the inscription of Dakshamitrā (*infra*, No. 60) in Cave No. 10.

Bhagawanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 102f.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 82ff., No. 12.²

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 सिधं [॥*] वसे ४०(+*)२ वेसाख-मासे राजो क्षहारातस क्षसपस नहपानस
जामातरा दीनीक-पुहेन उषवदातेन रुंधस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं (१*) दत्त
चानेन अक्षय निवि काहापण-सहस्रा-

¹ Some scholars think that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Vikrama era and that therefore he ruled much earlier, because the palaeography of these records is earlier than that of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with those of the Andhau records and the palaeography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi. Inscriptions and coins prove the contemporaneity of Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna and Ushavadāta, and Ptolemy's Geography suggests the author's (c. 140 A.D.) contemporaneity with Puṣumāvi and Chashtana, grandfather of Rudradāman. The earlier members of the houses of Nahapāna and Chashtana were probably feudatories of the Kushānas (cf. *supra*, No. 48); but the later members retained their feudatory title even after they had assumed independence (cf. the titles *rājan*, *svāmin* and *kshatrapa* used together). It may be that Rudradāman I was the first independent or semi-independent ruler among the Western Satraps. The Kushānas were possibly losing their hold on Western India by this time.

² For other references, see Lüders, *List*, No. 1133; also *infra*, No. 59.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record appears to have been engraved on the cave-wall from a grant inscribed on plates of copper or on cloth. That some royal charters were written not on *tāmsa-paṭṭa* but on the easily perishable *kārpāsika-paṭṭa* (cf. notes on Bk. III, No. 49) is suggested by the paucity or absence of grants belonging to many kings, royal families or regions. Copper-plate

- 2 नि खीणि¹ ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इयस्मिं लेणे वसंतान[']² भविसंति³
चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च (१*) एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधन⁴ वाथवासु
श्रेणिसु (१*) कोलीक निकाये २००० वृधि पडिक-शत अपर-कोलीक निका-
- 3 ये १००० वधि पा[यू]न-[प]डिक शत (१*) एते च काहापणा [अ]पडिदातवा
वधि-भोजा (१*) एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि वे २००० ये पडिके सते (१*) एतो
मम लेणे वसवुथान भिखुनं वीस[१]य एकीकस चिवरिक वारसक⁵ (१*) य सहस्र
प्रयुतं पायुन पडिके शते अतो कुशन-
- 4 मूल (१*) कापूराहारे⁶ च गामे चिखलपट्टे दत्तानि नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्रानि⁷
अठ ८००० (१*) एत च सर्वं खावित [नि]गम-सभाय निवध च फलकवारे
चरित्रतो ति (१*) भूयोनेन दत्तं वसे ४० (+*)⁸ कातिक-गृधे⁹ पनरस
पुवाक वसे ४० (+*)⁹

charters of the Kashmir kings have not been discovered, although their grants are referred to by Kalhana in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Private deeds were usually written on birch bark or palm leaves or on cloth and rarely on terracotta plaques.

¹ Others read विनि.

² Read वसंतानं.

³ Others read भविसति.

⁴ Others do not notice the *anuvāra*.

⁵ The rate of monthly interest being 1 per cent., the sum of 2000 *Kārshāpanas* would bring 20 K. per month and 240 K. per year. Each monk getting 12 K. for cloth money, 20 of them would get 240 K. The rate of interest was very high in ancient India. Monthly interest at the rate of 2% from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3% from a Kshatriya, 4% from a Vaiśya and 5% from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law-givers (*Manu*, VIII, 142; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 38; *Vishnu*, VI, 2). *Kārshāpana* was a coin (of copper, gold or silver) weighing 1 Karsha=80 Ratis=146.4 grains (Rati=1.83 grains). The gold *Suvarṇa*, the copper *Paṇa* and Kaṭṭīlya's silver *Dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was however usually of 32 Ratis=58.56 grains. But here the silver coins of Nahapāna (about 40 grains) are called *Kārshāpana*. Thirty-five of them made one *Suvarṇa*, probably the Kushāṇa gold coin of the 124 grains standard. The ratio between gold and silver thus appears to have been about 1 to 11. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, p. 189; Bhandarkar, *Anc. Ind. Num.*, p. 192.

⁶ Fleet identified the headquarters of Kāpūrāhāra with Kapura in the old Baroda State and Chikhalaradra with Chikhalā 2½ miles east-north-east of Kapura (*Ind. Ant.* 1910, p. 98). Kāpura is mentioned in the Pardi inscription of Traikūṭaka Dahrasena (Bapsob, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lxiii).

⁷ Senart : नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्रानि.

⁸ Others read गृधे.

⁹ Some words of the original appear to have been left out in lines 5-6. The difference of donees suggests that lines 5-6 belong to a different charter. The *aksharas* are big in lines 1-2 and 6, but smaller in lines 3-5. The smallest letters begin from भूयोनेन in line 4.

- 5 'पनरस नियुतं भगवता['] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्पापण-सहस्रानि सतरि ७०००
प[']चत्रि[']शक सुवण कृता दिन सुवर्ण-सहस्रगं मूल्य['] (॥*)
- 6 'फलकवारे चरित्तो ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे [द्विचत्वारिंशे] ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य
(= नखवतः ?) जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन (यद्वा—वृषभदत्तेन) सहाय चातुर्दिशाय
(= सर्वदेशीयाय) इदं लयनं (= गुहावासः) निर्यातितं (= दत्तम्) । दत्ता च अनेन अक्षयनीविः
(= न्यासः) कार्पापण-सहस्राणि त्रीणि ३००० सहाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन्
लयने वसतां [भिक्षूणां] भविष्यति चैवरिकं (= चीवरमूल्यं) कृशाक्ष-मूल्यम्
(= अमुल्याहार^१)^२ । एतानि च कार्पापणानि प्रयुक्तानि (= न्यासीकृतानि) गोवर्द्धने
(= नासिके) वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु - कौलिक-निकाये [कार्पापणानां] द्वे सहस्रे २०००, [येषां]
वृद्धिः प्रतिक-शतं^३ (= कार्पापणानां शतं प्रति कार्पापणम् एकं यथा स्यात् तथा) ; अपरकौलिक-
निकाये यत् [कार्पापणानां] सहस्रं १०००, [तेषां] वृद्धिः पादोन-प्रतिक-शतं (= कार्पापणानां
शतं प्रति पादोनम् एकं कार्पापणम्) । एतानि च कार्पापणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, [परं तु]
वृद्धि-भोज्यानि । एतयोः (= न्यासयोः) चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे २००० [कार्पापणानां], ये प्रतिक-शतं
(= ये शतं प्रति एकं कार्पापणं वृद्धिं यच्छेताम्) । अतो (= अमुष्मात्) लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां
विंशतये एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकं [कार्पापणानाम्] । यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोन-प्रतिक-
शतम्, अतः कृशाक्ष-मूल्यम् । कप्राहारे च ग्रामे चित्खलपत्रे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां

¹ This line begins from below स्त्रा of the word स्त्रावितं in line 4.

² These letters are inscribed at the beginning of line 5, i.e. below the beginning of line 4.

³ कृशाक्ष-मूल्य is 'expenses of outside life' according to some. कृशाक्ष=minor food (अमुल्याहार) probably including minor necessities. Cf. the reference to mukhy-āhāra in No. 59, line 5. Bhandarkar thinks that Kusāpa, a coin-designation named after the Kushāpas, indicates the silver coins of Nabapāna. According to him Kusāpa-mūla = 'value of the Kusāpas'; 90 Kārshāpāpas, the annual interest of 1000 K., were equal to 80 Kusāpas, each of the 20 monks requiring 4 Kusāpas for the 4 months of the rainy season (Carm. Lect., 1921, pp. 193-200). The interpretation is untenable.

⁴ प्रतिक means कार्पापणिक. The passage प्रतिकं शतं means 'one Kārshāpāpa per cent.' Akshaya-nisi is a 'permanent endowment'; shreṇi is a 'guild'; and nikāya is a 'corporation.' The 'weavers' guild and the 'western weavers' guild were apparently like modern banking and trading corporations.

मूलसहस्राणि (— शिशुनारिकेलतरुणां मूल-भूयिष्ठानां स^० ; यद्वा—मूल्यं [कार्पाणानां] स०) अष्ट ८००० । एतत् च सर्वं श्रावितं निगम-सभायां (— पौरसभायां), निबद्धं च फलकवारे (= लिखितं ताम्रपट्टसमूहे ; यद्वा—कार्पाणिकपट्ट^१ ; यद्वा—राजकीये फलकानां रक्षागृहे एतस्य प्रतिलिपिः रक्षिता) चरित्तः (= यथाचारम्) इति । भूयः अनेन दत्तं वर्षे [एकचत्वारिंशे] ४१ कार्तिक-शुद्धे (= शुद्धपक्षे) पञ्चदशे [दिवसे] पौर्वकं (— पूर्वदत्तं) वर्षे [पञ्चचत्वारिंशे] ४५... पञ्चदशे (— कस्यचिन्मासस्य पञ्चदशदिवसे)...नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यः देवेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च कार्पाण-सहस्राणि सप्तति ७००००, [कार्पाणानां] पञ्चविंशत्कं सुवर्णम्^२ [एकं] कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्णसहस्रयोः मूल्यं (— मूलधनम्) । [निबद्धं च एतत्] फलकवारे चरित्तः इति ॥

No. 59—Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay State. On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10 under the ceiling.

R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Transactions of the 2nd (London) Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, pp. 326ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 139 ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 99f.; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 569 ff.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 27 ff.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 78 ff., No. 10.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 सीद्धम्^३ [*svastika*] (॥*) राज्ञः चडरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दोनीक-पुत्रेण उववदातेन लि गोशत-सहस्रदेन नया वार्णासायां सुवर्णदान-तीर्थ-करेण देवत[१]भ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजापयित्रा

¹ The *surarna* is here supposed to be the gold coins of the Kushāṇas (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxxxv).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1131. The record which seems originally to have been a copper-plate (or cloth-plate) grant and was later engraved on the cave-wall has evidently reached us in a distorted form. The latter part of the grant appears to have been condensed. The absence of date, the reference to the donor in both the first and third persons and the palaeography are to be noted. The language of the concluding part is different from that of the rest of the record. Like *supra*, No. 58, this record seems also to be made out of more than one original charter.

³ Others read सिद्धं.

- 2 प्रभासे¹ पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन² भरुकके दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रव-प्रदेन आराम तडाग-उदयान-करेण इवा-पारादा-दमण-तापो-करवेणा-दाहनुका नावा पुण्य-तर-करेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतो तीरं सभा-
- 3 प्रपा-करेण पींडोतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे³ चरक-पर्वभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वालीशत नाळीगेर-मूल सहस्र-प्रदेन गोवर्धने त्वोरश्मिषु⁴

¹ Cf. ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम्, etc. in *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20ff., 58ff. These *tirthas* were all in Western India probably within the dominions of Śaka Nabapāna, father-in-law of the Hinduised Śaka prince Ushavātāta Govardhana is near mod. Nāsik. Prabhāsa is in Kāthiāwār. Bbrigukachchha is mod. Broach and Śūrpāraka mod. Sopara in the Thana Dist., Bombay State. Daśapura is mod. Man-Dasr in Western Mālwa (old Gwalior State). Of the rivers, Tāpī is the celebrated Tāptī. Damana may be the Damangāṅgā running by the Portuguese town of Damao and Dāhanukā may be connected with the Portuguese town of Dahanu. The Pārādā has been identified with the Par in the Surat District. Nānāṅgola is supposed to be Nārgol near Sanjan in the Thana Dist., Bombay. Bārṇāsā is possibly mod. Banas, a tributary of the Chambal. The names mentioned in the record appear to point to the wide extent of Nabapāna's kingdom. Nabapāna no doubt owed allegiance to the Kushāpa emperor.

² Many of the gifts referred to in lines 1-2 are highly recommended in the *Purāṇas*; cf., e.g., *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 24: चित्तिं सशब्दां यो दद्याद्वाङ्मनाय दिजोत्तम। विष्णुलोके सुखं भुङ्क्ते यावदिन्द्रायतुष्टं ॥२॥ सप्तदीपां सहो दत्त्वा यत्पुण्यं प्राप्यते दिज। तत्पुण्यं प्राप्नुयान्मर्त्यो धेनुं यच्छन् दिजातये ॥११॥ तिलप्रमाणं स्वर्णं यो दद्याद्वाङ्मनाय प्रयच्छति। हरेर्निकेतनं याति युक्तं कीटिकुलैरपि ॥१८॥ सालङ्कारां दिजयेष्ठ कन्यां यच्छति यो नरः। स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मसुदनं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥२२॥ अन्नं वारि दिजयेष्ठ येन दत्तं महीतले। तेन दत्तानि दानानि सर्वाणि च दिजयेष्ठ ॥४१॥ See also *ibid.*, Ch. 5. Cf. also *Vishṇusamhitā*, 19: अथ कृपकतुंस्तपस्ये पानीये दुष्कृतस्याहं विनश्यति।१। तडागकृत्रिण्यहो वारुणं लोकमनुते।२। जलशुद्धः सदा हतो भवति।३। etc. See also *Kūrma P.*, II, 39, v. 79: अनार्यं दुर्मते विप्रं नाद्यवन्तमद्यापि वा। उदाहयति यस्तीर्थं तस्य पुण्यफलं शृणु ॥ etc.

³ Cf. ततः शोर्पारकं गच्छेद्भ्रामदम्यनिषेवितम्।

रामतीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा विन्द्याद् बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥ *Mbh.*, III, 85, 42

For another Rāmātīrtha, associated with Jāmadagnya Parāśurāma and situated on the Mahendra, see *ibid.*, 85, 16-17. Rāmātīrtha on the Gomati (*ibid.*, 84, 73) was however associated with Dāśarathi Rāma.

⁴ Senart: चिरगिषु Trirāśmi was the name of the hills in which the caves are found, Govardhana was the name of both a city and the district round it.

पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पोडियो (॥*)¹ भटारका-अजातिया² च
गतोस्मिं वर्षा-रतुं मालये[हि]³ * * हि रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं (॥*)

- 4 ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव⁴ अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं⁵ च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा
कृता (॥*) ततोस्मिं गतो पोन्नरानि⁶ (॥*) तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो क्षीणि
च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च (॥*)⁷ दत्त च[1]नेन क्षेत्र['] ब्राह्मणस वाराहि-पुत्रस
अश्विभूतिस हथे कोणिता मुलेन काहापण-सहस्रे हि चतुहि ४००० यो⁸ स-पितु-सतक
नगरसीमायं उतरापरा[यं] दीसायं (॥*) एतो मम लेने वस-

- 5 *तानं चातुदीसस भिक्षु-सघस मुखाहारो भविसती¹⁰ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन,
सि-गो-शतसहस्रदेन, नद्यां पर्णाशयां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण (= सुवर्णदानस्य सोपानकरणस्य च
विधात्वा), देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडश-ग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं¹ ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्वा,
प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारके
च चतुःशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन (= तीर्थनिषेविणां कृते चतुःशालगृहाणां विश्रामागाराणां च
विधात्वा), आराम-तडागोदपान-करेण इवा-पारादा-दमन-तापी-करवेषवा-दाहनुकासु नावा

¹ The remaining letters of the line are about half the size of the letters of the record up to the word पोडियो.

² च was afterwards inserted. Senart चञा०.

³ Traces of a few letters are found between ये[हि] and हि. It is possible that they were purposely erased.

⁴ Cf. का कथा वाणसन्धाने व्याशब्दनेव दूरतः ।

हुडारेणैव धनुषः स हि विघ्नानपोहति ॥ *Sākuntala*, III, 1.

⁵ The plural number suggests that *Uttamabhadra* was the name of a tribe. The word cannot be translated 'of the soldiers of Uttamabhadra'. The identification of Uttamabhadra with Uttamadatta of the Mathurā coins (*J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 26-27) has little to support it.

⁶ Cf. पुष्करे खानमावतः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति । *विष्णुसंहिता* 15.1.१; see also *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20 ff.; 89, 16 ff. Coins of the Mālavas (originally living in the Jhang Dist., Punjab) prove that they settled in the eastern part of the old Jaipur State (Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 161 f.). Coins of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna discovered at Pushkar and Ajmer possibly prove Kshaharāta occupation of the Ajmer region. It is interesting to note that many coins of the Saka house of Chastana have also been discovered in the same region. See Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 64, 67, 77, 85, 93, 190, 192, etc. See *supra*, p. 91, note 6.

⁷ There is a blank space between च and दत्त. The letters of the rest of the record from the word दत्त are very small in size.

⁸ Senart : य

⁹ This line begins from below यो स-पितुः in line 4.

¹⁰ Senart reads भविसति.

(= नौ-योगेन) पुण्यतरकरेण¹ (— पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयिता — अशुक्लेन नदीतरणविधाया ; यद्वा ०दाहनुकानावाख्यनदीषु पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयिता), एतासां च नदीनाम् उभयतः तीरे सभा-प्रपा-करेण (= विश्रामागारान् जलसत्त्वाणि च कृतवता), पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारके च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्वद्भ्यः² (= चरकाख्यसम्प्रदायानुसारिभ्यः³ ; यद्वा — परित्राजकभिक्षु-सङ्घेभ्यः) ग्रामे नानङ्गोले द्वाविंशन्नारिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन (— शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूलभूयिष्ठानां द्वाविंशत्सहस्राणि दत्तवता ; यद्वा — द्वाविंशच्छत-नारिकेलतरूणां मूल्यं कार्पापण-सहस्रं दत्तवता ; यद्वा — द्वित्र-शत०), गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु (— त्रिरश्मि-पर्वते) धर्मात्मना (— ऋषभदत्तेन) इदं लयनं कारितम्, इमे च प्रहयः (— निपानानि [कारिताः]) । भट्टारकाज्ञपत्या (= नहपानाज्ञया ?) च गतः आसं वर्षतो⁴ मालवैः रुद्धम् औत्तमभाद्रं (— उत्तमभद्रकाणाम् अधिपतिं) मोचयितुम् । ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन (— ऋषभदत्तसैन्यहुङ्कारेण) तव अपयाताः (= पलायिताः), उत्तमभद्रकाणां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे [मालवाः] परिग्रहाः (— वन्दिनः) कृताः [ऋषभदत्तेन] । ततः आसं गतः पुष्करान् (— पुष्करतीर्थम्) । तत्र च मया अभिषेकः (— स्नानं) कृतः, त्रीणि च गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि, ग्रामः च [दत्तः] । दत्तं च अनेन (— ऋषभदत्तेन) क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराही-पुत्रस्य अश्विभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा मूल्येन कार्पापण-सहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृस्वत्वकम् (= अश्विभूति-पितृ-स्वत्वकं [क्षेत्रं]) नगरसीम्नि उत्तरापरायां (— पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां) दिशायां [वर्तते] । अतः (— एतस्मात्) मम लयने वसतः चातुर्दिशस्य भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारः (— ०हाराय — मुख्याज्ञाय [एषः ग्रामः]) भविष्यति ।

No. 60—Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Bombay State. In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 81 f., No. 11.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Cf. युल्ल-तर in *Vishnu*, 3, 9, and तर-युल्ल in *Agni P.*, 223, 25. पुण्यतर = अयल्लतर. People got free food at a king's āvasathas in *Chhānd. Up.*, IV, i. See Bk. III, No 69, verse 7.

² Charaka primarily denotes 'a wandering student' in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas. More especially it denotes the members of a school of the Black Yajurveda, whose practices are referred to with disapproval. The चरकाचार्य is enumerated among the sacrificial victims of the Puroshamedha sacrifice (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 256). Rāmātīrtha was at Śūrpāraka.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं² (॥*) रांओ खहरातस खत्रपस नहपानस दीहि-
2 तु दीनीक-पुलस उपवदातस कुडु³ विनिय दखमित्राय देयधर्म⁴ ओवरको⁵ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः, दीनीक-पुलस्य ऋषभदत्तस्य कुटुम्बिन्याः (—भार्यायाः) दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः (—धर्मदेयं = धर्मवृद्धये दत्तः वस्तुविशेषः) अपवारकः (—गुहा-वासः) ॥

No. 61—Kārlē Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona Dist., Bombay State. On the upper frieze to the right of the central door of the Chaitya cave.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 101; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 57 ff., No. 13.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 सिधं (॥*) रओ खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जा[म]तरा [दीनीक]-पूतेन उसभ-
दातेन ति-
2 गो-सतसहस-[दे]ण नदिया वणासाया [सु]वण-[ति]थकरेन⁴ [देवतान⁵] ब्रह्मणन
च सोळस-गा-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see *supra*, No. 59, and Lüders' List, No. 1132.

² Some read सिधं

³ Senart: धर्मं

⁴ There is a similar inscription in the same veranda of the same cave, over the doorway of the right cell.

⁵ From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1099. This record may have been copied from a grant originally on plates of copper or cloth. The writing is much defaced.

⁶ In *supra*, No. 60, we have सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण in place of सुवर्णतीर्थकरेण of this inscription.

- 3 म-दे[न•] प्रभासे पूत-तिथे ब्रह्मणाण भठ-भाया-प[देन•] [अ]नुवासं पितु सत-
सहसं [भो]-
4 जपयित वलूरकेसु¹ लेण वासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सघस
5 यापणथ गामो [कर]जिको² दतो स[वा]न [वा]स-वासितानं (?) (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्तपस्य नहपानस्य जामाला दीनीक-पुलेण ऋषभ-
दत्तेन त्रि-गो-शतसहस्र-देन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्ण[दान]-तीर्थ-करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च
षोडशग्रामदेन, प्रभासे पूततीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, अनुवर्पं पित्ते (= स्वर्गतं पितरं
प्रीणयितुं) शत-साहस्री भोजयित्रा (- ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्रा) वलूरकेषु लयन-वासिभ्यः
प्रव्रजितेभ्यः चातुर्द्विशस्य सङ्घस्य यापनार्थं (= वर्षायापनार्थं = वर्षासु वासानर्थं) ग्रामः करजिकः
दत्तः सर्वेभ्यः वर्षाव्युपितेभ्यः (= वर्षाप्रवासि-भिक्षुभ्यः = भिक्षून् उद्दिश्य) ॥

No. 62—Junnar Cave Inscription of the time
of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.) —
[Śaka] Year 46 (= 124 A.D.)

JUNNĀR, Poona District, Bombay State

INDRAJI and BURGESS, *Ins. C. Temp. W. Ind.*, pp. 51f.; BURGESS and
BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Valūraka appears to be the ancient name of the Kārle region. The suggestion that it may be Elūra from where the monks came to Kārle to pass the rainy season (*Bomb. Gar.*, I. ii, p. 391) does not appeal to us.

² It should be noted that the same village of Karajika was re-granted by Gautamiputra Śātakarṣi who ousted the Kshabariātas from these regions (cf. Nos. 83 and 86 below). Lüders' List, No. 1105 (Kārle) records Śātakarṣi's order to the Amātya of Māmāḍa regarding the grant of Karajika-grāma in Māmāl-ābāra on the Northern Road (or, in the northern division) as *bhikṣu-hala* to the *pravrajita-bhikṣus* dwelling in the Valūraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

TEXT¹

- 1 [राजो*] महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि²-नहपानस
- 2 [आ]मतस³ वड-सगोत्रस अयमस
- 3 [दे*][यधम] च(पो)डि मटपो च पुण्यय वसे ४०(+*)६ कतो (॥७)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राजः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-नहपानस्य अमात्यस्य वतस-सगोत्रस्य अयम्नः देयधर्मः
(—धर्मवृद्धये दत्त⁴ वस्तु) प्रहिः (=उदपानं, निपानं) मण्डपः (—जनानां विश्रामगृहं) च
पुण्यार्थाय वर्षे [षट्चत्वारिंशे] ४६ कृतः ॥

(b) KĀRDAMAKA FAMILY (HOUSE OF CHASHTANA)

Nos. 63-66—Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time
of Chashtana and Rudradaman⁵

—[Śaka]⁶ Year 52 (= 130 A.D.)

ANDHAU, Khāvdā (or Pachchham), Kutch District, Bombay State.
R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

¹ From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1174.

² The word *svāmīn* is the Sanskrit rendering of a Śaka word meaning 'lord' (cf. *Śaka-murunda*; Chinese *wang*). Some Indian kings, e.g. the Later Sātavāhanas, used the title. Neo-Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāraka* (from *bhaṭṭi*, actually *bhaṭṭārāḥ*) may also be connected with the same Skythian style.

³ Bühler : *मात्यस.

⁴ Banerji translated the beginning of these records as "In the year 52, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, ca 2, [during the reign] of the king Rudradāman, the son of Jayadāman, [the grandson] of the king Chāshtana, son of Ysāmotika." But the wording shows beyond doubt that the year should be referred to the reign of both Chashtana and Rudradāman. Possibly at this stage Chashtana was styled महाक्षत्रप and Rudradāman क्षत्रप. The coins of this family prove that a महाक्षत्रप and a क्षत्रप ruled at the same time somewhat like a महाराज and his युवराज. Chashtana and Rudradāman recovered much of the territories that Nabapāna had lost to Gautamīputra Śātakarṣi even during the latter's life time.

⁵ The 'Śaka' era very probably took its name from its constant use by this Śaka family for a long time.

TEXT¹

No. I

- 1 [राजो] [चाष्ट]नस रसामोतिक-पुत्रस राजो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस
- 2 व[र्षे][द्वि]प['] च[शि] [५०] (+*) २ फगुण-बहुलस [द्वि]तिय-वारे(?)^२
- [२] मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन [भ]गिनिये जेष्टवीराये
- 3 [सी]हि[ल-धि]त(ये*) ओपशति-सगोत्राये^३ लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. II

- 1 [राजो चाष्ट]नस रसामोतिक-
- 2 पु[त्र]स राजो [रु]द्रदामस
- 3 जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्विप[']-
- 4 [चा]शि ५० (+*) २ फगुण-बहुलस
- 5 द्वितीय-वारे(?) २ ऋषभदेवस
- 6 सीहिल-पुत्रस ओपशति-सगोत्रस
- 7 भ्रात[र] [मदने]न [सीहि]ल-पुत्रेन
- 8 लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. III

- 1 राजो चाष्टनस रसा[र]मोतिक-पुत्रस राजो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे
- द्विपंचाशि ५० (+*) २
- 2 फगुण बहुलस द्वितिय-वा २ यशदताये सीहमित-धीता(ये*) शेनिक-सगोत्राये शामणेरिये
- 3 मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन कुटुबिनिये [लष्टि] उथापिता (॥*)

No. IV

- 1 र[ा]जो चाष्टनस रसामोतिक-पु[त्र]स [राजो] रु[द्र]दामस ज[य]दा[म]-
- 2 पु[त्र]स वर्षे ५० (+*) २ फगु[न]-बहुलस [द्वितिय]-वारे(?) २

¹ From the facsimiles in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the *yashṭis* referred to in these records, see *supra*, p. 140, note 4. The first three *yashṭis* were raised by Madana in memory of his sister, brother and wife. The fourth was raised by Treshṭadatta in memory of his son. The persons in whose honour the *yashṭis* were raised were apparently dead. The first royal name is written चष्टन in many cases.

² Banerji read व २ and explained व = बहुल. Lüders finds here a symbol for 15.

³ Banerji : सगोत्राये. His सगोत्राये in No. III. line 2 is also wrong.

- 3 ऋषभदेवस्य खेष्टदत्त-पुत्र[स] औपश[ति]-गो[त]स
4 पि[त्ता(तिन ?)] खेष्टदत्तेन श्राम[णे]रेण लष्टि उत्थापित (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य (-०कृष्ण-पक्षस्य) द्वितीय-वारे (-०दिवसे) २ मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण
भगिन्याः जेष्टवीरायाः सिंहिल-बुहितुः औपशति-सगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

II—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य सिंहिल-पुत्रस्य औपशति-
सगोत्रस्य भ्राता मदनेन औपशति-सगोत्रेण यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

III—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ यशोदत्तायाः सिंहमिल-बुहितुः
शौनिक-सगोत्रायाः श्रामणेयाः (-बौद्धसङ्घे प्रव्रज्या-ग्रहीत्रयाः)¹ मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण
कुटुम्बिन्याः - ([आत्मनः] भार्यायाः) यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

IV—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे [द्विपञ्चाशे]
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य खेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गोत्रस्य
पित्ता खेष्टदत्तेन श्रामणेरेण¹ यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

No. 67—Junagarh Rock Inscription of

Rudradāman I—[Śaka] Year 72 (= 150 A.D.)

At the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the Girnār Hill, near Junāgarh, Junāgarh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, pp. 338ff. ; *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, II, pp. 57ff. ; LASSEN, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, pp. 146ff. ; BHABH DĀJĪ, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, pp. 113f. ; 118f. ; 125f. ; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, II, pp. 128ff. ; BHAGWANLAL INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 257ff. ; KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 42ff. ; LÜDERS' List, No. 965.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

¹ A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist Church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajjā*, but has not yet received the *Upasampadā*, is called *Sāmaṇera*, 'novice,' 'deacon' (fem. *Sāmaṇerī*). He becomes a fully privileged

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धं(द्धम्) (।*) इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद[पि] * २.....(सृ*)[त्ति]कोपक-
विस्तारायामोच्छ्रय-निःसन्धि-बद्ध-दृढ-सर्व-पाळीकत्वात्पर्वत-पा-
- 2 द-प्रतिस्पद्धि-सुष्टि[ष्ट]-[बन्धं*]....[व]जातेनाकृत्तिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रति-
विहित-प्रनाळी-परीवाह-
- 3 मीढविधानं^३ च लिस्क[न्ध*].....नादिभिरनुग्र[है]र्महस्युपचये वत्तंते (।*) तदिदं
राज्ञो महाक्षलपस्य सुगृही-
- 4 त-नाज्ञः^४ स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पौत[स्य*] [राज्ञः क्षलपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामि-जय-
दाम्न*]: पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षलपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्त-नाम्नो रु[द्र]दाम्नो वर्ष द्विसप्त-
तित[मि] ७०(+*)२
- 5 मार्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्र[ति][पदि*]... * : सृष्टवृष्टिना^५ पञ्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरुज्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-
- 6 पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां^६ अतिमातोद्भूतैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम् [यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकार-
मपि गिरिशिखर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपत[रूप]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना^७ युगनिधन-सह-

monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*. The interval may be very short or very long. Note that the wife's *gotra* is different from that of the husband (cf. Poona plates of Prabhāvatī, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 60).

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The rules of *sandhi* have been observed in many cases, but not in all. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [पि]स्त्। For the later history of the lake, see *infra*, Bk. III, No. 25.

² Indrajī and Bühler have गिरिनगरा[द्वि-पाद-रम] : but Kielhorn rightly thinks that the letter read as द्वि is undoubtedly द. According to him, the first four *aksharas* of the lacuna may be conjecturally read as दूरमल. रा looks like रि. Girinagara was the name of the ancient city now represented by Junāgarh. The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hill by an embankment across the gorge near the place where the inscription has been found. See Bk. III, No. 25.

³ मीढ means गोमूत्रक and Indrajī translates, 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine'. Kielhorn points to मीढगिरि (a dughill) in the *Lalitavistara* and translates "arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities".

⁴ Cf. नामापि गृह्यतोऽस्य पापकारिणः पापमलेन लिप्यत इव न जिह्वा. *Harshacharita*, N.S.P. ed., p. 210.

⁵ Indrajī and Bühler : सुसृष्ट : but a *visarga* before सृ is clear.

⁶ Read *नाम् अति*

⁷ Indrajī and Bühler : *यमाणा*.

⁸ उपतल्य means the same thing as तल्य in *Raghuramā*, XVI, 11, 'an upper story'. शरणोच्छ्रय is 'a shed for shelter' : cf. प्रतिश्रय in No. 59, *supra*.

- 7 श-परम-वोर-वोणेन¹ वायुना प्रमथि[त]-सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जज्जरीकृताव[दी][र्ण*]...
[क्षि]प्ताश्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं² आ नदी[त]ळादित्युद्धादितमासीत् (1*) चत्वारि
हस्त-शतानि वीशदुत्तराण्यायतेन³ एतावस्येव [वि]स्ती[र्णे]न
- 8 पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन⁴ भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व-तोयं मह-धन्व⁵-कल्पमतिभृशं
दुर्द⁶.....(1*)...[स्य]ार्ये मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गु][प्त*][स्य] राष्ट्रियेण
[वै]श्येन पुण्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य⁷ मौर्यस्य (कृ*)ते⁸ यवनराजेन
तुष[र]स्फेनाधिष्ठाय⁹
- 9 प्रण[र]ळीभिरल[']कृत[']तम् (1*) [त]त्कारित[या] च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया
तस्मिं¹⁰[भे]दे दृष्टया प्रनाढ्या¹¹ वि[स्तृ]त-से[तु*].....णा¹² आ गर्भाभ्रभृत्य-
वि[ह]त-समुदि[व]¹³-राजलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्सर्व-वर्णैरभितम्य¹⁴ रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे
वृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत-

¹ Read वेनेन.

² Read ०तानम् आ०.

³ Read विंशत्यु०.

⁴ Kielhorn reads सप्तति.

⁵ Read धन्व.

⁶ Kielhorn suggests the restoration दुर्दर्शनमासीत् with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

⁷ Read कारितम् । अशोकस्य.

⁸ The original has ते for which Bhau Daji proposed तेन, and Indrajī तत्. Kielhorn suggests कृते which is better. Apparently Rudradāman had access to some records regarding the origin of the lake. The Greek ruler with a Persian name was probably Aśoka's feudatory and governor. For the Yavanas in Western India, see *infra*, No. 86; *Periplus*, § 47; for Dattāmitrī (= Demetriaspolis) in Sauvira, see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 319.

⁹ Generally read स्वे; but Kielhorn is right when he points out that the subscript is not स but फ.

¹⁰ Read तद्धिन.

¹¹ Some read प्रनाढ्या.

¹² Some read नो.

¹³ Read समुदित. The passage possibly suggests that Rudradāman's father died before his birth.

¹⁴ Read ०गम्य.

- 10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[त] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविगुण-
रि[पु*].....त-कारुण्येन¹ स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपत्ति[ता*][यु]पशरणदेन²
दस्यु-व्याल-मृग³-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्वं-नगर-निगम-
- 11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्याजितानामनुरक्त-सर्व-प्रकृतीनां पूर्वोपराकरावन्त्यनूपनोव-
दानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-ख[भ्र-मरु-कच्छ-सिन्धु-सौवी]र-कुकुरापरान्त-निषादादीनां⁴
समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य[थावप्राप्तधर्मार्थ*]-काम-विषयाणां⁵ विषयाणां पतिना
सर्वक्षताविष्कृत-
- 12 वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]स्तेकाविधेयानां⁶ यौधेयानां प्रसङ्गोत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथ-पते-
स्मातकर्णेद्विरपि नीर्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य⁷ संबंधा[वि]दूर(त*)या⁸ अनुत्सादनाप्राप्त-
यशसा [वाद्]¹⁰[प्रा*][स]-विजयेन भद्रराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्थ-हस्तो-

¹ Indraji and Bühler suggest पत. The usual form for अन्यत्र संग्रामेषु (except in battles) is अन्यत्र संग्रामेभ्यः.

² जनपद may also be treated as one word meaning mankind. But the meaning seems to be: "who grants life to people repairing to him of their own accord and protection to those prostrating themselves at his feet." Indraji and Bühler have प्रणिपत्ति-[विशेष]प. Read वायुग्ररथ*. Better पदप्रणिपतितजनायु*.

³ We may possibly also read मयोरगा*.

⁴ The restoration of the damaged text is due mainly to Indraji. Akarāvanti=Mālwa; Akara=East Mālwa (cap. Vidiśā); Avanti=West Mālwa (cap. Ujjain). Anūpa realm, cap. Māhishmatī (mod. Maheshvar, or Māndhātā in the Nimār Dist.); Anarta=North Kāthiāwār, cap. Dvārakā; Surāshtra=South Kāthiāwār, cap. Girinagara; Svabha on the Sābarmatī; Maru=in the Rājputānā Desert, cf. Mārwar; Kachchha=Kutch; Sindhu west of the Lower Indus; Sauvira east of the Lower Indus; Kukura in North Kāthiāwār near Anarta; Aparānta=the Northern Konkan, cap. Sūrpāraka; Nishāda—from Vinasāna to Pāriyātra (W. Vindhya and Aravelly; cf. Mbh., III, 130, 3-4, XII, 135, 3-5). The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygarh region of Bharatpur and in Johiyābār on the Sotlej. The Śakas thus reconquered from the Śātavāhanas no fewer than six countries, viz. Akara, Avanti, Anūpa, Surāshtra, Kukura and Aparānta. See *infra*, No. 86.

⁵ The restoration is due to Kielhorn. Bühler proposed य[विप्लितावाप्त-सर्व]-काम.

⁶ Read पत्न्या.

⁷ जायो* was originally engraved.

⁸ Read निर्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य.

⁹ The Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüders, No. 994) mentions the *devi* of Vāsishṭhīputra śrī-Śātakarpi, who descended from the Kārdamaka kings and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa with name beginning with Ru (apparently Rudradāman). *Devi* does not always mean a queen. Chārudevi, wife of a crown-prince, is called *devi* in the British Museum grant (*infra*, Bk. III, No. 66). It is thus uncertain whether this Śātakarpi was a king before the date of Rudradāman's record. The king might have been Gautamīputra Śātakarpi who was possibly twice defeated by Rudradāman (cf. the list of countries in line 11 with that in *infra*, No. 86, line 2).

¹⁰ Kielhorn : मा[द].

- 13 रुद्रयार्जितोर्जित-धर्मानुरागेन¹ शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व-न्यायाद्यानां² विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-
धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्त-विपुल-कीर्तिना तुरग-गज-रथचर्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्या.....
ति-परवल-लाघव-सौष्टव-क्रियेण अहरहर्दान-मानान-
- 14 वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्षणेन यथावत्प्राप्तैर्वलिशुल्क-भागैः³ कानक-रजत-वज्र-वेदूर्य-
रत्नोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्त-कान्त-शब्दसमयोद्गारलंकृत-गद्य-
पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रवीणे*]न⁴ प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण-सार-सत्त्वादिभिः⁵
- 15 परम-लक्षण-व्यञ्जनैरुपेत-कान्त-मूर्तिना स्वयमधिगत-महाक्षत्प-नाम्ना⁶ नरेन्द्र-क[न्या]-
स्वर्यवरानेक-माल्य-प्राप्त-दाम्नि[1]⁷ महाक्षत्पेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गो-प्रा[ह्य][ण*]
.....[त्यं]⁸ धर्म-कीर्ति-वृद्धयर्थं⁹ च अपीडयि[त्वा] कर-विष्टि-

¹ Read ०रागेण.

² शब्द = grammar; अर्थ = lexicography or politics; गान्धर्व = music; न्याय = logic.

³ स्थूललक्ष = बहुव्ययी; वलि = tax, often identical with कर; शुल्क = tolls and duties; भाग = king's grain share.

⁴ Read कनक. Usually वेदूर्य.

⁵ Cf. the characteristics of the Vaidarbha style as explained by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, Chapter I: श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता। अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजः-
कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ 41. श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टश्लेषमस्वप्राणावरोचरम्। शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला
यथा ॥ 43. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धाः सिन्दोरिन्दोवरयुतिः। लज्ज लज्जो तनीतीति प्रतीतिमुभयं वचः ॥ 45.
समं वक्ष्येवविषमं ते सदु-स्फुट-मध्यमाः। वन्धा सदुस्फुटोन्मिश्र-वर्ण-विन्यास-योनयः ॥ 47. मधुरं
रसवद्वाचि वस्तुन्यपि रसस्थितिः। येन मायन्ति धीमन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥ 51. कव्ये कामयमानं नो
न त्वं कामयसे कथम्। इति याम्योऽयमर्थात्मा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते ॥ 63. अनितुरावरप्रायं सुकुमारमिष्टिष्यते।
वन्ध-श्लेषल्य-दोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्व-कोमल ॥ 69. अर्थव्यक्तिरनियत्वमर्थस्य हरिणोद्धृता। भूः-स्वर-सुष-
नागाष्टग्लोहितादुद्धेरिह ॥ 73. उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिदधिपुक्ते प्रतीयते। तदुद्गारादर्थं येन समाद्या
काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ 76. ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम्। पद्येऽप्यदाचिष्यात्यानामिदमेकं
परायणम् ॥ 80. कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमान्। तद्य वार्त्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्तपि
दृश्यते ॥ 85. अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यत्र लोकसौमानुरोधिना। सम्यगाधीयते यत्र स समाधिः कृती यथा ॥ 93.
कुसुदानि निमीलन्ति कमलान्मुनिधन्ति च। इति नेत्र-क्रियाध्यासाद्व्या तदाचिनी स्तुतिः ॥ 94.

⁶ This very probable restoration is due to Bühler. Various definitions of कव्य and its varieties are noticed by Sanskrit rhetorician Cf. note 5 above.

⁷ Read सत्त्व.

⁸ This possibly shows that Rudradāman became almost independent of the Kushāpa overlord about the end of his rule. The Kushāpa power by this time began to decline and was losing its hold on its southernmost province.

⁹ Note that the Sakas were now almost completely Hinduised by adopting Indian customs and contracting matrimonial relations with indigenous Indian families such as the Sātavāhanas. Cf. No. 98 (No. 2) below; above, p. 168, note 1, p. 178, note 9.

- 16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः¹ पौर-जानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा² महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुण-द्वय-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य स*]र्व्वत[टे]³.....[सु]दर्शनतरं कारितमिति (।*) [अस्मि]न्नर्थे
- 17 [च]⁴ महा[अ]ल्प[स्य] मत्तिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्य-गुणं समुद्युक्तैरप्यतिमहत्वा-⁵ ज्ञेदस्यानुत्साह-विमुख-मतिभिः[ः] प्रत्याख्यातारंभ[ः]
- 18 पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्यादाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं⁶ पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां⁷ पालनात्थन्नियुक्तेन
- 19 पञ्चवेन⁸ कुलैप-पुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुराग-मभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणाहार्य्येण
- 20 स्वधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्त्ति-यशांसि भर्तुंरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति ।¹⁰

No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 78, Nos. 270 ff.

First Side¹¹

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters.¹²

¹ कर=tax; विष्टि=forced (i.e., unpaid) labour; प्रणय=benevolence or emergency tax (cf. Kauṭilya, *Arthasāstra*, V, ii), mod. *priti-dān*.

² Read *कीमात्.

³ Indrajī and Bühler have [सर्व्व]नग[र]; but Kielhorn appears to be right.

⁴ Not noticed by others.

⁵ मत्तिसचिव (cf. धौसचिव of Amara)=counsellor; कर्मसचिव=executive officer. For चमात्य-गुण, see line 19. See also Bk. III, No. 25, verses 8-11.

⁶ Read *महत्वा*.

⁷ Originally the engraver began an *akshara* with e-sign in place of य.

⁸ Read सुराष्ट्राणां.

⁹ Pahlava is usually taken to mean a Parthian. Pahlava and Pārada are mentioned side by side in literature. Pahlava is apparently connected with the old Palhavi language of Iran. Did a Pahlava sometimes denote a Persian and Pārada a Parthian? Palhavi is the name of the Persian language in the intermediate stage of its development from the Zend language to modern Persian. See No. 86 below.

¹⁰ The full stop is indicated by a slightly curved dash-like sign.

¹¹ From representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Plate X.

¹² "From this period onwards the inscription in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear

Second Side

Symbol of three arches,¹ surmounted by crescent; waved line² beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots. Inscription³ in Brāhmī characters:—

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदाम-पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस (॥*)

(= राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य जयदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रदाम्नः ॥)

No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of
Rudrasimha I—[Śaka] Year 103 (=181 A.D.)

GUNDĀ, Jāmnagar District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 157 f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, part i, p. 42; RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 375; *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS' List, No. 963; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, W. Circ., 1914-15, p. 67; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 235.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

on the coins until the end of the dynasty."—Rapson. In imitation of the coins of their Greek predecessors, the Skytho-Parthians and Kushānas used Greek legends on their coins. The Satrapal Skythian families of Western India were originally feudatory to the Kushānas.

¹ Formerly the symbol was supposed to indicate a Chaitya. It is now believed to represent a hill.

² This symbol is supposed to indicate a river. The three arches on a waved line may indicate a hill-fort on the bank of a river.

³ The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. This is also the case even with the coins of Rudrasimha III, the last king of the dynasty. This fact shows that pure Sanskrit was still not very popular even in that locality where it began to oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy from an early period.

⁴ Some specimens have जयदामस पुत्रस. See Rapson's *Catalogue*, p. 79; Nos. 276 ff.; Plate X. The *sāpeksha-samāsa* is common in early inscriptions; cf. नीवधनस देवाकटक-स्वामि in No. 83, *infra*; also Nos. 69, 72, etc.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्ध[] (॥*) र[]ज्ञो महा[]क्षत्र[पस्य] स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौतस्य² राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम-पौत्रस्य
- 2 स्य³ रा[]ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य] स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-
- 3 सौहस्य [व]र्षे [त्रि]युत्तरशते १०० (+*)⁴ ३ वैशाख-शुद्धे पंचम-धन्ये(ण्य १)-⁵ तिथौ रो[हि]णि⁶-नक्ष-
- 4 त-मुद्गृ[त्ते]⁷ आभीरेण⁸ सेनापति-वापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्र[भू]तिन[]ग्रा[]मे रसो-
- 5 [प]द्रिये वा[पी]⁹ [स्वा]नि[ता] वन्धापितश्च¹⁰ सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थमिति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य प्रपौतस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम्नः पौतस्य। राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे सुयुत्तर-शत[तमे] (= सप्तधिक०) १०३ वैशाख-शुद्धे (= शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चम-धन्य-तिथौ रोहिणी-नक्षत्र-मुद्गृत्ते⁷ आभीरेण सेनापति-वापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्रभूतिना¹⁰ ग्रामे रसोपद्रके वापी (= कूपः) स्वानिता, वन्धिता [शिलादिभिः] च सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् इति ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [चष्ट]

² Some read चाष्टन. Better read चष्टनस्य to avoid *sāpeksha-samāsa* which is also noticed in the case of two other royal names below.

³ स्य is superfluous.

⁴ Some read पंचमि and धन्य, the latter being the intended reading.

⁵ Some read अथ.

⁶ The Ābhīras originally lived near Vīṇāśāna in the Rājputānā Desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Ajarānta. See below, note 10.

⁷ Bühler : पद्रे इदार्थे : Indrajī पद्रे इदः. वापी is doubtful, and the reading may be वप्ती (= वन्धः).

⁸ Some read बंधा. The intended reading may be वन्धापिता.

⁹ See *supra*, p. 141, note 2. The Uṇḍ inscription (*C. I. I.*, II, i, p. 70) connects Pūrvaśāḍhā with the 8th day of Chaitra.

¹⁰ The influential position of the Ābhīras at the Saka court apparently helped Ābhīra Iśvarasena in carving out a kingdom for himself.

No. 70—Junāgarh Stone Inscription of
Jayadaman's Grandson¹

JUNĀGARH, Junāgarh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, II, pp. 140f. ; *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Ins.*, Bhavnagar, p. 17 ; RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. lxi ; LÜDERS' *List*, No. 966 ; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 241.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 स्तथा सुरगणेन [क्षता]णां प्रथ[म].....
- 2 चष्टनस्य प्र[पौ]लस्य राज्ञ[ः] क्ष[लप*]स्य स्वामि-जयदाम(म्नः)
[पौ]त्तस्य राज्ञो म[हाक्ष].....
- 3 [चैत्र]शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरिनगरे देवासुर-नाग-
य[क्ष]-रा[क्ष]से.....
- 4 तथा(?) [पुर]मि[व].....केवलि[ज्ञा*]न-सं[प्राप्ता]नां(?)..... जरा-मरण³...

¹ The name of the reigning king is lost. He must be either Dāmaysada or Rudrasimha I, possibly the latter. The modern name Girnar represents the ancient Girinagara.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

³ The reading of this line is not beyond doubt. Some read जितजरा*

No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of
Jivādāman¹—[Śaka] Year 120 (= 198 A. D.)

RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. 84, No. 290

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ;
date³ is Brāhmī numerals:—

१००(+०)२०

Second Side

Symbol of three arches, surmounted by crescent with waved line
beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription
in Brāhmī characters:—

र[१०]ज्ञो मह[१०]क्षत्रपस्य दामजदस्य⁴ पुत्रस्य राज्ञो मह[१०]क्षत्र[पस्य] [जीवदामस्य] (॥०)
(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य जीवदाम्नः ॥)

¹ Jivādāman was the grandson of Rudradāman I. He possibly succeeded his uncle, Rudrasimha I in Śaka 119=197 A. D. and ruled for a few years.

² From the representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Plate XI For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

³ "With the reign of Jivādāman, son of Dāmajadaśrī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jivādāman there are also dated coins of potin."—Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxxiv. But the reading of the date on Rapson's coin No. 288 is doubtful, and the first Brāhmī date may be attributed to the coins of Rudrasimha I. A variety of Chashtana's coins is supposed to contain dates expressed in Kharoshthī numerals (*op. cit.*, p. cxiv). There can be no doubt that the dates should be referred to the Śaka era.

⁴ The actual name of this prince as found on a variety of his own coins is Dāmaghśada (which is also read by some scholars as Dāmaysada), or Dāmajadaśrī. The latter part of the name has been connected with the Persian word *xāda*, 'a son'.

No. 72—Garha (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—[Śaka] Year 127 (? = 205 A.D.)

GARHĀ, near Jasdan, Rājkoṭ District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

BHAU DAJI, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 234f.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 32f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 652; RAPSON'S, *Catalogue*, p. lxii, No. 42; LÜDERS' List, No. 997; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, W. Circ., 1914-15, pp. 67f.; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 238.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT¹

- 1 [व]र्षे १०० (+*) २० (+*) [७]^२ [भा]द्रपद-वहुलस ५ राज्ञो महाक्ष[त्र]पस
- 2 भद्रसु[मु]खस^३ स्वाम-चटण-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्ष[त्र]पस
- 3 स्वामी-[ज]यदम-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुख[स्य]
- 4 [स्व]म-रुद्रदाम-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो महाक्ष[त्र]पस्य भ[द्रमु]खस्य स्वामि-
- 5 रुद्रसिंह-पुत्र^४स्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य इदं शान्त्यं(?)^४

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The Mulwāsar stone inscription (now in the Dwārakā Library) has the date राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य वर्षे १०० (+*) २० (+*) ७ वैशाख-वहुल-पंचम्या (i. e. 122 Śaka = 200 A. D.) and records the erection of a *śilā-yashṭi* by the sons of Vāṇijaka. For references, see Lüder's, *List*, No. 992.

² Bhandarkar : ५. Banerji and Sukthankar alternatively suggest ६.

³ भद्रमुख = having an auspicious face ; cf. *सुगृहीतनामन्*, p. 176 and note 4. It is used as a polite address in the *Śākuntala*, VII. Note the cases of *sāpeksha-samāsa*.

⁴ Bhandarkar reads शक्र(व) and others शत्र. Bbau Daji translates it as 'tank', Hoernle connects it with सत्र 'a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days' and takes it in the sense of 'liberality, munificence.' Lüders takes it to be the सत्र (seat?) of a cave inscription. As has been pointed out by Banerji and Sukthankar, the word उत्थावित clearly implies that a structure which was raised, elevated or erected is indicated by this word. Banerji connects it with सत्र, 'almshouse'. But the change of स into श is difficult to explain. It appears to indicate a *śāṭh* raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers. See Nos. 63-66 above.

6 मानस-सगो[त्र]स्य¹ प्र[ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर[पा]त्यस्य² भ्रातृभिः³ उत्थावित स्व[र्ग]⁴—

7 [सुखार्थं ?] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

वर्षे [सप्तविंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२७ भाद्रपद-बहुलस्य [पञ्चमे दिवसे] ५ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-चट्टनस्य पुत्र-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाग्नः पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाग्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य—इदं शान्यं (= शिखामयी यष्टिः ?) मानस-सगोत्रस्य प्रत्याशक-पुत्रस्य खरपार्थस्य भ्रातृभिः-उत्थापितं [स्वर्ग-सुखार्थम्] ॥

No. 73—Kanakhera Stone Inscription of Śrīdhara-varman—Regnal year 13; [Śaka] Year 201 (? = 279 A.D.)

KĀNĀKHERĀ, near Sāñchī, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh.

R. D. BANERJĪ, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 232; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, XIX, pp. 343f.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

Metre: Verse 1: Sārdūlavikrīḍita

TEXT⁵

सिद्धम् [॥*]⁶

1 भगवत्स्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि-महासेन(स्य*) महा[भक्त ?][स्य]
[आदित्य]-वीर्या[जितविजय]⁷.....

¹ Hoernle: मान[?]तु तुंगोवस्य प्रता[र]यक०; Bhau Daji: सुप्रनायक०

² Bhau Daji and Hoernle: खर-पौत्रस्य; Bhandarkar: खरपौत्रस्य; Banerji and Sukthankar: खरपौत्रस्य.

³ Banerji and Sukthankar: भ्रातृभिः; Bhandarkar: भ्रातृभिः.

⁴ Bhau Daji: उत्थावितस्य; Hoernle: उत्थावितस्य. Traces of three aksharas are found below ०२४५५ भा० of line 6. Banerji and Sukthankar think that there is no such trace.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The inscription has now also been published by V. V. Mirashi in *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 13ff. For another inscription of Śrīdhara-varman from Eran, dated in his 27th regnal year and referring to the erection of a *yashṭi* or memorial pillar, see *ibid.*, pp. 605ff.

⁶ On the left margin of the inscription near the beginning of lines 3 and 4.

⁷ Banerji reads जीवदान and identifies him with the father of Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II. Mirashi: महासेन-महा[कुमारस्य दिव्य]; Majumdar: सादित्य or तेजःप्रसादान्

- 2 धर्मविजयिना¹ शक-नन्द-पुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरव[र्मा]णा वर्ष-
[सह]साय² स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे³ त्रयोदश[मे]⁴
- 3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विषयं⁵ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धयर्थमक्षयस्वर्गावासिहेतो-
र्द्धर्मयशो(ऽ*)त्यं धर्मासि(भि)संबुद्धया श्रा(श्र)द्ध[या]
- 4 शाश्व[तं]⁶ चन्द्रादित्य-[कालिकोयं].....(॥*) अपि[च]
का[न्तः]— —:⁷ [प्रसन्न]-सलिलः सर्वधिगम्यः सदा
- 5 सत्त्वाना[ं]⁸ प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्मात्मलः [शाश्व]तः (॥*)
- 6 [कृ]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो(ऽ*)यं⁹ शुभः ॥¹⁰
२००(+*)१ (॥*) [स्वस्त्यस्तु] ॥¹¹

¹ Banerji विजयेन

² Banerji : धर्म.....सा(वि)य ; Majumdar : वर्षं०.

³ The date refers to Jivadāman's rule according to Banerji; but Jivadāman never ruled. Śrīdharavarman seems to have been originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later enjoyed semi-independence. There are many cases of the survival of the original official or subordinate titles in the designation of independent rulers.

⁴ Read वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके एतद्विषये

⁵ Banerji : वाग्निमेतद्धर्मं०

⁶ Banerji : शाश्वते चतुःसत्य...तुकीयम्...मापि...कापिधम्...सलिलः Majumdar शाश्वत-चन्द्रवर्गकालिकोयं.

⁷ Mirashi : आकारप्रतिमः.

⁸ Banerji reads मलः...गत...प्य...प्राच्य... ; Mirashi : धर्माभतः शाश्वतः...प्रणय मनसा द्रव्यस्य कृत्वा व्ययं.

⁹ Evidently the author did not follow Pāṇini's grammar according to which the correct form would be खानितः. This shows that Pāṇinian Sanskrit was not very popular in the royal courts of Western India even as late as the 3rd century A.D. Note also the Prakritisms in lines 2-3 and the *sāpeksha-samāsa* in line 1.

¹⁰ The verse in शाह्मिकविकीर्तित is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in Classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujaṅgavijrīmbhita. See *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 200; *I.H.Q.*, XVI, 485. These records prove the developed stage of the Kāvya literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, though apparently Sanskrit was not then quite popular in Indian courts.

¹¹ Majumdar reads the date स [२००] ४० १ in place of स्वस्त्यस्तु and explains the preceding signs as punctuation marks. V. V. Mirashi reads the date as 102 and refers the year to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 40 ; *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 15-16). The reading of the date is doubtful; but the use of the Kalachuri era is not expected in the age and area in question.

No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of
Rudrasimha III—[Śaka] Year 310 (? = 388 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 192, No. 907

*First Side*¹

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ; date in Brāhmī *aksharas* and numerals behind the head :—

व[र्षे] ३०० (+ •) १०^२

Second Side

Symbol of three arches ; a waved line beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription along the border in Brāhmī characters :—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-[सत्य][सह•]-पुत्रस^२ राज्ञ [महा]क्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-
रुद्रसहस (॥•)

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-सत्यसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य ॥)

¹ From representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Plate XVII. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68. The coin in question was secured from Pusbkar near Ajmer.

² It is not possible to determine whether there was a unit figure at the end. The date may therefore be A.D. 398+x. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II, which is dated in G. E. 82=A.D. 402, says that the king went there in course of an expedition 'for conquering the whole earth'. After the conquest of Mālwa and Kāthiāwār, Chandragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from the silver issues of the Kshatrapas. On the obverse, these bear the king's head with imitation of inscription in Greek characters and the date. On the reverse, they have the Garuḍa emblem in place of the symbol of the three arches, etc. The earliest date on these coins is G.E. 90 or 90+x=A.D. 409 or a date between A.D. 409 and 414 which is the beginning of Kumāragupta's reign. Smith takes A.D. 395 as the mean date for the completion of the conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II. See, Allen's *Catalogue*, pp. xxxviii f.

³ Rapson suggests that one specimen reads हस (sic. सह = सिंह)

CHAPTER II SOUTHERN INDIA

A—WESTERN DECCAN : INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

No. 75—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State.

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.
BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV,
p. 91, No. 1; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93, No. 22; LÜDERS'
List, No. 1144 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of the first century B.C.¹

TEXT²

- 1 सादवाहन-कु[ले] कञ्जे राजनि नासिककेन³
- 2 समणेन महामातेण लेण['] कारित[']⁴ [Svastika] [Taurus] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सातवाहन-कुले कृष्णे राजनि (=सातवाहन-कुलजस्य⁴ कृष्णस्य राजत्वकाले) नासिक्यकेन

¹ Earlier scholars generally placed the early Śātavāhana kings about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Modern scholars, like R. P. Chanda (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 1), have however proved that the Nānāghāṭ records are to be assigned to a much later date on palaeographic grounds. Angular forms of some letters (cf. स of महा०) in the present epigraph no doubt prove that the record is not earlier than the latter half of the first century B. C. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of earlier art-critics who assigned the Nasik Hall to the latter half of the first century B. C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 636ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

³ The mention of Nāsika and not Govardhana suggests that the two places, though very near each other, were not identical.

⁴ This royal family has been called Andhra or Andhrabhritya in the Purāṇas. Its name was Śātavāhana according to inscriptions. No early king of the dynasty

(= नासिकनगर-वास्तव्येन) श्रमणेन (= भिक्षुणा) महामात्रेण¹ हयनं (= भिक्षुणां व्यवहाराय गुहावासः) कारितम् ॥

Nos. 76-81—Nanaghāt Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śatakarni I

NĀNĀGHĀT, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poonā District, Bombay State.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64; LÜDERS' List, Nos. 1113-18.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.²

TEXT³

No. 1

1 राया सिमुक-सातवाह-

had anything to do with the Andhra country near the mouths of the Krishṇā and the Godāvari (cf. Mayidavolu plates, *infra*). The list of countries forming the kingdom of Gautamīputra (*infra*, No. 86, line 2), the 23rd Andhra king according to the Purāṇas, does not include Andhradeśa. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as literary (Brahmanical, Jain and Greek) traditions referring to Pratishthāna (mod. Paithān in the Aurāṅgābād District, Bombay) as the capital of the Śātavāhana kings, shows that the original Śātavāhana kingdom was in the Northern Deccan (see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.J.*, 4th ed., pp. 346f.). Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (Siriplotemos, ruler of Baithana, in Ptolemy's geography) was the first king who extended Śātavāhana power over the Andhra country. The Purāṇas apparently refer to a period when Śātavāhana rule was limited in the Andhra region. 'Śātavāhana District,' the 3rd-4th century name of the Bellary region, merely proves the extent of the family's suzerainty and has nothing to do with its original home. Discovery of their coins in Berar proves nothing on this point. The name Śātavāhana is usually found as Śālivāhana in literature.

¹ Senart translates 'by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik'.

² See p. 191, note 3; also p. 189, note 1.

³ From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. These six inscriptions are incised above the position of the heads of what were relief figures now entirely destroyed. Note that only the names of the reigning king and his queen are given in the 6th case-ending. Apparently the labels and representations belong to

2 नो सिरिमातो¹ (॥*)

No. 2

1 देवि-नायनिकाय रज्जो

2 च सिरि-सातकनिनो (॥*)

No. 3

1 कुमारो भा-²

2 य... (॥*)

No. 4

महारठि जनकयिरो (॥*)

No. 5

कुमरो हकुसिरि (॥*)

No. 6

कुमारो सातवाहनो (॥*)³

the royal pair (No. 2), the king's father (No. 1), the queen's father (No. 4; cf. *infra*, No. 82, line 3) and the royal Kumāras. See p. 197, note. The name of Vedisiri, known from No. 82 below to have been a son of Śātakarṇi and Nāgamnikā, cannot be traced here (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xiv). For some suggestions on the doubtful basis of two lost images between Nos. 4 and 5, see Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 33.

¹ Recently there has been much unwarranted speculation about the early Sātavāhanas. See *J.N.S.I.*, XVI, pp. 77-89, and references cited therein. Such writings exhibit the poor standard of Indian scholarship so far as epigraphy and numismatics are concerned. Damaged records and coins (which are usually not well preserved) often inspire the largest amount of speculation uncontrolled by sober judgment. Of late it has been the fashion to read any fanciful thing on a coin, to offer a speculative interpretation of the legend so read and to publish the result in the *J.N.S.I.* (cf. Vol. XIV, pp. 80 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 192 ff.; etc.).

² Bühler restored Bhāyala and took him to be a younger brother of Śātakarṇi.

³ Earlier scholars assigned the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. on grounds of palaeography. Scholars however have now shown that the palaeography of these records is later. For references, see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., pp. 337 ff.; also *supra*, p. 189, note 1; *infra*, p. 193, note 1.

I—राजा शिमुक-सातवाहनः श्रीमान् । II—देवी-नागजिकायाः (—०नागायाः
=०नाग्याः)¹ राज्ञः च श्री-शातकर्गः [विम्बद्वयम्] । III—कुमारः भाग ... ।
IV—महारथो नागकायः । V—कुमारः शक्तिश्रोः । VI—कुमारः सातवाहनः ।²

✓ No. 82—Nanaghat Cave Inscription of Nagamnika (?)

NĀNĀGHĀT, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poona District, Bombay State.

G. BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, pp. 60f.; 86f.; LÜPERS' List, No. 1112 (for other references); cf. *Rapson Catalogue*, pp. xlv-vi; D. C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 412.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

¹ The actual name of the queen must have been Nāgā. *Anikā* or *amnikā* (*annikā*, *arṇikā* ?) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions. Male names usually have the suffix *onaka* or *amṇaka* (*annaka*, *arṇaka* ?).

² This personal name seems to suggest that the family is named after a king called Sātavāhana who may have been an ancestor of Simuka. Simuka's *viruda* 'Sātavāhana' may suggest that either it was his second name or it means 'a descendant of Sātavāhana'. The first alternative is less probable as it became the family name as early as the time of Simuka's immediate successor. None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi is satisfactory. They cannot be connected with the Satiyaputas mentioned in Rock Edict II of Aśoka. The name Sātavāhana has been read on some coins recently published in *J.N.S.I.*

TEXT¹

Part I

(on the left wall)

- 1 [सिधं] नो धर्मस नमो ईदम² नमो संकसन-वासुदेवान³ चंद-सूरानं⁴
[महि]मा[व]तानं चतु⁵नं च लोकपालानं यम-वरुन-कुवेर-वासवानं नमो (॥*)
कुमारवरस [विटि]मिरिस⁶ र[जो]
- 2[व]ीरस सूरस अ-प्रतिहत-चकस टखि[नप॥]ठ-पतिनो⁷.....⁸
- 3 [मा] ... [वाला*]य⁹ महारठिनो अंगिय-कुल-वधनस¹⁰ सगर-गिरिवर-वल[या]य¹⁰
पथविय पथम वीरस वस य व अलह (वंतठ?)... सळसु महतो मह....

¹ From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. The *i*-signs and characters like व, प, द and च exhibit an amount of development. व, though without *serif*, is on the way of becoming triangular. प is almost of the Kushāṇa type. Palaeographically the inscription may be placed between the Besuagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros (about the end of the 2nd century B.C.) and the Hāthigūphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B.C.). Note also the conjuncts *br* and *sr* in line 5 and *rg* in line 14.

² Bühler restores श्री (or सिधं) नमो प्रजापतिनो धर्मस. I prefer सिधं, which is found at the beginning of numerous early inscriptions, without नमो. सिधं = सिद्धि: [चक्षु].

³ It is interesting to note that Dharma and Indra are not identified respectively with the Lokapālas Yama and Vāsava who are separately mentioned. The identifications belong probably to a later date.

⁴ The absence of Pradyumna and Aniruddha in connection with Saṅkarabhaṇa and Vāsudeva may suggest that the Vyūha doctrine was not popular before the age of this record at least in its locality. It should be remembered that even a law book like the *Vishṇusamhitā* refers to the four: वासुदेवाय सहस्रनाय प्रद्युम्नायानिरुद्धाय (67. 2).

⁵ Bühler read चंद-सूरानं; but the second *akshara* may be रा, but is surely not ता. सूर means 'the sun'; cf. अत्याहिलासी भयवं सूरौ in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act IV.

⁶ Krishna Sastri reads खद⁶; see *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1923-24, p. 88. But both वे and दि are clear; cf. दिख in line 5 and दिना, *passim*. The form of ख is quite different from that of वे; cf. दिख, and दखिना, *passim*.

⁷ The probable restoration is रजो सिमुकसातवाहनस मुन्हाय.

⁸ Some scholars suggest [Kaḷa]lāya on the evidence of certain coins (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlv).

⁹ Krishna Sastri's reading *Ambhiya* is unwarranted.

¹⁰ The passage seems to be an echo of the Buddhist cosmographic idea of the earth being encircled by sea and also by mountains known as the *chakravāla-parvatas*,

- 4 सिरिस भारिवा (य*) देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस [वेदि] सिरि-मातु-
(य*) सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातु[य] सीम...
- 5 वरिय [ना]गवर-दयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गह-तापसाय चरित-ब्रम्हचरियाय
दिव-वत-यंज-सुंदाय यजा हुता धूपन-सुगंधा य निय.....
- 6 रायस [य०] जेहि विट (1*) वनो । अगाधेय यंजो द[खि]ना दिना गावो
वारस १० (+*) २ असो च १ (1*) अनारभनियो यंजो दखिना धेनु¹.....
- 7 दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० हयो १०
- 8 स ससतरय² [वा]सलठि २०० (+*) ८० (+*) ९ कुभियो रुपामयियो
१० (+*) ७ मि.....
- 9 रिको यंजो दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) १००० असा १०००
पस [पको*].....
- 10 १० (+*) २ गमवरो १ दखिना काहापना २००० (+*) ४००० (+*)
४०० पसपको काहापना १००० १³ राज[सूयो यंजो०] सकट⁴

Part II
(on the right wall)

- 11 धंजगिरि-तम-पयुतं १ सपटो १ असो १ अस-रयो १ गावीनं १० (1*) अस-धेधो
यंजो वितियो [वि*]टो दखिनायो [दि]ना असो रुपाळ[का]रो १ सुवनं...नि १०
(+*) २ दखिना दिना काहापना १००० (+*) ४००० गामो १ [हठि].....
[दखि]ना दि[ना]
- 12 गावो...⁵ सकटं धंजगिरि-तम-पयुतं १ (1*) बोवायो यंजो १० (+*) ७
[धेनु१] बोवाय... सतरस
- 13 १० (+*) ७ अच...न...छय पसपको दि[नो] [दखि]ना दिना सु
...पीनि १० (+*) ३ अ(१)सो⁶ रुप[ल]कारो १ दखिना काहाप[ना] १०००० २

1 Possibly we have to restore [सातर्जवि*]-सिरिस or सिरि-सा[तर्जवि*].

2 We may suggest *rāya-Sa[takayinā saha*]*.

3 *सा* seems to have been originally engraved.

4 There are traces of two numerical symbols after धेनु (= सवतना गौ:).

5 The first two aksharas may be read सुव.

6 Bühler takes the sign to indicate 1. We take it here (as well as in the other cases) as a mark of punctuation, as it is not close to the symbol for 6000.

7 This is omitted in Bühler's transcript.

8 Indraji read the figure after गावो as 6000.

9 Bühler : तैस.

- 14 गावो २०००० [१०] [भग्न]-दसरतो यंओ वि[टो] [दक्षिणा] [दि]ना [गावो]
१०००० । गर्गतिरतो यंओ विटो [दक्षिणा] पसपको पटा ३०० ।
गवामयनं यंओ विटो [दक्षिणा दिना] गावो १००० (+०) १०० । गावो १०००
(+०) १०० (१) पसपको काहापना...पटा १०० (१) चतुयामो यंओ
- 15 [ग]वामयनं यंओ [दक्षिणा दिना] गावो १००० (+०) १०० । अंगिरस[१]-
मयनं यंओ विटो [दक्षिणा] गावो १००० (+०) १०० । त [दक्षिणा दि]ना
गावो १००० (+०) १०० । सतातिरतं यंओ १०० (१०) [यं]ओ दक्षिणा
ग[१][वो] १००० (+०) १०० (१०) अंगिरस[ति]रतो यंओ विटो [दक्षि]ना
गा[वो] (१०) ..
- 16 ... [गा]वो १००० (+०) २ (१०) छन्दोमप[व]मा[नतिरत] दक्षिणा गावो १००० ।
अं [गि]र[सतिर]तो यंओ [विटो दक्षिणा] (१०) .. रतो विटो यंओ दक्षिणा
दिना (१०) तो यंओ विटो दक्षिणा (१०) .. यंओ विटो दक्षिणा दिना गावो
१००० ।
- 17 न स सयं दक्षिणा दिना गावो त [१०] [अं]गि[रसा]मयनं
छयस [दक्षि]ना दिना गाव १००० (१०) .. [दक्षिणा] दिना गावो १००० ।
तेरस अ... (१०)
- 18 (१०) तेरसरतो स... छ [अ]ग-दक्षिणा दिना गावो (१०) .. दसरतो म
[दि]ना गावो १०००० । उ १०००० । द.....
- 19 [यं]ओ दक्षिणा दि[ना]
- 20 [दक्षिणा दिना]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

1—सिद्धम् ॥ [प्रजापत्ये] धर्माय नमः, इन्द्राय नमः, सङ्कर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां, चन्द्रसूराभ्यां
(—०सूर्याभ्यां) महिमवज्रां, चतुर्भ्यः च लोकपालेभ्यः यम-वरुण-कुबेर-वासवेभ्यः नमः ॥
कुमार-वरस्य वेदिभ्यः राज्ञः... वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापचपतेः.....
[राज्ञः शिमुकसातवाहनस्य स्नुषया] बालया (—कन्यया) महारथिनः अङ्गिक-कुल-वर्द्धनस्य,
सागर-गिरिवर-बलयायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमवीरस्य [शातकर्णि]-भ्यः भार्यया देवस्य

¹ It is not certain that this was the last line. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa in the Early Śātavāhana court. The great wealth paid as dakṣiṇā proves not only the opulence of the family but also the complexity acquired by the simpler Vedic sacrificial tradition. For the sacrifices, consult Bühler, *loc. cit.*, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

पुलदस्य वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य वेदिश्रियः-माता, शक्तेः श्रीमतः (—शक्तिश्रियः)
च माता नागवर-दायिन्या, मातोपवासिन्या, गृह-तापस्या, चरित-ब्रह्मचर्या, दीर्घ-व्रत-
यज्ञ-शौण्ड्या यज्ञाः हुताः धूपन-सुगन्धाः (=सुगन्ध-द्रव्याहुत्या सुगन्धीकृताः .. राज-
[श्रीशातकर्णिना सह] यज्ञैः इष्टम् । [तेषां] वर्णः^१ (—वर्णना—विवरणम्)—अग्न्याधेयः
यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२, अश्वः च [एकः] १ । अनाच्छन्नीयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा
..... । दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १७००, हस्तिनः १० वंश-यष्टयः १८६, कुम्भ्यः
रौप्यमध्यः १७ । रिकः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०००, अश्वः १०००, प्रसर्पकः^२
(=यज्ञ-दर्शकादि जनाः=तेभ्यः दानम्)..... [यज्ञः...दक्षिणा दत्ता] १२, ग्रामवरः १२,
दक्षिणा कार्पापणानि ४४००, प्रसर्पकः कार्पापणानि ६००० । राजसूयः यज्ञः.....शकटं
॥—धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्तं (—विशालधान्यस्तूपस्य वहन-मोचन-विनियुक्तं),^३
सत्पट्टम् १, अश्वः १, अश्वरथः १, गवीनां [शतं] १०० । अश्वमेधः यज्ञः द्वितीयः^४ इष्टः,
दक्षिणा दत्ता अश्वः [१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, सुवर्ण[लङ्काराः] १२, दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्पापणानि
१४०००, ग्रामः १, हस्ती[१] । [यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः [६०००], शकटं धान्यगिरि-
तंस-प्रयुक्तं १ । ोवायः(१) यज्ञः [दक्षिणा दत्ता] १७ । सप्तदशातिरातः
यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता] १७ प्रसर्पकः दत्तः । [यज्ञः]
दक्षिणा दत्ता १२, अश्वः[१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, दक्षिणा कार्पापणानि १०००० गावः
२०००० । भगाल-दशरातः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००० । गर्गातिरातः यज्ञः
इष्टः, दक्षिणा प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३०० । गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता
गावः ११०० । गावः ११००, प्रसर्पकः कार्पापणानि पट्टानि १०० । आसौर्यामः यज्ञः ।
गवामयनं यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । अङ्गिरसामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः
११०० । दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । शतातिरातः यज्ञः १००० । यज्ञः,
दक्षिणा गावः ११० । आङ्गिरसातिरातः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः । गावः १००२ ।
छन्दोमपवमानातिरात्रः [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा गावः १००० । आङ्गिरसातिरातः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा
..... । रातः इष्टः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता । रातः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा । यज्ञः
इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । [यज्ञः इष्टः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ।
..... अङ्गिरसामयनं पट्वर्षं दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा दत्ता
गावः १००० । सयोदश रातः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता] । सयोदशरातः अग्र्यदक्षिणा

^१ Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 549, note.

^२ Bühler : "the presents to the spectators and menials".

^३ Bühler : "the cart for conveying a mountain of grains".

^४ Two *Aśvamedhas* were performed ; but the account of the first is lost.

दत्ता गावः । दशराजः [दक्षिणा] दत्ता गावः १०००० १०००० । यज्ञः,
दक्षिणा दत्ता । दक्षिणा दत्ता ॥^१

No. 83—Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra

Satakarni (c. 106-30 A. D.)—Regnal

Year 18 (= c. 124 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 558ff.; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 104f., No. 13; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71, No. 4; LÜDERS' List, No. 1125 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ The performance of sacrifices by females is denounced by Vedic literature. Nāgamnikā therefore could not have performed the sacrifices when she might have been the regent and her son king Veditrī was a minor. The word *rāja* at the beginning line 6 may suggest that king Sātakarṇi was the performer of the sacrifices. Nāgamnikā appears to refer to her part in the performance of the sacrifices as the *sahadharmini* of Sātakarṇi. Saktitrī has been identified with Saktikumāra mentioned as the son of Śālivāhana in Jain literature. The identification of this prince with Haksiri of *supra*, No. 80 (see p. 184, n. 3) suggests that the queen referred to in this inscription is Nāgamnikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I. As regards *हुकु-यज्ञ*, note *हिह-यज्ञ-हातकणि* = *श्रीयज्ञ-हातकणि* on some coins (Raspon, *Cat.*, p. 45). Cf. also *ययिरहयान* in No. 100 below. According to the Purāṇas, Simuka who defeated the Kāṇvas and Śuṅgas was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (No. 75) and the latter by his son Sātakarṇi (No. 77). The order of succession seems to be all right; but the terms of relationship should possibly be transposed. Possibly both Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi were sons of Simuka.

TEXT¹

1. सि[चं] (॥*) (सेनाये [वे]जयं[ति]ये² विजय-खधावारा [गो]वधनस
वेनाकटक-स्वामि³ गोतमि-पुतो सिरि-सटकणि)
2. आनपयति गोवधने अमच वि[ण्डु]पालितं (१*) गामे अपर-कखुडि⁴ ये] [य] खेतं
अजकाळकियं लसभदातेन भूतं निवतन-⁵)
3. सतानि वे २०० एत अम्ह-खेत निवतण-मत्तानि वे २०० हुमेस पवजितान
तेकिरसिण⁶ वितराम (१*) एतस चस खेतस परिहार
4. वितराम अपावेसं अनोमस अलोग-खा[दकं] भरटसचिनयिकं सवजातपारिहारिक
च (१*) एतेहि नं परिहारेहि परिह[र]हि (१*)
5. एते चस खेत-परिहारे] च एय निवधापेहि (१*) अवियेन⁷ आणतं (१*) अमचेन
मिवगुतेन उत्तो (१*) महासामियेहि उपरखितो (१*)
6. दता पटिका सवकुरे १० (+*)८⁸ वास-पखे २ दिवसे १ (१*) तापसेन कटा (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record was copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth; cf. पटिका in line 6.

² सिंह = सिंह; चस

³ Senari takes Vaijayanti to be a city (mod. Banavāsi in North Kanara). But it seems to be an epithet of सेना apparently referring to some expedition led by the king, very probably the one against Rishabhādatta (cf. line 2).

⁴ Some read *कटका. This reading suggests that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter 'from Benākṣaka' (वेनाकटकात्), which place was evidently situated on a river called Benvā. In records however the epithet स्वामिन् is found after the metronymic and close to the name of the king. It is therefore better to take वेनाकटक-स्वामिन् as an instance of *śākapārthivādi samāsa* to indicate "the lord now residing at Benākṣaka." This Benākṣaka (as well as the river Benā) was situated in the Nāsik region. The Benā therefore can hardly be identified with the Penguṅgā or the Waingāṅgā. Note that this interpretation alone explains why only here and in No. 87 the Śātavāhana king is referred to as lord of a particular place. Records were generally issued from the capital which was not usually mentioned. These two are unusual cases and that is why the places were mentioned. For the *sāpekṣa-samāsa*, see *supra*, p. 181, note 4.

⁵ One *nicottana* of land was about 4½, 3, 2½ or 2 acres or ½ acre according to different authorities (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, p. 245). It was not the same area in different parts of the country and different ages of history.

⁶ तेकिरसिण has been supposed to be a mistake for तेरसिकान (= वैरसिकाना, 'of those residing on the Tirasani hill'). Read एतस च खेतस.

⁷ अविय means भवित or उक्त (*Deśināmamālā*, I, 10).

⁸ This date falls very near the last known date of Nahapāna; cf. the Jogaltembhi hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Śātakarṇi (*Rapson, Cat.*, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix), and *infra*, p. 204, note 5.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (—सिद्धिः [अस्तु]) ॥ सेनायाः [कस्मिंश्चित् अभियाने] विजयमानायाः विजय-
स्कन्धावारात् (=०कटकात्) गोवर्द्धनस्य (=नासिकाहारान्तर्गत०) वेनाकटक-स्वामी
(=०कटक-स्थित०) गौतमीपुत्रः श्रोत्रातकणिः आज्ञपयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं^१ =गोवर्द्धनस्य
गोवर्धनाहार-शापकं विष्णुपालितम् । —“ग्रामे अर-कलटगं यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयम्
(=अद्यतनत्वमयं यावत् ; यद्वा —आर्यकालकोयाव्यम्) ऋषभदत्तेन भुक्तं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २००,
एतत् अस्मत् क्षेत्रं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २०० एभ्यः प्रवर्जितेभ्यः खैरश्मिकेभ्यः (=खैरश्मिपर्वतस्थित-
लवनवासिभ्यः वितरामः [वयम्] । एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं (=क्षेत्रसम्बन्धीयराजाधिकार-
विशेषेभ्यः विमुक्तिं) वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यं (=भटादिप्रवेश-प्रतिषेधः) अनावमर्श्यं (=राजपुरुषा-
दिजनितबाधायाः निषेधः), अ-लवण-स्नातकं^२ (=क्षेत्रात् लवण-स्नान-परिहारः), अ-राष्ट्र-
सांविनयिकं^३ सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एतत् (=एतत् क्षेत्रं) परिहारैः परिहर । एतत् च
अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निवन्धय (=शासने उल्लेख्य) ।
उक्तेन (=यवनमात्रेण) आज्ञप्तम् । अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन क्षतं (=लिखितं शासनम्) ।
महास्वामिकैः^४ उपलक्षितं (=राजा परीक्षितम्) । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ वर्षा-पक्षे
द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=श्रावण-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रथम-दिवसे) । तापसेन कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) ॥



^१ The word *amātya* is sometimes used in a wider sense to include a *mantrin*. A distinction is made, e.g., in Rāmavarman's commentary on the *Rāmāyana*, I, 7, 4 : अमात्या देशादिकार्यनिर्वाहकाः, मन्त्रिणो व्यवहारदृष्टार इति भेदः (*Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 121).

^२ One of the Barhut inscriptions mentions a Yaksha named Ajakālaka (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 67). The field may have been named after a similar spirit. For Rishabhadatta, see *supra*, Nos. 58-61.

^३ All produce of the mines belonged to the king : cf. चाकरेभ्यः सर्वमादद्यात् (*Vishnusaṃhitā*, III, 35) ; cf. also चाकरे खवणे युक्ते तरे नागवने तथा । न्यसेदमात्याप्रपतिः स्वाभान् वा पुरुषान् हितान् ॥ महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व ॥ ६८।२८. Cf. “Much salt is produced in the Kāśī (Banarās) District, where soil is salty. Water drawn from the ground or from wells is poured on fields. When it dries out, a finger's breadth of salt gathers on the surface. The landlords of the District utilise fallow lands in getting salt in the above way.” Translated from the *Samāchāradarpana* (Bengali) of 21-8-1819 quoted in *Saṃskṛtadāpatre Śekāler Kathā*, by B. N. Banerji, Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 107. See also notes on Bk. III Nos. 59, 60 and 64.

^४ विनी or संविनी means ‘to govern, control’ : संविनय is therefore ‘government, control (by punishment)’. As regards government, the land was thus separated from other parts of the kingdom : cf. सदृष्टदशापराध of later records referring to the power of punishing minor offences transferred to the donees. Senart translates ‘not to be interfered with by the district police’.

^५ See below, p. 209, note 3

✓ No. 84—Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śatakarni—Regnal Year 24 (= c. 130 A.D.)

Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 83, from which it is separated only by a स्तम्भिक symbol.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 105 ff. ; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 560 ff. ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1126 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 'सिद्ध' (॥*) गोवधने अम[च]स सामकस² [दे]यो [रा]जाणितो (॥*)
- 2 रणो गोतमिपुतस सातकणि[स] महा[देवीय च जीवसुताय राज-मातुय वचनेन गोवधने [अम*]चो सामको अरोग वतव³ (॥*) ततो एव च
- 3 वतवो (॥*) एथ अम्हेहि पवते तिरण्डुम्हि अम्ह धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितान भिखून गा[मे] कखडीसु पुव खेतं दत्त (॥*) त च खेत
- 4 [न]⁴ कसते सो च गामो न वसति (॥*) एवं सति य दानि एथ नगर-सीमे राजकं खेतं अम्ह-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखून तिरण्डुकानं दद[म]
- 5 खेतस निवतण-सतं १०० (॥*) तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अ-लोण-खादक अ-रठ-सविनयिक सव-जात-पारिहारिक च (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. This also is copied from a charter on plates. The latter part is carelessly engraved.

² This line is a continuation of line 6 of No. 83. सिद्ध = सिद्धि: [यस्य].

³ Some read सुमक.

⁴ Some read सत. The word जीवसुता suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be reassured about his health. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gautamīputra.

⁵ Apparently this village stood on the eastern borders of Western Kakhadi mentioned in *supra*, No. 83. Aparā-Kakhadi may also have been the western part of Kakhadi. The grant may or may not have been that referred to in No. 83.

⁶ The letter which is indistinct is read by some as व.

- 6 एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेट (१०) एत चय खेत-परीहारि च एथ निवधापेथ (१०) अवियेन आगत (१०) पट्टिहार-(२०)खिय लोटाय छतो लेखो (१०)^१ सवकुरे २० (+ १०) ५
- 7 वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ (१०) सुजिविना कटा (१०) निवधो^२ निवधो सवकुरे २० (+ १०) ४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० (॥३)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमास्याय श्यामकाय देयं राजाज्ञप्तं (— राजाज्ञा-पत्रम्) । राज्ञः गौतमी-पुत्रस्य शातकर्णेः महादेव्याः च जीवत्सुतायाः राजमातुः वचनेन गोवर्द्धने अमास्यः श्यामकः अरोगः (=आरोग्यं) वक्तव्यः । ततः एव च [सः] वक्तव्यः—“अत्र अस्माभिः पर्वते विरश्मौ अस्मद्धर्मदाने छयने प्रतिवसद्गः प्रवजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखट्यां पूर्व^३ (=भूतकाले) क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तत् च क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते ; स च ग्रामः न उप्यते (=अध्युप्यते) । एवं सति, यत् इदानीम् (=अधुना) अव नगरसीमि राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्-स्वत्वकं (=राज-स्वत्व-विशिष्टं^४ क्षेत्रं [अस्ति]), ततः एतेभ्यः प्रवजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः दद्याः क्षेत्रस्य निवर्त्तन-शतं १०० । तस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वित्तरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमश्यम्, अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट-सांविनयिकं (=राष्ट्रस्य साधारणदण्डविधेः बहिर्भूतत्वं=विशिष्ट शासन-वस्त्वं), सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारेः परिहरत । एतं च अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निवन्धयत ।” उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम् । प्रतीहार-[र]क्ष्या (=द्वार रक्षिण्या—अन्तःपुर-प्रतीहाराध्यक्ष्या) लोटया क्षतः (=लिखितः) लेखः । [दत्ता पट्टिका] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ (=भाद्रपद-शुद्ध-पञ्चम-दिवसे) । सुजीविना कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । निवद्धः लेखः (=राजकीयलेख-शालायां रक्षितप्रतिलिपिकीकृतः) । संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे दशमे १० (=चैत्र-शुद्ध-दशम-दिवसे) ॥

1 Drafting of a document by a female officer is interesting. This was apparently because the queen-mother issued the charter in question. Read दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे.

2 Some read पुजितिना.

3 निवधो seems to be engraved twice owing to the engraver's inadvertence.

4 Royal lands may have belonged to the king personally or may have been allotted to his dependants as jāgīrs.

No. 85—Karle Cave Inscription of Vasishthiputra

Pulumavi (c. 130-59 A.D.)

—Regnal Year 7 (= c. 137 A.D.)

KARLE, Poona District, Bombay State.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 107, No. 17; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 61f., No. 14; LÜDERS' List, No. 110 (for other references).

Language:: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 रणो वासिठिपुत्रस्य स्वामि-मिरि-²[पुळमाविस०] सवकुरे सतमे ७ गिम्ह पखे पचमे ५
- 2 दिवसे पचमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखळकियानं महार[धि]स कोसिकि-पुत्रस्य मित-
देवस्य पुत्रेन
- 3 [म०]हारधिना वासिठिपुत्रेन सोमदेवेन ग्रामो दत्तो वलुरक-संघस्य वलुरक-लेनस
स-कहकरो स-देय-मेयो (॥०)³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राजः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीपुल्लमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ व्रीष्म-पक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे
१ (—ज्यैष्ठ-कृष्ण-प्रथम-दिवसे) = एतस्यां पूर्वायां (= पूर्वोक्ते दिवसे) औखलकीयानां (=०कीय-
वंशजस्य) महारथिनः कीशिकीपुत्रस्य मितदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण सोमदेवेन
ग्रामः दत्तः वलुरक-सहाय वलुरक-लयनस्य (—०गुहामु वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां सहाय) स करोत्-
करः (—स-करोपकरः) स-देय-मेयः (—वलिश्रुद्धादिर्माहितः राजभागादिसहितः च । ॥³

¹ From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, and *Ep. Ind.*, VII.

² Some read वलुरकामयस, वलुरक and सकराकरोर. For Valsuka, see *supra*, No. 61, (p. 172, note 1). Mahārathin seems to be a feudatory title like Mahāsenāpati.

³ The rent-free holding of the village was apparently created by Somadeva out of his own *ġir* with the king's permission. स-कहकर = स-काहकर ?

No. 86—Nasik Cave Inscription of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 19 (= c. 149 A.D.).

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State.

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 550ff., No. 2 ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 180f., No. 18 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 60ff., No. 2 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1123 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धं (॥०) रजो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस विरि-पुळुमायिस सवद्धरं एकुनवीसे १०
(+•) ८ वीम्हार्ज पळे बित्तीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १० (+•) ३ राजरजो गीतमोपुत्रस
हिमव[त]-मेरु
- २ मंदर-पर्वत सम-सारस असिक-अमक-मुळक-सुरठ कुकुरापरंत-अनुप-विदभ-
आकरावति-राजस^२ विभक्तवत-परिचात^३-मरुह-क^४हगिरि-मच-सिरिटन-
मलय-सहिद-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* VIII. This record also may have been copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth. The gift of the cave to a new set of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it. The unusual eulogy of the dead king is possibly due to the fact that the queen-mother wanted to recapitulate the family's past glory at a time when much of his son's conquests were reconquered by the Sakas. There is no proof that Gautamiputra and Pulumāvi ruled conjointly.

² The marks above व do not appear to be any part of the letter.

³ A letter had been originally inscribed here, but was afterwards erased.

⁴ Cf. this list of countries with that in *supra*, No. 67 and note that Anarta is not mentioned here. Anarta may have sometimes been regarded as a part of Kukura. What Gautamiputra gained from Nahapāna, he lost to Chashtana and Rudradāman. The reference to Malaya (Western Ghāṭe to the south of the Nilgiris) and Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭe) points to a vague claim of suzerainty over the Deccan Peninsula possibly based on a *digvijaya* (cf. वि-समुद्र-दीप-दीप-वाहन in line 3).

⁵ Some read वात०

3. सेटगिरि-चकोर पवत-पतिस¹ सवराज[लोक]म² उल-पतिगहीत-सासनस दिवसकर-
[क]र-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदिस-वदनस तिसमुद-तोय-पीत-वाहनस पटिपू³ण⁴-
चद-मउळ-ससिरीक-
4. पियदसनस वर-वारण-विकम-चारु-विकमस भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वाट-विपुल-दीघ-
सुद[र०]-भुजस अभयोदकदान-किलिन-निभय-करस⁵ अविपन-मातु-सुसूसाकस
सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालस
5. पोरजन-निविसेस-सम-सुख-दुखस⁶ खतिय-दप-मान-मदनस सक-यवन-पल्हव-⁷
निसूदनस धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करस कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाणहिसा-रुचिस
दिजावर-कुटूब-विवध-
6. नस खखरात-वस-निरवसेस-करस सातवाहनकुल-यस-पतिथापन-करस सव-मंडला-
भिवादित-च[र०]णस विनिवतित-चातूवण-संकरस⁸ अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-सघस
अपराजित-विजयपताक-सतुजन-दुपधसनीय-
7. पुरवरस कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदस आगमान [नि]लयस सपुरिसानं
असयस सिरी[ये] अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एक-धनुधरस एक-सुरस
एक-वम्हणस राम-

¹ Vindhya=the Eastern Vindhyas ; Rikshavat=the Vindhyas to the north of the Narmadā ; Pāriyātra=the Aravelly and Western Vindhyas ; Sahya=the Western Ghāṭs ; Krishnagiri=Kanhari. Setagiri was a hill near Nāgārjunikopṇa in the Guntur District. See notes on No. 67 above and also further below.

² Senart : पटिपुण. The intended word is प्रतिपूणं. But read परिपूणं.

³ Cf. सर्वदानाधिकमभयप्रदानम् (Vishnu, 92. 1).

⁴ Cf. प्रजामुखे सुखी राजा तद्विषये यथ दुःखितः । स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विश्वसंहिता । १।७०

⁵ The Sakas have again been referred to as Khakharāta (=Kshaharāta, cf. *supra*, Nos. 58f.). Their success was responsible for the insignificance of the Sātavāhana kingdom for many years before Gautamiputra re-established his family's fortune. The Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Perso-Parthians) ruled in the Punjab-N.W.F.P.-Sind region. For their existence in Western India, see *supra*, No. 67, notes. Some take Kabatriya in the sense of the Khatri tribe ; but cf. *eka-bamhana* in line 7 and the tradition referring to the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.

⁶ Senart reads चातुवण-सकरस. Cf. चातुर्वर्ण्ये भवकर्मस्ये स्यादानामसङ्करः । दण्डनीतिकृते चेमे प्रजानामकुतोभये ॥ etc., महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व । ६२।७०

- 8 केसवाजुन-भीमसेन-तुल-परकमस छण-धनुसव-समाज-कारकस¹ नाभाग-नहुस-
जनमेजय-सकर-य[या]ति-रामावरीस-सम-तेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवन-
गरुड-सिध-यख-राखस-विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-
- 9 चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समरसिरसि² जित-रिपु-सघस नागवर-खधा गगनतल-
मभिविगाढस कुल-विपु[लसि]रि-करस सिरि-सातकाणिस मातुय महादेवीय
गौतमीय बलसिरीय सचवचन-दान-खमाहिता-निरताय तप-दम-निय-
- 10 मोपवास-तपराय राजरिसिवधु-सदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित देयधम
[केलासपवत³]-सिखर-सदिसे [ति]ररुहु-पवत-सिखरे विम[ान⁴]-वर-निविसेस महि-
ढीकं लेण (I⁵) एत च लेण महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज-[पि]तामही ददाति
निकायस भटावनौयान⁶ भिक्षु-सधस (I⁵)
- 11 एतस च लेण[स] चितण-निमित्त महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो पियकामो च ण[ता]
[सिरि-पुलुमावि⁷]-[दखिणा⁸]-पथेसरो पितु-पतियो (पितिये) धमसेतुस [ददा]ति
गाम⁹ तिररुहु-पवतस अपर-दक्षिण-पसे पिसाजिपदक सब जात-भोग-निरठि⁴ (II¹⁰)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (— सिद्धिः अस्तु) ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे¹ एकोनविंशे १९ प्रोष्मस्य
पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (— चैत्र-शुद्ध-त्रयोदश-दिवसे) राजराजस्य गौतमी-पुत्रस्य हिम-
वन्मेरु-मन्दरपर्वत-सम-सारस्य, ऋषिकाशमक-मूलक-सुराष्ट्र-कुरापपरान्तानूप-विदर्भाकरावन्ति-
राजस्य² विन्धप्रश्नवत्-पारियात्र-सह्य-कृष्णगिरि-मतस्य-श्रीस्तन(यद्रा—श्रीस्थान)-मलय-महेन्द्र-

¹ The first word may also be कृष्ण

² Cf. समेयुय महात्मानो युद्धदर्शनाकाङ्क्षिणः ।

ऋषयो देवगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाय सह चारणैः ॥

(*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 24, 19, etc.). See also *Gaṇḍavāṇa*, verse 416, and the Chateswara temple inscription referred to by Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 261.

³ Cf. the Bhaddayānika community of the Buddhists (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, transl., p. 26). The Bhadrāyānikas were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). Cf. below, p. 206, note 4.

⁴ Read निरठं. The absence of the usual formulae of charters suggests that some passages of the original have been omitted here.

⁵ Cf. विदर्भानुयिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 11). As a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela would suggest, the Asika (=Rishika) country possibly lay "between the Kṛishnā and the Godāvarī, and to the south of Āśmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the Kṛishnā. Āśmaka was on the Godāvarī near Mūlaka which was the district round Pratishthāna (mod. Paithān), the Sātavāhana capital. The Āśmaka country comprised the Nander-Nizamabad region of the former Hyderabad State. Its capital Paudanya is mod. Bodhan in the Nizamabad District. Vidarbha is mod. Berar. For the other countries, see *supra*, p. 178, note 4.

श्रेष्ठगिरि-चकोर पर्वत-पतेः, सर्व-राजलोकमण्डल-प्रतिगृहीत-शासनस्य, दिवसकर-कर-विवोधित-
कमलविमल-तटश-वदनस्य, तिरमुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहनस्य¹, परिपूर्ण-चन्द्रमण्डल-सश्रीक-प्रिय-
दर्शनस्य, वरवारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस्य, भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वृत्त-विपुल-दीर्घ-सुन्दर-भुजस्य,
अभयोदक-दान-क्लिन्न-निर्भयकरस्य, अविपक्ष-मातृ-शुश्रूषकस्य² सुविभक्त-तिवर्ग-देश-कालस्य
(- धर्मार्थकाम-लाभाय स्थान-काल-व्यवहारकस्य), पौरजन-निर्विशेष-सम-सुख-दुःखस्य, क्षत्रिय-
दम्पमान-मर्दनस्य, शक-यवन-पह्लव-निसूदनस्य, धर्मोपचित-कर-विनियोगकरस्य (- धर्म-
शास्त्रसमर्थित³) कृतापराधे अपि शत्रुजने अ-प्राणहिंसा-रुचेः, द्विजावर-कुटुम्ब-विवर्द्धनस्य
(- द्विजाद्विज-कुल-वर्द्धकस्य), क्षहरात-वंश-निरवशेषकरस्य, सातवाहनकुल-यशः-प्रतिष्ठापन-
करस्य, सर्वमण्डलाभिवादित-चरणस्य, विनिवर्त्तित-चातुर्वर्ण्य-सङ्करस्य, अनेकसमरावजित-
शत्रुसङ्घस्य (- समरेषु विजितशत्रुसङ्घस्य), अपराजितविजयपताक-शत्रुजनदुःखप्रधर्षणीय-
पुरवरस्य, कुलपुरुषपरम्परागत-विपुल-राजशब्दस्य, आगमानां निलयस्य (= वेदादिशास्त्रज्ञानस्य
आधारस्य), सत्पुरुषाणाम् आश्रयस्य, श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य, उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य (= सदा-
चाराणाम् उद्भवस्य), एकाङ्कस्य, एक-द्वारस्य, एक-ब्राह्मणस्य (यद्वा-⁴ ब्रह्मण्यस्य),
राम-केशवाङ्गुन-भीमसेन-तुल्य-पराक्रमस्य, जग-घनोत्सव-समाज-कारकस्य (- शुभदिवसेषु
महोत्सवादि⁵), नाभाग-नहुष-जनसेजय-सगर-ययाति-रामाश्वरीष-सम-तेजसः, अपरिमितम्
अक्षयम् अविन्यम् अजुतं पवन-गरुड-सिद्ध-यक्ष-राक्षस-विद्याधर-भूत-गन्धर्व-चारण(- स्वर्गीय-
गायक, किन्नर)-चन्द्र-दिवाकर-नक्षत्र-ग्रह-विचीर्ण(- जुष्ट, ईक्षित)-समर-शिरसि जित-
रिपुसङ्घस्य, नागनर-स्कन्धात् गगनतलम् अभिविगाढस्य, कुल-विपुलश्री-करस्य, श्रीवातकर्णः
माता महादेव्या गौतम्या वल्लभिया सत्यवचन-दान-क्षमाहिंसा-निरतया (- क्षमाशीलया
अहिंसापरया च) तपो-दम-नियमोपवास-तत्परया राजर्षिवधूतशब्दम् अखिलम् अनुविद्धवत्या
(= धारयन्त्या) कारितः देवधर्मः कैलासपर्वत-शिखर-सदृशे तिरश्चिम-पर्वत-शिखरे विमानवर-
निर्विशेषं महर्द्धिकं (= पर्वतशिखरस्य-पुष्पक-सदृशं महासमृद्धियुक्तं) लयनम्। एतत् च
महादेव (= महाराज-पत्नी) महाराज-माता महाराज-पितामही ददाति निकायाय
भद्रायगीयानां⁶ (भद्रयानीयानां) भिक्षु-सङ्घाय। एतस्य च लयनस्य चिह्न-निमित्तम्
(- आलेख्यादिना उत्कर्षविधानाय) महादेव्याः आर्चकायाः (= पितामह्याः) सेवाकामः

¹ Cf. तिरमुद्रानर्कतिभुवनमण्डलादीनुर of Chālukya records and तिरमुद्राधिपति of the Harshacharita, VII. Mayāraṇyakaśaka samuśāle like kamala-vimāla are common in early records.

² अविपक्ष = unobstructedly ; or, not ill

³ For चारण, see Śākuntala, II, 14.

⁴ Lüders' List, No 1018 mentions a Buddhist school called Bhaddajaujja probably the same as the Bhadrāyāniya. Cf. above, p. 205, note 8.

प्रियकामः च नमः [श्रीपुळुमाविः] दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृ-प्रीतये (—स्वर्गत-पितृ-प्रीतनाय) धर्मसेतवे (—यु-लोकभूलोकान्तरे सेतुरूपाय धर्मदानाय लयनाय) ददाति ग्रामं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्य अपरदक्षिण-पाश्वर् [स्थितं] पिशाचीपद्रकं सर्वजात-भोग-निरस्तं (—राजभागभोगादिपरिहृतम्) ॥

No. 87—Nasik Cave Inscription of Vāsishtiputra

Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 22 (=c. 152 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 86.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 554, No. 3; BÜHLER, *Arch. surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 116, No. 19; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 65ff., No. 3; LÜDERS' List, No. 1124 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² । नवनर-स्वामी वासिष्ठो-पुतो [सिरि-पुळुमवि [आ]नपयति गोवधने आमच
- 2 सिवखदिल य अ[ग्हे] सव १० (+०९ गि प २ दिव १० (+०) ३ धनकट-समनेहि यो³ एथ [पवते] तिर[बहुम्हि⁴] न⁵ धंम[सेतुस [ले]णस पटिसंघरणे⁶ [दत्त⁷] अखय[नीवि⁸]-हेतु एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिण-मगे गामो सुदिसणा भिखुहि देवि-लेण-वासीहि⁹ निकायेन भदायनियेहि [प]तिगय दतो (1*) एतस दान-गामस सुदिसन[स]¹⁰ परिवटके एथ गोवधन[हारे] पुव-मगे

¹ Form the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

² This line is a continuation of line 11 of the preceding grant which is separated from the present record by a *svastika* followed by another symbol. Navanara (=Navanagara; cf. Kusinārā=Kusinagara) may have been a new city near the old capital Pratiśthāna. We may also suggest नवन (न*) र. See *supra*, p. 198, note 4.

³ Senart: य. Dhānyakaṣa was the old name of Amarāvati.

⁴ Read तिरवहुन्दि पतिवसतान भिखुन.

⁵ Senart: ०सघरणे.

⁶ The letters are indistinct.

⁷ Others read वासेहि. Note that in this record ०सघ: has been Prakritized into ०हि. For this kind of 4th case-ending looking like the 3rd, see *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 18-43.

⁸ Senart read सदसनान.

- 3 गाम समलिपद ददाम (I*) एत त महअहरकेन ओदेन धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंधरणे¹ अखय-निवि-हेतु गाम सामलिप[द] [भिखुहि देवि]²-लेण-[वासीहि*] [निका]येन भदायनियेहि पति[ग]ट्ठ³ ओ]यप[पे]हि (I*) एतस च गामस सामलि- [पदस भिखुहळ-परिहार]⁴
- 4 वितराम अपा[वे]स अनोमस अ[लो]णखादक अरठसविनविक सवजात-पारिहारिक च (I*) एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेहि (I*) एत च गाम-समलिपद-प[रि]हारे च पथ निवधापेहि सु[दिसन]-गामस च (I*) सुदिसना[स]⁵ विनिव ध⁶कारेहि⁷ अणता (I*) महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन ...ना छतो (I*) वटि[का] ... केहि⁸ तो⁹ (I*) दत्ता पटिका सब २२ गि एखे ... दिव ७ (I*) ... तकणिना¹⁰ कटा (I*) गोवधन-वाथवान फा[सु]काये¹¹ विण्हुपालेन स्वामि-वणन गत (I*) नम भगत-सपति-पत्तपस जिनवरस बुधस (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी (=नवनगरस्थ-नृपः) वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्रीपुळुमाविः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिकं यत्—“अस्माभिः संव[त्सरे एकोनविंशे] १९ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे [द्वितीये] २ दिव[से तयोदशे] १३ (=चैत्र-शुक्लपक्षस्य तयोदश-दिवसे। धान्यकट-श्रमणेभ्यः यः अन्न पर्वते तिरश्मौ [प्रतिवसतां भिक्षूणां] धर्मसेतोः कथनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय (=संस्ताराय=वर्द्धनाय, प्रतिसंस्करणाय ?) दत्तः अक्षयनीवि-हेतोः अन्न गोवर्द्धनाहारे (=गोवर्द्धनाख्य-प्रदेशस्य

¹ It is compared with Pāli पटिसन्धारो and translated 'repairs' (Bühler) or 'care' (Senart).

² The upper portions of these letters are lost.

³ Bühler : पटिखय, 'to be administered' (=पटिखेयं from चि, to govern, or पटिखाय from प्रतीच); Senart : प्रतिगृह्य; or प्रतिगृह्यं, "to be owned". These interpretations suit भदायनियेहि in the third case-ending.

⁴ हळ means land that can be annually ploughed by one ploughman and, secondarily, ploughable rent-free land dedicated to monks, gods, etc. Here भिखुहळ means the property of the monks. भिखुहळ occurs also in a Kāle cave inscription. Cf. देवहळ and देवभोगहळ in *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 94-95.

⁵ Others who read सुदसनान here and also in line 2, may be right. The plural number may then refer to the fact that the village had divisions like East Sudisana and West Sudisana.

⁶ Senart suggests : निवधापेहि सुदिसने ; गामस च सुदसनानं विनि०, etc.

⁷ Some read ०तो विनिकटवासकहि or ०तो पटिका...वासकेहि ; but that is hardly possible. The intended reading is possibly पटिकापालकेहि.

⁸ Some read हयकता or हयिकता. Probably the reading intended is उपरखितो.

⁹ Some restore [सा]तकणिना. ¹⁰ Some read फासुकायं.

विभागविशेषे) दक्षिणमार्गे (—दक्षिणभागे; यद्वा—दक्षिणराजपथपाश्वर्णे) [स्थितः] ग्रामः सुदर्शनः, भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः (=पुलुमावि-महिषी-लयन०; यद्वा—गौतमी-लयन०) निकायेन (=सम्प्रदायेन) भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य (—प्रतिग्रहणं कृत्वा) दत्तं [शासनम्] । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्तके अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शाळमलीपद्रं दद्याः [वयम् भद्रायणीयेभ्यः] । एतं तु महार्यकेण (=राज्ञः प्रमातामहेन ?) औदेन (—तदाख्यद्वारा) धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतुं ग्रामं शाळमलीपद्रं भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं] प्रतिगृह्य [एतं नवं दान-ग्रामं] अवोपप्रापय । एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शाळमलीपद्रस्य भिक्षुहल-परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अलवगत्वातकम्, अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-पारिहारिकं (=सर्वविधपरिहारवर्गं) च । एतैः एतत् [श्रेष्ठं] परिहारैः परिहर । एतं च ग्राम-शाळमलीपद्र-परिहारम् अत्र (—शासने) निबन्धय, सुदर्शनग्रामस्य [परिहारं] च ।¹ सुदर्शनस्य [पूर्वदानस्य] विनिबन्धकारैः (—दान-निबन्धापसारकैः राजपुरुषैः) आज्ञप्तम् ।² महासेनापतिना मैथुनेन न क्षतः (=लिखितः लेखः) । पट्टिका-पालकैः (—पुस्तपालराजपुरुषैः) उपलक्षितः (—परीक्षितः)³ । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२ श्रोमपक्षे ...दिवसे सप्तमे ७ । तद्वणिना (१) कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां [दानप्राप्तानां भिक्षूणां] स्पर्हाकाय (—सुखाय) विष्णुपालेन स्वामि-वर्णनं (=राज-शासनं) [राजधानीतः भिक्षूणां समीपे] नीतम् । नमः अभ्युद्गत-संपत्ति-प्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय ॥⁴

¹ It seems that Sudisana had been granted to the Śraṃapās of Dhānyakāṣa during the temporary absence of the Bhadrāyanīyas, but that no charter was prepared recording the transfer. The difficulty was felt only when the Bhadrāyanīyas came back. Some take श्रीवपेहिं, निवधापेहिं, परिहरेहिं as first person singular aorist of causatives with the Prakrit suffix आग्यामि (e.g., परिहाराप्यामि=परिहारयामि).

² Cf. *Ājñā* or *Ājñapti* of later South Indian inscriptions, and *Dūtaka* of North Indian records, who was possibly entrusted with the execution of the grant made by the charter. In these records the word *ājñapta* refers to an order (verbal or written) to prepare a document. The business of the *Dūtaka* seems to have been done in this case by Viṣṇupāla.

³ If महास्वामिक in *supra*, No. 83, may indicate a class of officials, this may also mean 'marked' (cf. लाञ्छित of later records which is probably a Prakrit-Sanskrit form of लक्षित).

⁴ For a number of Kadamba charters ending with similar adorations, see *Suc. Sātavā.*, pp. 256, 271, 276, 278, 297, etc. Senart: "with a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Viṣṇupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha." He suggests सम्पत्ति-प्रताप. Bühler: भग(व*)त स०

No. 88—Kārlē Cave Inscription of Vāsisthīputra

Pulumavi—Regnal Year 24 (=c. A.D. 154)

KĀRLE, Poona District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

BURGESS and INDRAJI, *Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.*, pp. 36f., No. 28;
BÖHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 113; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*,
VII, p. 71, No. 20; LODERS' List, No. 1106 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध (I*) रजो वासिठि-पुत्तस सिरि-पुळ्माविस सवळरे चतुविसे २०(+*)४
हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वि-
- 2 तिये २ उपासकस हरफरगस सेतफरग-पुत्तस सोवसकस अबुलामाय वधवस्य इम
देयधम मडपो
- 3 नव-गम माहासघियानं परिगहो² सधे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा(ये*) सव-
सतानं हित-सूच-स्थतये (I*) एक[वि]से³ सं-
- 4 वळरे निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य दि⁴ .. उपासिकाय (I*)
बुधरखितस मातु देयधम पिठो⁵ अनो (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये
३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ (= पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीय-दिवसे)—उपासकस्य हरपर्णस्य श्वेतपर्ण-पुत्रस्य
सौवासिकस्य⁶ (- सुवासितद्रव्य-विक्रयिणः ; यद्वा—सुवासाख्यदेश-जातस्य) अम्बुरामायां

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. Note the looped त and developed medial u; also words like पुत्तस. They are probably due to Satapharapa being a pilgrim from the north.

² Some read परिगहे

³ Some read एकतिसे

⁴ Some read मातरखिय

⁵ Some read पाटो or पाठो

⁶ *Sorasaka* of the original has been taken to stand for *Sauvarshaka*, another name of the Kāśyapiya branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 256). But this does not appear to suit the context. Harapharapa was a lay Buddhist and not a monk of the Sauvarshaka community.

वास्तव्यस्य अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः नवगर्भः (—नवापवारकयुक्तः) माहासाहिकानां (=बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां) परिग्रहः, सहाय चातुर्दिशाय (—अखिलदेशवर्तिनं सहस्रम् उद्दिश्य) दत्तः मातापितोः पूजायै, सर्व-सत्त्वानां [च] हित-सुख-स्थितये । एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः (—समाप्तः) मण्डपः सहितं (=सह) मया च हरपण्णेन, पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन, माता च अस्य...उपासिकया । बुद्ध-रक्षितस्य मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः (—तस्याः स्वकीयं अपरं निजस्वं दानं पीठः अपि अस्ति) ॥

No. 89—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña Śātakarni

(c. A.D. 174-202)—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 181)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

On the back wall of the Veranda in Cave No. 20.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 596f., No. 24; BOHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 114, No. 20; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94, No. 24; LÜDERS' List, No. 1146 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं (।०) रजो गोतमि-पुतस सामि-सिरि-यज-सातकणिस संवत्तरे सातमे ७ हेमताण पखे ततिये ३
- 2 दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासे[णा]पतिस² [भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणिय वासुय लेण
- 3 बोपकि-यति-सुजमाने अपयवसित-समाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो चातुदि-
- 4 सस च भिखु-सघस आवसो³ दतो ति ॥⁴

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

² *Mahāsenāpati* and similar other official designations sometimes indicate feudatory chiefs. This refers to the custom of appointing military officers as governors of provinces. The formation of feminine forms from masculine official titles is interesting.

³ Others read आवसो.

⁴ The full-stop is indicated by a short slightly curved horizontal stroke.

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमो-पुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (— पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे) कौशिकस्य (= कौशिकसगोत्रस्य) महासेनापतेः भवगोपस्य भार्यया महासेनापत्या (= महासेनापति-गृहिण्या) वास्वा लयनं वोपकि-यति-सृज्यमानम् अपर्यवसित-समानं (= असमाप्तप्रायं) बहुकानि वर्षाणि अवकृतम् (= बहुवर्षपर्यन्तम् अवहेलितं) पर्यवसानं (= समाप्तिं) नीतं, चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः (= वासार्थं) दत्तः इति ॥

No. 90—Myākadoni Rock Inscription of Pulumāvi (c. A.D. 217-25)¹

—Regnal Year 8 (= c. 225 A.D.)

The inscribed rock lies midway between the villages of Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary District, Mysore State.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 [सि]ध['] (॥*) रजो सातव[] हनानं [सि]रि-पुळुमाविस सव ८ हेम २ दिव १
- 2 [मस]³ महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे⁴ स[] तव[] हणिहारे⁵
- 3 [गा]मिकस⁶ कुमारदत्तस गामे वेपुरके वथवेन गहपतिकेन [को]तानं [संवे]न
- 4 तळाकं खानितं (॥*)

¹ He is different from the earlier Pulumāvi and seems to be the same as Pulomā, the last king of the main line according to the Purāṇas. The base of न is curved and has a loop at the left. The difference between त and न is only in the former's right leg which is curved towards the left; cf. the same difference between त and न in the Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa inscriptions. For Later Śātavāhana chronology from Gautamiputra to this king, see *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 161-64.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

³ Possibly the word intended is स्वामिस (i. e. of the lord = Śrī-Pulumāvi); cf. Bk. III, No. 71, line 26. Or, the engraver was going to write mahāsenā⁴, but left out hā, then erased the two akṣharas and engraved the word afresh.

⁴ Sukthankar: जनपादे.

⁵ Cf. साताहनिरट्ट of the Hirahadagalli plates below.

⁶ Sukthankar suggests गुमिक (= गौलिमिक); but गामिक is better. The महासेनापति ruled the जनपद, while affairs of the गाम were conducted by the गामिक.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः सातवाहनानां (—सातवाहनकुलजस्य) श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे अष्टमे ८ हेम[न्त-पक्षे द्वितीये] २ दिवसे प्रथमे] १ (=मार्गशीर्ष-शुक्लपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे)—[स्वामिनः (=राज्ञः पुलुमावेः)] महासेनापतेः स्कन्दनागस्य जनपदे सातवाहनीयाहारे ग्रामिकस्य (यद्वा—गौलिमकस्य) कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन (—गृहस्थेन) कौन्तानां (—कौन्तवंशीयेन) साम्बेन (यद्वा—शाम्बेन) तडागः खानितः ॥

B—ORISSA

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ĀRYA-MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA-
CHEDIS OF KALINGA

No. 91—Hathigumpha Cave Inscription
of Kharavela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, near Bhubaneswar, Purī District, Orissa

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, pp. 1075-91; CUNNINGHAM, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 27f.; 98-101; 132ff.; R. L. MITRA, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, pp. 16ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du Sixieme Congres international des Orientalistes*, Pt. III, Sec. 2, pp. 152-77; BÜHLER, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242ff.; 824; LUDERS' List, No. 1345; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, pp. 425ff.; IV, pp. 364f.; XIII, pp. 221ff.; XIV, pp. 150ff.; STEN KONOW, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff.; F. W. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 83f.; K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 72ff.; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, pp. 261 ff.

Language: Prakrit resembling Pāli

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.¹

¹ Earlier scholars identified Śātakarni mentioned in line 4 of this record with the Śātavāhana king of that name in the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and placed Khāravela about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. As has been noticed above (p. 190, note 2), the Nānāghāt records are later than the middle of the 1st century B. C. The angular forms and straight bases of letters like व, न, प, इ and य, which are usually found in the Hāthigumphā epigraph, suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (cf. ५ also). On

TEXT¹

- 1 [Śrīvatsa] [Svastika]² नमो अरहंतानं (।*) नमो सब-सिधानं (॥*) ऐरेण महाराजेन³ महामेघवाहनेन⁴ चेति-राज-व[']स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन⁵ चतुरंतलुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन⁶ कलिङ्गाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेल्लेन
- 2 [पं]द्रस-वसानि सीरि-[कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका (॥*) ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सब-विजावदातेन नव वसानि योवरज [प]सा-सितं (॥*) संपुंण-चतुर्वीसति-वसो तदानि वधमानसेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो⁷ ततिये
- 3 कलिङ्ग-राज-वसे(स)-पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं⁸ पापुनाति (॥*) अभिसितमतो च पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पसिंखारयति कलिङ्गनगरि खिवी[र']⁹ (।*) सितल-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सबूयान-प[टि]संथपनं च

grounds of palaeography, it is to be placed later probably than the Nānāghāt records and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros. The development of the Kāvya style exhibited by the *ojo-guṇa* of its composition also points to a late date. It is interesting in this connection to note that authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of the Mañchaparī cave (in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen) 'are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārbut' (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I pp. 639ff.). S. K. Chatterji and Przyluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravela. In an article in the *Vyāsasaṃgrahamu* (a volume of essays in English and Telugu offered to Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti Pantulu), 1933, pp. 71-74, Chatterji suggests that *Khāravela* is derived from Dravidian *kār* or *kar* meaning 'black' or 'terrible' and *vel*, 'lance', the name being a Bahuvrīhi compound and meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance (Sanskrit *kṛishṇ-arshṭi*)'. Cf. also the name *Kāḷavela* in the *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's transl., pp. 66, 75). *Khāravela* may also be Sanskrit *Kshāravela*, 'having salt on the shore (i. e. the ocean)'. For the date of Khāravela, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 215-16. Cf. below, p. 216, note 8; p. 217, note 9.

¹ From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, 1917.

² In the margin near the beginning of lines 2 and 4-5.

³ The title *Mahārāja* is first noticed in India in the numismatic records of the Indo-Greek kings in the first half of the second century B. C. This seems to support the suggestion assigning Khāravela to the first century B. C. See notes on No. 105 below.

⁴ *Mahāmeghavāhana* is a family name like *Śātavāhana*. Cf. names like *Meghavāhana* and *Śātavāhana* in the Kashmir chronicle. Some read चेत. चेति=चेदि and चेत=चेय. Apparently Khāravela claimed connection with the Chedis mentioned in ancient Indian literature; cf. line 17, *infra*.

⁵ Barua : लखनेन.

⁶ Barua : गुण-उपितेन ; Jayaswal : •लुठितगुणोपहितेन.

⁷ Barua : वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो.

⁸ Jayaswal : साहा.

⁹ Jayaswal and Banerji separate खिवीर from कलिङ्गनगरि and read खिवीर-इसि-ताल-तडाग.

- 4 कारयति पनसि(ति)साहि सत-सहसेहि पकलियो च रंजयति (॥*) (दुतिये च वसे
अचितयिता सातकांनि¹ पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति (॥*)
कन्हवेणां-गताय² च सेनाय वित्तसिति³ असिकनगरं⁴ (॥*) ततिये पुन वसे
- 5 गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति
नगरिं (॥*) तथा चवुये वसे विजाधराधिवासं⁵ अहतपुवं कलिंग(१)-पुव-राज-
[निवेसितं].....वितध-म[कु]ट⁶.....च निखित-छत(१)-
- 6 भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे बंदापयति (॥*) पंचमे च दानी
वसे नंदराज-तिवससत-ओ[घा]टितं⁷ तनसुलिय-वाटा पगाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति
सो..... (॥*) [अ*]भिसितो च [छठे वसे*] राजसेयं⁸ संदंसयंतो सवकर-वण-⁹
- 7 अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं (॥*) सतमं च वसे¹⁰

¹ This king seems to be that Śātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically the Hāthigumphā inscription is slightly later than the Nānāghāt records. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sāñchī inscription of Śātakarṇi (Plate in *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917) resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Śātakarṇi II. Of course, if this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both these Śātakarṇis with Śātakarṇi I. But it should be remembered that the big Nānāghāt record was possibly engraved after the death of that king.

² Jayaswal and Banerji : कन्ह^०.

³ Jayaswal : वित्तसितं.

⁴ Jayaswal and Banerji : सुसिक^०. For the Asika country, see *supra*, No. 86. The chief city of that country thus appears to have been situated on the Kṛishnā.

⁵ Vijādhara = Vidyādhara seems to be the name of a ruler.

⁶ Barua : मकुटे. The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal and Banerji as सविल्लटिते and by Barua as सविप्रवजिते.

⁷ Nanda has been taken to be a king of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra and the expression *ti-vasa-sata* as either 300 or 103 years. If however a Nanda king is referred to, the passage cannot mean 103 years, as the record has to be placed on palaeographical grounds not about one century but about three centuries after the Nanda kings. *Ti-vasa-sata* seems to indicate '300 years in round number'. The meaning '103 years' which would bring us to c. 223 B. C., even if we count from 326 B. C. when the Nanda dynasty may have been overthrown, is rendered impossible also by the facts that Kālīṅga was under Aśoka up to about 232 B. C. and that Khāravēla was preceded by at least two generations of kings belonging to his own family.

⁸ Jayaswal : राजसुयं which is improbable for a Jain king like Khāravēla.

⁹ *Vaṇṇa* here means 'description' as in No. 82, line 6, above.

¹⁰ Barua : सतमे च वसे [च]स-सती.

[पसा]सतो वजिरघर.....¹ स मतुक पद.....[कु]म...² (॥*) अठमे
च वसे महता सेन[1] गोरधगिरिं

8 घातापयिता राजगहं³ उपपौडयति (॥*) एतिन[1] च कंसपदान-स[']नादेन
.....सेन-वाहने⁴ विपमुचितुं मधुरं अपयातो यवनरा[ज] [दिमित?]⁵
.....यत्ति..... पलव ..

9 कपरुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति⁶ सव-घरावास ⁷ सव-गहर्णं च
कारयितुं ब्रह्मगानं ज[य]-परिहारं⁸ ददाति (॥*) अरहत...[नवमे च वसे*]...

10 ⁹ महाविजय-पासादं¹⁰ कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि (॥*)
दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](१)¹¹ भरधवस-पठा(१)नं मह[1]जयनं(१)¹²
.....कारापयति¹³ (॥*) [एकादसमे च वसे*] प[1]यातानं च म[नि]-
रतनानि उपलभते (॥*)

¹ Barua : वजिरघर-खतिय-सत-घटनि-समतक-पदपुंन संतिपद...; Jaysawal : *घरवति-
घुसित-घरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंन.....The readings are doubtful and the suggestion regarding
Khāravela's wife of the Vajiraghara family is problematical.

² Prinsep and Cunningham : सवत-कहदपन-नरप. All the readings are problematical.
The account of the achievements of the seventh year is thus doubtful.

³ Prinsep : राजगमं उपपौडयति; Cunningham : राजगंभु उपपौडयति; Indrajī :
राजगहनं पौडापयति which Sten Konow thinks not impossible. Gorathagiri has been
identified with the Barabar Hills. The passage may also suggest that Khāravela defeated
a king named Gorathagiri and plundered his capital Rājagriha. But this seems to be
less likely.

⁴ Prinsep : पंशत; Jaysawal : संवित; Barua : पवंत.

⁵ The reading यवनराज is clear, but दिमित or डिमित is doubtful. Even if the
reading be correct, this दिमित cannot be identified with Demetrios (son of Euthydemus)
who flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B. C. The Indo-Greek ruler mentioned
in the inscription may have had his headquarters at Mathurā.

⁶ Barua : यंति; Indrajī : सह-यत; Jaysawal : सह-यंते.

⁷ Prinsep : घरवसप...; Cunningham : घरवसय-अनतिकगवय; Indrajī : घरवसधं...;
Jaysawal : घरावास-परिवेसने अगिच्छिया.

⁸ Prinsep : जत; Jaysawal : जातिं परिहारं. Note bra in Brahmanāṇam, not much
expected in East Indian records of the second century B.C.

⁹ Barua : वमु विजय (line 9) ते उभय-प्रति-तटे राजनिवासं; Jaysawal : मानतिराजसंनिवासं.

¹⁰ Jaysawal : महाविजयं.

¹¹ The reading is doubtful. Cunningham read दतिभिसर.

¹² Cunningham : सहयन.

¹³ The record of the tenth year cannot be made out,

- 11 पुवं राज-निवेसितं¹ पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति (1*) जन[प]द-
भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं² भि[']दति तमिर-दह(?)-संघातं³ (1*) वारसमे च
वसे.....⁴ [सह]सेहि वितासयति उत्तरापध-राजानो.....
- 12 म[1]गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हयसं गंगाय⁵ पाययति (1*) म[1]गध['] च
राजानं ब्रह्मसतिमितं⁶ पादे वंदापयति (1*) नंदराज-नीतं च का[लि]ग-जिनं⁷
संनिवेस.....⁸ अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति (11*)....
- 13[क]तु['] जठर-[लखिळ-गोपु]राणि सिहराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रि-
हारेहि (1*) अभुतमछरियं च हयो-निवा[स]⁹ परिहर.....हय-हयि-रतन-[मानिकं]
पंडराजा[मु]त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहस्रानि]
- 14 सिनो वसीकरोति (1*) तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारीपवते
अरहते(हि*) पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि कायनिसीदियाय¹⁰ यापूजावकेहि¹¹ राजभित्तिनि¹²

¹ Jayaswal : मंडं चवराज-निवेसितं ; Barua : पुवराज-निवेसितं पिथुडम-दभ नगले निकासयति, 'caused the grassy overgrowth of Ppithūdaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāṅgala [river]'.

² Jayaswal : सतिकं चभि०. We have possibly the round number 1300 and not 113.

³ Indrajī : तमर-दह-संघातं ; Jayaswal : तमिर-दह-संघातं, 'a confederacy of the Tamil countries'.

⁴ Barua suggests सिवकानं.

⁵ Jayaswal : हयो सुगंगीय['] पाययति and finds a reference to the Maurya palace सुगंग mentioned in the सुद्राचस.

⁶ The name may be ब्रह्मसतिमित ; but his identification with Pushyamitra on the ground that ब्रह्मसति is the lord of the पुष्य or पुष्या constellation is fantastic. Moreover palaeographically and stylistically this record should be placed more than a century after Pushyamitra Śuṅga. See *supra*, No. 10 and notes. The reference to Aṅga and Magadha suggests that Bahasatimita was the ruler of both the countries.

⁷ Barua : नंदराज-जितं च कलिगजन-संनिवेसं.

⁸ Indrajī : गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal : पडोहारेहि ; Barua : कितव-नय-निपुनेहि.

⁹ Prinsep : हयिन ; Cunningham : हयि-नवेन ; Barua : हयि-नाव[ते]. Note *abhutam* = *achhariyam* not expected in very early Prakrit records.

¹⁰ Barua : कय्य = Sanskrit : कल्प = Pāli कल्ल.

¹¹ Prinsep : यापुडवकेहि ; Cunningham : यापुजकेहि ; Jayaswal : यापजवकेहि.

¹² Read 'सिनि'.

चिन-वतानि¹ वास[1][सि]तानि² पूजानुरत-उवा[सग-खा]रवेलसिरिना³ जीवदेह-
[सयि]का⁴ परिखाता⁵ (11*)

15 सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सव-दिसानं⁶ ज[नि]नं[?] तपसि-इ[सि]नं⁷
संघियनं अरहतनिसीदिया-समीपे पाभारे⁸ वराकार-समुधापिताहि अनेकयोजना-
हिताहि.....सिलाहि⁹.....¹⁰.....¹¹

16 ¹²चतरे च वेडुरिय-गमे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि
(1*) मु[खि]य¹³-कळ¹⁴-वोडिनं¹⁵ च चोय[ठि]-अंग¹⁶ संतिक[']¹⁷ तुरियं
उपादयति (1*) खेम-राजा स वड-राजा¹⁸ स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं-
[तो] अनुभव[तो] कळानानि

¹ Read °तानं. Barua correctly connects the word with Pāli विव्रवतानं. Cf. चोणेत्रत in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 83, 155; also vide *ibid.*, 84, 92.

² Read °सितानं.

³ Barua : पूजाय रत.

⁴ Prinsep : जि...दित ; Cunningham : निविमक ; Jayaswal : सिरिका. Barua suggests सयिका for सिरिका.

⁵ Prinsep and Cunningham : रिखित. Barua suggests पनिखाता.

⁶ Jayaswal : सत.

⁷ Cunningham : सिनपुस ; Barua : [सम]पसि[नं].

⁸ *Prāgbhāra* means here 'the slope of a hill'.

⁹ Barua : पकसिसेहि सत[सहसा]हि सिलाहि.

¹⁰ Prinsep : सपप ; Cunningham : भगप ; Jayaswal : सिंहपय ; Barua : सिपज.

¹¹ Prinsep : सपपय-धरसि धनस्य ; Jayaswal : °रजी-सिंधुळाय निसयानि ; Barua : अभ[नि]वधसयाना[स]नानि.

¹² Prinsep : पटलके ; Indraji पटालके ; Jayaswal : पटलकी.

¹³ Prinsep : ...रिय ; Cunningham : ...य ; Indraji and Sten Konow : सुरिय ; Barua : [स]खिय. There seems to be no reference to any Maurya-kāla or Maurya era.

¹⁴ Fleet and Indraji : काल ; Cunningham कल which is supported by Barua.

¹⁵ Barua : वीडिनि.

¹⁶ Prinsep : च चोयय अग्नि ; Cunningham : च चोयठ अग्नि ; Indraji : च चोयय अग्नि ; Barua : च चोयठ अग्नि.

¹⁷ Prinsep and Cunningham : सतिक ; Indraji : सतिक ; Sten Konow : सतिक.

¹⁸ Barua : वध°.

- 17 गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे[वाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहनबलो¹ चकधरो² गुत-चको पवत-चको राजसि-वस्-कुल-विनिश्रितो³ महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि (॥*) [Branched tree within railing]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अहंन्द्रः । नमः सर्व-सिद्धेभ्यः⁴ । आर्येण⁵ महाराजेन माहामेघवाहनेन चेदि-राजवंश-वर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणेन चतुरन्तलुण्ठन-गुणोपेतेन (—सकलभुवनव्यापिगुणगणालङ्घनेन) कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदश-वर्षाणि श्रीकडार-शरीरवता (—श्रीमत्पिङ्गलदेह-भाजा) क्रीडिता कुमार-क्रीडिका (—बालक्रीडा) । ततः लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन (—लेखनविद्यायां मुद्रापरिचये गणिते विवाद-मीमांसा-विद्यायां प्रवर्त्तनानिवर्त्तनात्मकशास्त्रेषु च निष्णातेन), सर्वविद्यावदातेन नव-वर्षाणि यौवराज्यं (—युवराजत्वेन) प्रशिष्टम् (—शासितम्) । सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः तदानीं वर्द्धमानाशैशव-वैभ्याभिविजयः (—वेणतनयस्य राजर्षेः पृथोः इव यस्य जयश्रीः शिशोः कालात् प्रभृति प्रचीयमाना आसीत् सः) तृतीये कलिङ्गराज-वंश-पुरुषयुगे (—कलिङ्गराजान्वयस्य तृतीयपुरुषे) महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति (—प्राप्नोत्) ॥ अभिषिक्तवान् (—अभिषेकवान्—अभिषिक्तः) च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रतिसंस्कारयति (—प्रतिसमकारयत्) कलिङ्गनगरीं खिरीरम्, शीतलतडाग-पालयः (—०पारान्) च बन्धयति (—अबन्धयत्); सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति (—अकारयत्); पञ्चविंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणां—कार्षापणानां?] प्रकृतीः च रञ्जयति (—अरञ्जयत्) ॥ द्वितीये च वर्षे अविन्तयित्वा (—अगणयित्वा) शातकर्णिं पश्चिमदिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुल दण्ड (—सेनादलं) प्रस्थापयति (—प्रास्थापयत्); कृष्णवैष्वा-गतया (—कृष्णानदीतीरगतया) च सेनया विहासयति ऋषिकनगरम् ॥ तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधः [खारवेलः] दर्पनृत्यगीतवादित्र-सन्दर्शनैः⁶ उत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिः

1 Jayaswal : चकि.

2 Jayaswal : चकधुर०.

3 Barua : राजसि-वंस-कुल. Cunningham : विनिश्रित. Here is a reference to Khāravēla's claim to have descended from the ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

4 For an arhat, see *supra*, p. 120, note 2. The Jain saints are sometimes called Buddha, Kevalin, Siddha, Tathāgata and Arhat. Khāravēla was a Jain by faith.

5 This seems to be associated with the name of the family. *Aira* (= *Ārya*) is found also in *infra*, No. 93. It is tempting to connect it with *Aila* = belonging to the lunar dynasty; but that is problematical. For *ariya* = *ayira* = *aira*, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 84. Cf. the Velpuru inscription of Aira Mānasada ruling over the Guntur region in the second century A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 82ff.).

6 दप = दर्प-क्रीडा = मञ्जुवृद्ध-विशेषः (चरित्रावली, II, 3, 58), or = दवकम् or comics (*Mahānidāsa*, p. 379).

च क्रीडयति (=अक्रीडयत्) नगरीम् (=राजधानीम्) ॥ तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधरा-
धिवासम् अहत-पूर्वं कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराज-निवेशितं..... वितथमुकुट.... च निक्षिप्तच्छलभृङ्गारं
हृतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं¹ पादौ वन्दयति ॥ पञ्चमे च इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-
त्रिवर्षशतोद्घाटितां (=विंशतवर्षो²) तन-सुखिय (=तृण-सूर्य³)-वर्त्मनः प्रणालीं नगरं
(=राजधानीं) प्रवेशयति..... ॥ अभिषिक्तः च पष्ठे वर्षे राजैश्वर्यं सन्दर्शयन् सर्वाकारवर्णानु-
ग्रहानेकानि शतसहस्राणि [मुद्राणां] विसृजति पौर-जानपदम् [उद्दिश्य] ॥ सप्तमं च वर्षं
प्रशासत् ॥ अष्टमे च वर्षे महता सेना.... गोरथ-गिरिं घातयित्वा (=धर्पणानन्तरं)
राजगृहम् उपपीडयति (=उपापीडयत्); एतेन कर्मापदान-संन्यासेन (=दुष्करकर्मसम्पादन-
शब्देन)....सेनावाहनं विप्रमोक्तुं [भयात्] मथुरां (=मथुराम्) अपयातः (=पलायितः) यवनराजः
= डिमितः(?)....यच्छति...पल्लव...कल्प-वृक्षः हय-गज-रथैः सह याति [खारवेलः] सर्व-गृहावास
..... सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति (=अददात्) ।.....[नवमे च
वर्षे].....[राज-सन्निवासं] महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्टविंशता शतसहस्रैः
[मुद्राणाम्] ॥ दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साम-भयः [खारवेलः] भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानां..... कारयति
(=अकारयत्) । एकादशे च वर्षे..... अपयातानां (=पलायितशतूणां) च मणिरत्नानि उपलभते
(=उपलभत) ।...पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं (=कस्यचित् राजः राजधानीं) पीथुण्डं² गर्दभ-लाङ्गलेन
कर्षयति (=अकर्षयत्); जनपदभावनं च त्रयोदशवर्षशतकृतं (=वर्ष-त्रयोदशशत-कृतं)
भिनत्ति (=अभिनत्) तिमिर-हृद-सङ्घातं (यद्वा-तमिरदेश-सङ्घातम्?) । द्वादशे च
वर्षे.....सहस्रैः विद्यासयति उत्तरापथ-राजान्....मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं
गङ्गायां पाययति (मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति;) नन्दराज-नीतं च
कलिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश.....अङ्ग-मगध-वसुं च नयति;.....कर्तुं जठर-लक्ष्मील-
गोपुराणि (=इडसुन्दरतोरणसमन्वितानि) शिखराणि निवेशयति [मुद्राणां] शत-विंशकानां
परिहारैः; अद्भुतम् आश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं (=वस्तसज्जां) प्रतिहरति ...हयहस्तिरत्न-
मानिक्यं; पाण्डुराजात्....मुक्ता-मणि-रत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि....वासिनः वशी-
करोति । त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्त-विजयचक्रे (=सुप्रतिष्ठितविजयान्वित-शासन-समृद्धे)
कुमारीपर्वते (Udayagiri-Khandagiri Hills) अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः (=क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः)
काय-निषद्यायै (=वर्षासु विश्राम-लाभाय) यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां चीर्णव्रतानां

¹ Literally, राष्ट्रिक=provincial governor and भोजक=jāgirdār. For the Rāṭhika and Bhojaka tribes of Western India, see *supra*, pp. 22, 36.

² Or पृथुण्ड. This may have been the original of Ptolemy's *Pitundra*.

³ Rājagṛība (Rājgīr), ancient capital of Magadha (South Bihār). Bhāratavarsha=India. Uttarāpatha=N. W. India. Aṅga=East Bihār. Pitundra—near Masulipatam (*Suc. Sāl.*, pp. 48f.). Note the retaliation of the conquest of Kāliṅga by Nanda and Aśoka. The Present Tense in the verbs may be changed to Past Tense.

(=राजपुष्टानां व्रताचरकाणां) वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासक-खारवेळश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः
(=आश्रयगुहाः) परिखानिताः । सत्कृतश्रमणः [खारवेळः] सुविहितानां च सर्वदिशानां
ज्ञानिनां तपस्वृषीणां संक्षीयानाम् अहंस्त्रिपद्या-समीपे प्राग्भारे (=पर्वतपृष्ठे) वराकार-
समुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहताभिः...शिलाभिः चत्वरे च वैदूर्यगर्भं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापयति
पञ्चोत्तरशत-सहस्रैः [मुद्राणां] ; मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं (=गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं) चतुःषष्ठपङ्क
(=चतुःषष्टिप्रकारवाद्यविशिष्टं) शान्तिकं तौर्यं (=रणरहितकालोपयोगितौर्यसिकम्) उत्पादयति ।
क्षेमराजः सः वृद्धराजः (=उन्नतः) सः भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् शृण्वन् अनुभवन्
कल्याणानि गुणविशेष-कुशलः सर्वपापद-पूजकः¹ सर्वदेवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहत-
चक्रवाहिनीबलः (=अपराजेयेन राज्येन सैन्यबलेन च सनाथः) चक्रधरः (=धृतराजचक्रः,
सुशासितचक्रः) गुप्त-चक्रः (=सुरक्षितराजमण्डलः) प्रवृत्त-चक्रः (=अप्रतिहतशासनः) राजर्षि-
वसु-कुल-विनिःसृतः (=चेदिराजोपरिचरवसुः) महाविजयः² राजा खारवेळश्रीः (=श्रीमान्
खारवेळः) ॥

No. 92—Manchapurī³ Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Kharavela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, Part III, Sec. ii, pp. 152 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 159; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 55f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 159; LÜDERS' List, No. 1346 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C.

TEXT

1 अरहंत-पसादाय⁴ कलिंगा[न] [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं (।*) राजिनो ललाक[स]

¹ *Pāshanda* = *pārshada* in the sense of a religious sect is found in Aśoka's inscriptions. See *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 12, 17, 30, etc.

² The name of his palace in line 10 possibly suggests that Mahāvijaya was Khāravela's *virūda*.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is in the upper story (also called Svargapurī) of the cave.

⁴य was read by Indraji as न. Some scholars read पसादानं.

- 2 हथि[सि]हस¹ पपोतस धु[तु]ना(या) कलिङ्ग-च[कवतिनो सिरि-खार*]वेलस
3 अगमहिसि[य]। [कारितं] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहंत्-प्रसादाय (=अहंताम् अनुग्रह-लाभाय) कलिङ्गेभ्यः (=कलिङ्ग-देशीयेभ्यः)
श्रमगेभ्यः (=जेनभिक्षुभ्यः [-तेषां वासार्थं]) लयनं कारितम् । राज्ञः लालार्कस्य (=लालार्क-
पुत्रस्य ; यद्वा—लालार्क-वंशीयस्य) हस्तिसिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहिता कलिङ्ग-चक्रवर्तिनः
(=कलिङ्गाधिराजस्य) श्रीखारवेलस्य अगमहिष्या [लयनं] कारितम् ।

No. 93—Mañchapuri Cave Inscription of Vakradeva² (?)

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Puri District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, III, iii, pp. 152ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 160; BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 63f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 160; LÜDERS' List, No. 1347 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B C.

TEXT³

- 1 ऐरस¹ महाराजस कलि[']गाधिपतिनो माहा[मेघ]वाह[नस] [व?]कदेप-सीरीनो
लेण ['] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

आर्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः माहामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः (=श्रीमता वक्रदेवेन
कारितं) लयनम् ॥

¹ Indraji : *साहानं ; Banerji : साहस.

² The king's name is sometimes read Kūḍepa or Kadam̐pa. He may have been a successor of Khāravela. Another record in the cave refers to a Kumāra called Vaḍukha (Lüders' List, No 1348).

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII.

⁴ Some read : वैरस ; Banerji : खुरस. The use of the same word in line 1 of *supra*, No. 91, suggests that it is connected with the name of the family. Cf. above, p. 219, note 5.

C—MADHYA PRADESH

No. 93A—Gunji Rock Inscription of
Kumaraviradatta—Regnal Years 5 and 6.

GUNJI, near the Sakti Railway Station, Raigarh District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. V. MIRASHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 48ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.A.S.*, Letters, XIX, pp. 59-61.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध (॥*) नमो भगवतो (॥*) रुं(रं)जो कुमारवीरदत्त^२-सिरिस संवद्धरे पचमे हेमत-पखे चतुथे ४ दिवसे [पंचद*]से १०(+*)^५ भगवतो उमुभ-तिथे अमचस पोटधिय [प*]पो[तस]^३
- 2 गोडछस णतुकेग अमतस^४ मतजु(ज)नपालित[स] पु[ते]न अमचेन दंडनायकेन बलाधिकतेन वासिडीपुतेन पोठदत्तेन^५ दत्तं वस-सहसायु-वधनिके
- 3 [व]म्हनाणं गोसहसं १००० (१*) संवद्धरे [छ]ठे ६ गिम्ह-पखे छे ६ दिव[से १०] वितियं गोसहसं दत्तं १००० (१*) एतस ये व भाव[टा]^६ अमचेन दंडनायकेन दानि[स नति]केन^७
- 4 •• [स पुते*]न इददवे(ते?)न दत्ता^८ बद्धना^९ गोसहसाय^{१०} (॥*)

1 From impressions and the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

2 Mirashi: कुमारवरदत्त०.

3 Mirashi: पठधिय ध[मेन].

4 Mirashi: अमभ(च)स.

5 Mirashi: बोधदत्तेन.

6 Mirashi: विभावना, 'in view of [this gift].

7 Mirashi: दिनिक्-नमि(ति)केन.

8 Mirashi: दत्तं.

9 Mirashi: गोसहसं य,

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते ॥ राज्ञः कुमारवीरदत्तश्रियः (= श्रीकुमारवीरदत्तस्य)¹
 संवत्सरे पञ्चमे हेमन्तपक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चदशे १५ (= पौष-पौर्णमास्यां) भगवतः ऋषभतीर्थे²
 अमात्यस्य प्रौष्ठधियः प्रपौत्रस्य गोडडस्य नसृकेण अमात्यस्य मातृजनपालितस्य पुत्रेण अमात्येन
 दण्डनायकेन बळाधिकृतेन³ वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण प्रौष्ठदत्तेन दत्तं वर्ष-सहस्रायुर्वादनिकं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 गोसहस्रम् १००० । संवत्सरे पष्ठे ६ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे पष्ठे ६ दिवसे [दशमे] १० (= ज्येष्ठ-शुक्ल-
 दशम्यां) द्वितीयं गोसहस्रं दत्तम् १००० । एतस्य (= प्रौष्ठदत्त-प्रदत्त-द्वितीय-गोसहस्रस्य)
 ये एव भावाटाः⁴ (= वस्त्राच्छादनाद्याः) [ते] अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन दानिनः नसृकेण ** स्य
 पुत्रेण इन्द्रदेवेन (यद्वा—इन्द्रदत्तेन) दत्ताः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्राय ॥

D—ANDHRA PRADESH

(a) Records from Bhattiprolu

No. 94-97—Bhattiprolu Casket Inscriptions of the time of Kuberaka

BHATTIPROLU Stūpa, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh

G. BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 323 ff.; LODERS' List, Nos. 1329-39
 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 2nd century B.C.⁵

¹ Cf. the name *Virapurushadatta*, literally 'one given away to Virapurusha (i. e., Viranārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu). Kumāravīra is the god Skanda-Kārttikeya.

² The holy place called Rishabha-tīrtha is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Critical ed., III, 83, 10).

³ Both *Danḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* mean 'a leader of forces'. The distinction is difficult to determine, though *Danḍanāyaka* may have really been the designation of a military governor.

⁴ The word means 'decorations', etc.

⁵ Bühler says, "If one.....places on the one side the alphabets of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hāthīgumphā and Bhārhut-Torāṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B. C., but

TEXT¹

Casket No. 1

On the rim of the lower stone

- A. कुर-पितुनो च कुर-मा[तु] च कुरष शिव[ष] च मजुसं पणति फाळ्णि-पमुगं च बुध-सरिराणं निखेतु (॥*)
- B. वनव-पुतष कुरष पपीतुकष मजुष (॥*)
- C. उत्तरो पिगह-पुतो काणीठो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

A. कुर-पितुः च कुर-मातुः च कुरस्य शिवस्य च मज्जूपा (-पाषाण-पिटकः) प्रणीतिः (=प्रणीता-उत्सृष्टा, यद्वा-निर्मिता), स्फाटिक-समुद्रः च बुध-शरीराणि (-०देहावशेषान्) निक्षेप्तुम् ॥ B. वनव-पुत्रस्य कुरस्य सपितृकस्य मज्जूपा ॥ C. [शिल्पी] उत्तरः विग्रह-पुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

may be somewhat earlier" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). According to him, क, ख, घ, ङ, ट, ठ, ढ, त, थ, ध, न, प, फ, ब, य, र, व, स and ङ agree exactly with those of the southern variety of the Maurya alphabet. But in some cases, the belly of व is vertically elongated and its neck is very short. ग has both the angular form and that with rounded top; च has the vertical a little prolonged downwards; ङ has slanting strokes instead of straight ones; द is open to the right; and भ is written upside down. ञ is expressed by the sign for ग with a curve to the right; ञ has the angular form without the central horizontal bar; म is turned topsy-turvy; ल has a long slanting line to the right of the vertical stroke; ष looks like ञ; ञ looks like प with a short horizontal bar to the right of the vertical stroke; the sign of medial a is marked by an 'ordinary medial ā'-like horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant (except when an *anuvāsa* follows); medial ā is shown by a horizontal stroke with a vertical hanging from its end. Some letters are turned to left or right and some downwards. This is apparently due to the carelessness of the scribe or the engraver. Forms of व, ङ, ञ and medial ā suggest that the records are not much earlier than 100 B. C. The diacritically marked p, representing l, may really be l turned towards the right. Cf. l with a diacritical mark added to the right, used to indicate l, in other Brāhmī inscriptions from the South (*Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 110).

¹ From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II. The transcript of No. 4 is prepared from Bühler's eye-copy.

TEXT

Casket No. 2

On the centre of the lid

- A. (Centre) 1 गोठि
 2 हिरण्यघवा
 3 [वु]गालको काळहो
 4 विसको थोरसिसि
 5 समणो ओदलो
 6 अपक[ठो?] समुद्रो
 7 अनुग[हो] कुरो
 8 सतुघो जेतको [जे]तो आळिनक
 9 वरुणो पिग[ल]को कोपको
 10 सुतो पापो कभेर[खो] [गाले]को
 11 समन[दा]पो भरदो
 (Left) 12 ओडालो(?) थोरतिसो तिसो
 13 गीलाणो जंभो
 (Right) 14 पुडर(?) [आ]वो
 15 गालव त * * जनको
 16 गोशालकानं कूरु
 17 उपोषथ-पुतो उत्तरो
 18 कारह-पुतो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

गोष्ठी—हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात्, उद्धारकः, कालहः, विश्वकः, स्थूलशीर्षी, श्रमणः, औदलः, अपकृष्टः, समुद्रः, अनुग्रहः, कुरः, शत्रुघ्नः, जयन्तकः, जयन्तः, आलीणकः, वरुणः, पिङ्गलकः, कोपकः (कौशिकः?), श्रुतः, पापः, कुम्भीरकः(?), गालेकः, श्रमणदासः, भरतः, औदलः (औदारः?), स्थूलतिष्यः, तिष्यः, ग्लानः, जम्भः, पुडरः, आम्रः, गालवः, त..., जनकः गोशाल-कानां (=गोशालक-वंशजः), कूरः उपोषथ-पुत्रः, उत्तरः कारह-पुत्रः [च इति एतेषां जनानाम्] ॥

B. On the rim, to the left

सम[नदा]प[तो हित] * * * बुधप सरिरानि महियानु(नि) [पं]माप (॥*)

(= श्रमणदासतः [संगृह्य] हितानि (= निहितानि ?) बुद्धस्य शरीराणि महानि - पूज्यानि) शर्मणे [सर्वसत्त्वानाम्] ।

C. On the outer rim, to the right

1 गोठि-समनो कुबो (।*)

2 हिरण्यकार गामणी-पुतो वृवो (।*)

(- गोष्ठी-श्रमणः कुम्भः । हिरण्यकारः (- स्वर्णकारः) ग्रामणी-पुत्रः वृवः ।)

D. On the rim of the lower stone.

प गठि निगम-पुतानं राजपामुखा (।*) पारिरप पुतो खुविरको राजा पीहगोठिया पामुखो (।*) तेषं अन्नं म[ज्ज] फालिग-पमुगो च पापाण-पमुगो च ॥

(= सा गोष्ठी निगम-पुत्राणां राज-प्रमुखा । शरीरस्य पुत्रः राजा कुबेरकः सिंह-गोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः (- प्रधानः) । तेषां (- सिंहगोष्ठीय-जनानां) अन्या मज्जा, स्फाटिक-समुद्रः च पापाण-समुद्रः च ॥)

E. On the rim of the lower stone outside D

समणो चघज-पुतो उत्तरो आरामु तर-[पृ]त (।*)

(= श्रमणः जघन्य-पुत्रः उत्तरः, आरामः तर-पुत्रः ।)

Casket No. 3

A. On the upper stone

1 नेगमा

2 वडो चघो

3 जेतो जंभो तिसो

4 रेतो अचिनो पभिको

5 अखघो केलो केसो माहो

6 सेटो छदिको[घ] खवूलो

7 सोणुत्तरो समणो

8 समणदापो सामको

9 कामुको चीतको (॥*)

(- नेगमाः-वत्सः, चङ्गः, जयन्तः, जम्भः, तिष्यः, रैवतः, अचीर्णः, सभिकः, अक्षयः, केलः, केशः, माघः, श्रेष्ठः, छदिकोघः, खवूलः, सुवर्णोत्तरः, श्रमणः, श्रमणदासः, इयामकः, कामुकः, चितकः [च इति ॥])

B. On the rim of the lower stone

अरहदिनानं गोठिया मज्जुस च पमुगो च (I*) तेन कम येन कुविरको राजा
अंकि] (II*) (=अहंइत्तानां गोष्ठ्याः मज्जुषा च समुद्रः च। तेन [इदं] कर्म [कृतं], येन
कुवेरकः राजा आङ्गित् [—अङ्कितः = राज्ञः कुवेरकस्य प्रतिमा अङ्किता] ।)

No. 4

On a hexagonal piece of crystal found inside one of the boxes

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 मातृग्रामस्य [नं]दपुराहि | 2 सुवर्णमाहा |
| 3 शमनुदेशानं च | 4 गिलानकेरस अयसक- |
| 5 [स(गो ?)]ठिय | 6 गोहिया अग दानं (II*) |

(मातृग्रामस्य [—स्त्रीसंघस्य] नन्दपुरात्, सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमणोद्देशानां(?) च, गिलानकार्यस्य
अयसक-गोष्ठ्याः [च] गोहिका [=गृहं, गुहा] अत्यग्र-दानम् ।)

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF
THE KRISHNA-GUNTUR REGION

Nos. 98-100—Nāgarjunikonda Inscriptions of
Virapurushadatta¹—Regnal year 6

Remains of a Stūpa in the valley of the NĀGARJUNIKONDA Hills,
Guntūr District, Andhra Pradesh.
J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 16, 19f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of the 3rd century A.D.

No. 1

TEXT²

1 सिधं (II*) नमो भगवतो³ देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-बोधिनी सर्वजुनो

¹ Bühler suggested that Purushadatta is the king's name and *vīra* is only an epithet. But here the epithet seems to form a part of the name.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka pillar inscription No. C 3).

³ According to Buddhist works, the qualifications of a *bhagavā* are *issariya* (animā, etc.), *dhamma* (transcendental virtues), *yasa* (pure fame of universal recognition), *sīri* (all-round accomplishment), *kāma* (all objects of desire) and *payatana* (supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all). See also *supra*, p. 91, note 2.

- 2 सव-सतानुकंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विपमुत्तस महागणि-वसभ-
- 3 [गं]धहधिस संमसं[दुध]स धातुवर-परिगहितस (1*) महाचेतिये¹ महाराजस
- 4 विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस² हिरण³-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हलस-
- 5 तसह[स]-दायिस सवयेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुत्तस द्रुवाकुस
- 6 सिरि-चातमूलस⁴ सोदरा भगिनि रंजो माढरी-पुत्तस सिरि-विरपुरिसदत्तस
- 7 पितुळा महासेनापतिस महातलवरस⁵ वासिधी-पुत्तस⁶ पूकीयानं कंदसिरि[स]⁷
- 8 भरिया समण-वमण⁸-कवण-वनिजक-दीनानुगह-वेळामिक⁹-दान-पटिभागवो-
- 9 छिन-धार-पदायिनि सव-साधु-वडळा महादानपतिनि महातलवरि खंदसागरनक-माता
- 10 च[र]तिसिरि¹⁰ अपनो उभयकुलस अतिछितमनागतवटमानकानं¹¹ परिनामेतुनं¹²

¹ Some of the Nāgārjunikonḍa records read इमन्दि or इमन्दि before महाचेतिये.

² Some records read अगिहोतागिडोम-वाजपेयामनेधयाजिस after परिगहितस. *Aśvamedha* is usually seen to have been performed by kings to celebrate their victory over other kings, especially the former overlords of their families. *Sāntamūla* apparently ousted the *Sātavāhanas* from their suzerainty over the *Krishṇa-Guṇṭūr* region.

³ Some records read हिरंण.

⁴ Some records read चांतमूलस. For the change of ञ into च, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 17, note 1.

⁵ In *Vinayavijaya's Subodhikā*, commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* (N. S. P. ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7), *talavara* is explained as तुष्ट-भूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्टवन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय, i.e. a feudatory ruler, while its modification *talāra* is used in *Harishepa's Bṛihatkaithākosha* (931-32 A.D.) in the sense of an administrator of a city or the prefect of the city police (*J.U.P.H.S.*, XIX, Pts. 1-2, pp. 79-83).

⁶ Some records have वासिठी-पुत्तस which is the correct expression.

⁷ Some records have खंदसिरि.

⁸ Better read वमण.

⁹ One record has वेळामिक and two others वेळामि. *Velāma* was a person celebrated for charity in Euddhist mythology (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228 ; *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, p. 414 ; *Anguttara N.*, IV, 394f ; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 33); cf. reference to *Karṇa* in later records. The *Brāhmaṇa Velāma* was a priest of king *Brahmadatta* of *Banāras*. He spent the great wealth inherited from his father in continuous charity for seven years and seven months (cf. I. C. Ghosh, *Jātaka*, I, p. 86, no. 2). For the *velāma-jātaka*, see *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIV, 2, 1959, pp. 609 ff.

¹⁰ Some records have चातिसिरि.

¹¹ Some records read वटमानके.

¹² Some records have परिनामेतुन.

- 11 उभय-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय¹ च अतनो च निवाण-संपत्ति-संपादके
 12 सब-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय च इमं स्तम्भं पतिथपितं ति (I*)
 13 रंजो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस सब ६ वा प ६ दि १०* (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुक्रमिकाय
 जितरागदोषमोह (= ०आसक्तिघृणाज्ञान०) - विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि - वृषभगन्धहस्तिने
 (= बहुसङ्ख्यकशिष्य-महाचार्येषु प्रधानः) सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय (= निर्वाण-
 प्राप्ताय) । [अस्मिन्] महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य² हिरण्यकोटि-
 गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-दायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
 (- इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रोशान्तमूलस्य सोदरा भगिनी, राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य
 पितृष्वसा, महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य (- राजप्रदत्तपट्टवन्धभूषित-राजस्थानीयस्य) वासिष्ठी-
 पुत्रस्य पूकीयानां (- पूकीय-वंशजस्य) स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या, श्रमण-ब्राह्मण-कृपण (- कृपार्ह) -
 वणिजक (- दुर्गंत) - दीनानुग्रह-वैलामिक - वैलामालय-दानशौण्ड-सम्बन्धि-दान-प्रतिभागानव-
 च्छिन्न (= दान-विसर्जनस्य निरवच्छिन्न०) - धारा-प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला 'महादानपत्नी
 (- महादानपत्युपाधिकस्य पत्नी) महातलवरी (- महातलवर-पत्नी) स्कन्दसागर-माता³
 शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः उभयकुलस्य (- माता-पितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा - स्वामि-पितृ-कुलस्य) अत्यार्चिता-
 नागतवर्त्तमानकानि (= अतीत०) [कल्याणानि] परिणमय्य (- उद्दिश्य) उभयलोक-हित-सुखा-
 वाहार्थनाय (० सुखानयनं प्रार्थयितुं) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकं⁴ सर्वलोक-हित-
 सुखावाहार्थनाय च इमं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे षष्ठ
 ६ वर्षापक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० (= आश्विन-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

No. 2

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धं (II*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुप्रबुद्ध-बोधिनी सर्वज्ञुनो सबसत[ानु*]-

¹ Some records have ०सुखनिवाणथनाय.

² वा प ६ is written under the line.

³ Virūpākṣa is supposed to have been the gaṇa of which Skanda was the leader. The Kadambas of Banavās and, imitating them, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi also claimed to have been protected by Mahāsena.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 192, note 2.

⁵ According to Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. Nibbāṇa), the expression निवाण-सम्पत्ति in the *Khuddakapāṭha* means 'the enjoyment of Arhatship'.

⁶ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka-pillar inscription No. B 5).

- 2 कंषकस जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्तस महागणि-वसभ-गंधहृदिस¹
- 3 संमसंबुधस धातुवर-परिगहितस (I*) महाचेतिये उज्जयिनिका-महार-वालिका²
- 4 महादेवि रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं सेल-खंभं अपनो हित-सुख-निवाणधनाय³
पतिठपितं (I*)
- 5 महातलवरीहि च पूकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महाविहारस महाचेतियं
- 6 समुत्थपियमाने महातलवरीय उभयिता दिनारि-मासका⁴ सतरि-सतं १०० (+*) ७०
खंभो च (I*)
- 7 रंजो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभ-गन्धहृदिने सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवरपरि-गृहीताय । [अस्मिन्] महाचैत्ये उज्जयिनिका-महाराज-वालिका (—उज्जयिन्याः शकराज-कन्या) महादेवी (—वीरपुरुषदत्त-महिषी) रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैल-स्तम्भम् आत्मनः हित-सुख-निर्वाण-धनाय (यद्वा—निर्वाणार्थनाय) प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] । महातलवरीभिः च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रीभिः (—महातलवर्या च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रिया) अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचैत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने, [रुद्रधरभट्टारिकया] महातलवरीभ्यः (—महातलवर्यै शान्तिश्रियै) ऊर्द्धिताः (—उपायनी-कृताः उत्थापितः च) दिनार-मापकाः ससति-शतं (=ससत्यधिकं शतम्) १००, स्तम्भः च । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 3

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिधं (II*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस संमसंमसंबुधस⁶ धातुवर-
- 2 परिगहितस (I*) महाचेतिये महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस

¹ Other records have गंधहृदिस.

² We may accept Vogel's correction *महाराज-वालिका. Many Śaka kings of Ujjain had *rudra* at the beginning of their names; see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 22f.

³ Vogel likes to correct it to निर्वाणधनाय, i.e. निर्वाणार्थनाय.

⁴ Cf. *दीनार* of later records, derived from the Roman *denarius*. *दिनारि* may refer to actual Roman coins (imported in South India) or to their local imitations. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 27 n te.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Ayaka pillar inscription No. C 2).

⁶ Read संमसंबुधस.

- 3 अग्निहोताग्निहोम¹-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस हिरण्यकोटि-गोसत-
- 4 सहस-हलसतसहस-प्रदायिस सर्वथेसु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस
- 5 वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस इक्ष्वाकुस सिरि-चातमूलस सोदराय भगिनिय हंम-
- 6 सिरि²गिकाय बालिका रंजो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस भया महादेवि वप्पिसिरिणिका
- 7 अपनो मातरं हंमसिरिणिकं परिणमतुन अतने च निवाण-संपत्ति-संपादके
- 8 इमं शैल-स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठपितं (I*) अचरि[या]नं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहित[*]
- 9 इमं महाचेतिय-नवकर्म (I*) पण्णगाम-वयवानं दीघ-मज्झिम-पंद-म[1]तुक-देस[क-वा*]-
चकानं³
- 10 अ(च*)रयान अयिर-हवान अंतेवासिकेन दीघ-म(ज्झिम*)-निगय-धरेन भदंतानं-
देन
- 11 निष्ठपित['] इम['] नवकम['] महाचेतियं खंभा च ठपिता ति (I*) रंजो सरि-
विरपुरिसदतस
- 12 संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय ।
महाचेत्ये महाराजस्य त्रिरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोताग्निहोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-
याजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य
वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (— इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः
हर्म्यश्रियाः बालिका (— तनया) राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्या⁴ महादेवी वप्पीश्रीः आत्मनः
मातरं हर्म्यश्रियं परिणमय्य (— उद्दिश्य) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकम् इमं
शैल-स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] । आचार्यैः अपरमहावनश्रौलीयैः⁵ सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचेत्य-
नवकर्म (— महाचेत्यस्य संस्कृतांशः ; यद्वा — वर्द्धितांशः) [च कारितवती] । पण्णग्राम-वास्तव्यानां
दीर्घ-मध्यम-पञ्चमातृका⁵-देशक-वाचकानां (= दीघनिकाय मज्झिमनिकायादि-पञ्चग्रन्थानां

¹ Read अग्निहोताग्निहोम.

² Read पंच. But cf. पंदरस in *supra*, No. 91.

³ For the cross-cousin marriage, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 25f.

⁵ मातृका=matrices, i. e. the texts on original, basic or fundamental doctrines. The word here seems to refer to the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapīṭaka*, viz. दीघ-निकाय, मज्झिम, संयुत, अङ्गुत्तर and खुद्दक.

व्याख्यातृ-पाठकानाम्)¹ आचार्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् (=आर्यसङ्घीयानाम्) अन्तेवासिकेन (=शिष्येण) दीर्घ-मध्यम-निकायधरेण [तत्]भवता आनन्देन निष्ठापितं (=समाप्तिं नीतम्) इदं नवकर्म महाचैत्यम्, स्तम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 101—Nāgarjunikonda Inscription of

Virapurushadatta—Regnal Year 14

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भनवतो इत्थुक्कु-राजपवररिसि-सत-पभव-वंस-संभवस देव-मनुस-सव-सत-हित-सुख-मग-देसिकस जित-काम-कोध-भय-हरिस-तरिस-मोह-दोसस³ दपित-मार-वल-दप-मान-पसमन-करस दसवल-महवलस अठग-मग⁴-धमचक-पवतकस चक-ळखण-सुकुमार-सुजात-चरणस तरुण-दिवसकर-पभस सरद-ससि-सोम-दरिसनस सव-लोक-चित-महितस बुधस (१*) रंजो मा[ड]रि-पु[त*][स]⁵ [संवत्तरं*] चोदं १० (+*) ४ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० (+*) ३ (१*)

¹ See *supra*, notes on Bk. I, Nos. 41-43. Some scholars believe that भदन्त is derived from भद्रं ते, the blessing always in the mouth of the monks. Cf. स्वस्तिमुख=a Brāhmaṇa.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Second Apsidal Temple inscription No. F).

³ H. Sastri's suggestion is better than Vogel's दोस-सद[१*]पित-मार°.

⁴ The 'noble eightfold path' consists of सन्ना दिट्ठि (right views), सन्ना संकप्पो (right resolution), सन्ना वाचा (right speech), सन्ना कम्मलो (right action), सन्ना चाजीवी (right living), सन्ना वायाम (right exertion), सन्ना सति (right recollection), and सन्ना समाधि (right meditation). Daśabala is a name of the Buddha derived from his knowledge of ten kinds. The story of Māra's defeat by the Buddha is famous in Buddhist mythology. The inauguration of the Buddhist doctrine is technically known to the Buddhists as the Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law.

⁵ विरपुरिसदत्तस seems to have been omitted owing to inadvertence.

- [अ०][चं]त-[रा]जाचरीयानं¹ कस्मौर-गंधार-चोन-चिलात-तोसलि-अवरंत-
वंग-वनवासी-[यवन]-[दमिल]-[प]लूर-तंबपणिदोप-पसदकानं थेरियनं तंबपं-
णकानं सुपरिगहे
- 2 सिरिपवते विजयपुरीय पुव-दिसा-भागे विहारे चुल-धंमगिरीयं चेतिय-धरं सपट-
संथरं स-चेतीयं सव-नियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय बोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो
बुधि[']नकस पितुनो च से गोवगाम्म-वथवस रेवत-गहपतिस मातुय च स
बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस करुंबुधिनस हचंनस भगिनीय च रेवतिंनिकाय
भातु-पुतानं च महाचंदमुख-चुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च महामूल-चुलमूलानं अपनो
च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानिकि[नाय] मातुलक ²कोठ[1]-
कारिकस भदस बोधिसंमस चंदस बोधिक[स] महामातुकाय भदि[ला]य (1०) बोधिय
च अपनो [पितुनो] बुधि[वा]नियस मा[तुय].....
- 3 भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधंनिकाय मूलंनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय धूतुय
वीरंनिकाय पुतानं नागंनस³ वीरंनस च सुंन्हानं च भदसिरि-मिसीनं (1०) एवमेव
च कुलह-विहारे चेतिय-धरं सीहळ-विहारे बोधि-रुख-पासादो म्हाधंमगिरीयं
ओवरको १ महावि(हा०)रे मंडव-खंभो[११] देवगिरियं पधान-साला पुवसेले
तळाक['] अळ[']दा-मंडवो च कंटकसोले महाचेतियस पुव-दारे सेळ-मंडवो
हिरुमुठुवे ओवरका तिंणि ३ पपिल्लायं ओवरका सत ७ पुफगिरीय['] सेळ-मंडवो
धं⁴.....विहारे सेळ-मंडवो[११] (1०) एतं च सवं उपरि-वणि[तं०]
.....[सा०]धु-वगस अचत-हित-सुखाय थवितं सव[स] च लोकस (1०) इमं
नवकंमं तिंहि नवक[']मिकेहि कारितं चंदमुख-थेरेन च
- 4 ⁵धंमनंदि-थेरेन च नाग-थेरेन च [1०] सेळ-वडाकिस विधिकस कंमं ति (11०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते इक्ष्वाकु-राजप्रवरर्षिशतप्रभव-वंश-संभवाय (= इक्ष्वाकुप्रभृति-
वरराजर्षिशत-जनयितरि वंशे जाताय) देव-मनुष्य-सर्वसर्व-हित-सुख-मार्ग-देशिकाय

¹ Vogel suggests भदंतराजाचरीयानं. But the Achantarājāchāryas are mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 212).

² The reading seems to be मातुलकनी (or, कनं च) चक-कोठाकारिकस.

³ Names like this indicate the name-suffix *amna* instead of *amnaka*, the *ka* being *scārthika*. See notes on Nos. 76-81 above.

⁴ Some ten *aksharas* are lost after धं.

⁵ The line begins from below इमं in line 3.

(—०निर्देशकाय) जित-काम-क्रोध-भय-हर्ष-तर्प(—तृष्णा)-मोह-दोषाय (—०अज्ञान-धृणाय) दर्पित-मार-बल-दर्प-मान-प्रशमनकराय दशबल-महाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्गधर्मचक्र-प्रवर्तकाय चक्र-लक्षण-सुकुमार-सुजात(—सुगठित)-चरणाय तरुण-दिवसकर-प्रभाय शारदशशि-सौम्य-दर्शनाय सर्वलोक-चित्त-महिताय (—०पूजिताय) बुद्धाय । राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य [वीरपुरुष-दत्तस्य] संवत्सरः चतुर्दशः १४ हेमन्त-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः त्रयोदशः १३ (=माघ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य त्रयोदश-दिवसे) । अचन्तराजाचार्याणाम् (=अचन्तराजसंघीयाचार्याणां) काश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-किरात-तोसल्यपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-दमिल-पल्ल-ताम्रपर्णीद्वीप-प्रसादकानां^१ (—बौद्ध-धर्म-प्रचारेण तोपकाणां)^२ स्वविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां (—सिंहलकीयानां) सुपरिग्रहे (—पोषणाय; यद्वा—ग्रहणाय) श्रोतवन्ते विजयपूर्वाः^३ पूर्व-दिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्ट-संस्तरं सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं (—सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-संयुक्तं) कारितम् उपासिकया बोधिधिया—आत्मनः, भ्रातुः बुद्धेः, पितुः च अस्याः गोपग्राम-वास्तव्यस्य रैवत-गृहपतेः, मातुः च अस्याः बुद्धायाः, भ्रातृणां च अस्याः चन्द्रमुखस्य कर्णबुद्धेः सहस्य, भगिन्याः च रेवत्याः, भ्रातृपुत्रयोः च महाचन्द्रमुख-क्षुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः, भागिनेययोः च महामूल-क्षुद्रमूलयोः, आत्मनः च आर्यकस्य (—पितामहस्य) मूलवाणीकस्य, आर्यिकायाः (—पितामह्याः) बुद्धवाणीकायाः, मातुलकानां कोष्ठागारिकस्य, भद्रस्य, बोधिशर्मणः, चन्द्रस्य, बोधिकस्य [च], महामातृकायाः (—मातामह्याः) भद्रिलायाः;—बोध्या च [कारितम्]—आत्मनः, पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य, मातुः...भ्रातुः मूलस्य, भगिनीनां बुद्धायाः मूलायाः नागबोधेः च, दुहितुः वीरायाः, पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च, स्नुषयोः च भद्रश्री-मिल्योः [एतेषां सर्वेषां कल्याणाय] । एवम् एव च [कारितं] कुलह-विहारे (—कुलहक-वंशीयैः स्थापिते विहारे) चैत्य-गृहं, सिंहल-विहारे (=सिंहलीय-भिक्षूणां वासाय निर्मिते विहारे) बोधिवृक्ष-प्रासादः, महाधर्मगिरौ अपवारकः (—गुहागृहं) १, महाविहारे मण्डप-स्तम्भः १, देवगिरौ

^१ Kāśmīra to the north of the Punjab; Gandhāra=Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of the West Pakistan; Kirāta in the Himālayas, possibly Nepal; China in Tibet or China beyond Kirāta. Tosali=Dhauri in the Puri District. Aparānta=North Konkan. Vaṅga=parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. Vanavāsī=Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Damila=Tamil country. Yavana=Greek colony of North West or South India or Southern Annam. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 28-32. Some scholars have wrongly taken the reference here to be to the Buddhist nuns and not to monks. But see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 248-49. For the contribution of Ceylonese nuns to the organisation of a Bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha in China, see *Univ. of Ceylon Rev.*, July 1954, p. 177. But the earliest batch of Ceylonese nuns is stated to have reached China in 429 A.D.

^२ All the monks may not have visited all the countries. The reference seems to be to wandering monks generally. For *paśādaka*, cf. Pāli *dīpa-paśādaka*, 'one who has converted the Island (i.e. the people of Ceylon) to Buddhism.'

^३ Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunikonḍa valley was possibly the capital of the Ikshvākus. Śrīparvata was the name of the Nallamālur range. The old name is represented by mod. Śrīśaila which is only a point in the range. Cf. Mahendragiri (=Eastern Ghāṭs) and Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam and Tinnevely Districts.

प्रधानशाळा, पूर्वशैले तडागम् आलिन्द-मण्डपः च, कण्टक-शैले' (यद्वा — शैले) महाचैत्यस्य पूर्वद्वारे शैल-मण्डपः, हिरुमुस्तूपे (?) अपवारकाः त्रयः ३, पपिलायाम् अपवारकाः सप्त ७, पुष्पगिरौ शैल-मण्डपः, ध विहारे शैल-मण्डपः १—एतत् च सर्वम् उपरि-वर्णितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय] । इदं नवकर्म (= निर्माण-वर्द्धन-संस्कारादि-कर्म) त्रिभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितं—चन्द्रमुख-स्थविरेण च धर्म-नन्दि-स्थविरेण च नाग-स्थविरेण च । शैल-वर्द्धकेः (— शिला-तक्षणः) विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

No. 102—Nagarjunikonda Inscription of

Virapurushadatta—Regnal year 18

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 21

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो बुधस (1*) चेति-धर' महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस अगिहोत[1]गिठोम-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस अनेक-हिरन-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हळसतस(हस*)-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुळस' सिरि-चातमूलस सहोदरा भगिनि महातलवरस वासेठि-पुतस पुगियान खंदसिरिस भरिय महातलवरि खंदसागरनग-म[1]ता चातिसिरि अपनो जामतुकस रणो मठरि-पुतस इखकुनं सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस अयु-वधनिके वेजयिके
- 2 अपनो च उभय-[लोक]-हित-सुख-[निवाणथनाय] . . [संसंबुधस] [धा]तु-परिगहितस महाचेति-पादमूले⁵ पवजितानं नाना-देश-समनागतानं⁶ सव-साधूनं महा-

¹ The name Kaṇṭakaśūla is suggested by Ptolemy's Kautakassulos.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (First Apsidal Temple inscription No. E).

³ Read 'धरे'.

⁴ Read इखाकुस which is the reading of the other records.

⁵ हा is written under the line.

⁶ Cf. the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa and *supra*, No. 101, line 1. Records at Sāñcī and Barhut shew that pieu- people from all parts of the country visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage and dedicated pillars, etc., with a view to acquiring merit.

भिखु-स[']घस अप[नो][च][उ]भय-कुलस अतिष्ठित[म]नागत-वटमानके निकपनिके'
च परिनामेतुनं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं परिगहे सब-नियुत चातुसल-परिगहितं
सेल-मंटव पतिठ[1]पित (1*) रंजो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस संवहरं अठार सं
१०(+*)८ हेमंत-पखं छं ६ दिवसं पंचम ५ (1*) सब-सत्तानं हित[1]य सुखाय
होतु ति (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय । चैत्यगृहे—महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-
परिगृहीतस्य (= ० अनुगृहीतस्य) अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्चमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-
गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः^२ सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी, महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पुकीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः
भार्या महातलवरी स्कन्दसागर-माता शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातृकस्य^३ राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य
इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्द्धनिकं वैजयिकम् (= आयुर्वृद्धये विजयाय च) आत्मनः च
उभयलोकहितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय (= ० निर्वाण-लाभार्थं) सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य धातु-परिगृहीतस्य
(= लब्धनिर्वाणस्य) महाचैत्य-पादमूले प्रव्रजितानां नानादेश-समन्वागतानां सर्वसाधूनां
महाभिक्षुसङ्घस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य (= मातापितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा—पतिपितृ-कुलस्य)
अत्याच्छिंतम् (= अतीतं कालम्) अनागत-वर्त्तमानकं (= भावि-वर्त्तमान-कालं) त्रिकल्पान्तिकं
(= त्रिकल्प-पर्यन्तं) च परिणमस्य (= उद्दिश्य) अपर-महावन-शैलीयानां [आचार्याणां]
परिग्रहे (= ० ग्रहाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) सर्वनियुक्तं (= सर्वावश्यकवस्तु-सनाथं)
चतुःशाल-परिगृहीतं (= चतुःशाला-वेष्टितं) शैल-मण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती*] । राज्ञः
श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरः अष्टादशः सं १८ हेमन्त-पक्षः पष्ठः ६, दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (= माघ-
शुक्ल-पक्षस्य पञ्चम-दिवसे) । सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय [च] भवतु इति ॥

^१ Read तिकपतिके (Sanskrit त्रिकल्पान्तिकम्).

^२ For हल, see *supra*, p. 208, note 4.

^३ Note that *supra*, No. 100 refers to the lady simply as the king's paternal aunt. Here is another reference to cross-cousin marriage.

No. 103—Nagarjunikonda Inscription of

Ehuvula Santamūla —Regnal year 2

NĀGĀRJUNIKONDA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*) नमो भगवतो बुद्धाय (॥*) महाराजस्य
 - 2 विरूपक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोतागिठोमवाजपे-
 - 3 यसमेध-याजिस्य अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हळसतसह-
 - 4 [स-प्रदायि*]स्य सवधेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वा [कुन*]
 - 5 सिरि-चंतमूलस्य सुन्दाय महाराजस्य² मा[ठ]री-पुत्रस्य सिरि-वीरपुरि-
 - 6 सत्तस्य भार्याय महादेवीय [भट्टिदेवाय] देयधर्म इमं सर्व-जात-नियुतो
 - 7 विहारो अचरियानं बहुश्रुतियानं प्रतिष्ठापितो (॥*) राज्ञो वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वा [I]कून
 - 8 सिरि-एहुवुल-चंतमूलस्य संवत्सरं वितियं गिम्ह-पक्खं छठं ६ दिवसं दसमं
- १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय ॥ महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्नि-
होताग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हळशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः
सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य स्नुपायाः महा-
राजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्यायाः महादेव्याः भर्तृदेवायाः देयधर्मः
(= धर्मार्थं दानम्) अयं सर्वजातनियुक्तः (= सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-सनाथः) विहारः आचार्येभ्यः
बहुश्रुतिकेभ्यः (= तेषां बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां व्यवहाराय) प्रतिष्ठापितः । राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI (Āyaka pillar inscription No. G 2). This is one of the records of the Ikshvākus in which conjuncts (cf. नत्तिय, in No. 104, line 8) are employed as is the case with the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman, *infra*. Ehuvula Sāntamūla appears to have ruled about the time of Sivaskandavarman's father. There are other inscriptions of this kind as well as Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to Ehuvula Sāntamūla's time. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147ff.

² In the records of his reign, Vīrapurushadatta is called *rājā*.

इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः द्वितीयः ग्रीष्म-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः दशमः १०
(— ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

✓ No. 104—Nāgarjunikonda Inscription of

Ehuvula Śāntamūla —Regnal year 11

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 24

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो समासं-
- 2 बुधस (1*) महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस
- 3 इक्ष्वाकुनं सिरि-एहुवल-चा[त*]मूलस² सव १०(+*)१
- 4 [गि प³ ?] १ दिव ७ (1*) महाराजस अगिहोतगिधेम-वाजवेज⁴-
- 5 असमध-यायिस⁵ [अनेक]-हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
- 6 हलसतसहस-पद[गि]स सवथेसु अपतिहत-
- 7 संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इक्ष्वाकुन सिरि-चतमुल[स*]
- 8 नत्तिय महाराजस माठरि-पुतस सिरि-विरपुरिस-
- 9 दतस धूतय महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस इक्ष्वाकुनं
- 10 सिरि-एहुवल-चतमुल[स] भगिनिय वानवासक⁶ -महाराज-
- 11 महादेविय कोद[व]लिसिरिय इमं खनियं⁷ विहारो च

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Detached pillar inscription No. H.).

² In another record, the name appears to be एहुवुल-चा[*]तमूल. Cf. the name इक्ष्वाकु-देवन of a Darsi inscription of the 7th century (*An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

³ Not noticed by Vogel. गि seems to be clear.

⁴ Read *होतागिठोम-वाजपेय.

⁵ Read *मेध-याजिस. Usually Śāntamūla I is called *mahārāja* and his son *rājā*. But here all the kings are styled *mahārāja*.

⁶ Here is possibly a reference to the so-called Chuṭu-Sākarni kings of Banavasi.

⁷ Since the ruins of a chaitya and of no cave have been discovered at the site, the intended reading may be चेतियं.

- 12 अचरियानं महि[सा]सकनं सुपरिगहे चातुर्दशं
 13 संघं उदिसाय सव-सतानं हित-सुखार्थं ठापितं (1*) अचरिये-
 14 ना महा-धम्मकयिकेन धम्म[घो]स-थेरेन अनुयितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुळ-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्म-पक्षः प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७ (— चैत्र-कृष्ण-पक्षस्य सप्तम-दिवसे) महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हृत्शतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य नप्तया, महाराजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहिला, महाराजस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुळ-शान्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वानवासक-महाराज-महादेव्या (=०महिष्या) कोदवलिश्रिया इदं 'खनिकम्' (= इयं खनिका = गुहा) [यद्वा—इदं चैत्यं] विहारः च आचार्याणां महोशासकानां¹ (= बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) सुपरिग्रहे (= ग्रहणाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) चातुर्दशं सङ्गम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं स्थापितौ । आचार्येण महा-धर्मकयिकेन (= धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यात्रा) धर्मवोप-स्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ (= निर्वाहितौ) इति ॥

¹ They were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). The 10000 heretical monks subdued in the Second Council formed the Mahāsaṅghika school, from which arose the Gokulika and Ekavyavahārika sects. From the Gokulikas arose the Prajñapti and Bahulika sects and from these the Chetiyas. Two more sects parted from the Sthavira doctrine, viz. Mahīśāsaka and Vajjiputraka, and from them the Dharmottariya, Bhadrāyānika, Chhandāgārika, Sammitiya and Vajjiputriya sects. From the Mahīśāsaka parted the Sarvārtha and Dharmaguptika and from the Sarvārtha arose the Kāśyāpiya, thence the Saṃkrāntika and thence the Sūtra. Later sects were the Haimavata, Rājagiriya, Siddhārthaka, Pūrva-Sāliya, Aparā-Sāliya and Vājirīya (these six belonging to India) as well as Dharmaruchi and Sāgaliya (these two belonging to Ceylon). See *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. V.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

No. 105—Āndiya-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (= Tishya Abhaya)

RITIGALA Hill Range, 25 miles to the south-east of Anurādhapura,
North Central Province, Ceylon.

Don Martino de Zilva WICKREMASINGE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 144.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script: Brāhmī of the second or first century B. C.¹

TEXT²

१ देवनपिय-महरज्ञ^३-गमिणि-तिसह पुत[श*] देवनपिय-तिस-अ[वय]ह लेने अगत-
अनगत-चट्टुदिसि-शगश^४ [दिने*] (॥*)

¹ Gamini Tissa has been identified by Wickremasinge with Saddha Tissa [Abhaya] who reigned at A'pura in c. 77-59 B. C. and his son Tissa Abaya with Lajji-Tissa or Lāmāpi-Tissa who ruled in c. 59-49 B. C. The modification of early Brāhmī was slower in South India than in North India and, in Ceylon, it was even slower than in South India.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Zel.*, I, and a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

³ Correctly ^३रज The use of the word महाराज is interesting. In India, the Indo-Greek king Eukratides (circa 175-155 B. C.) is the earliest ruler who has been called महाराज (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 12) on his coins. The title possibly indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the north-western part of India, because royal titles like महाराज, राजातिराज (cf. महाराजाधिराज, etc.) were popularised by foreigners who flourished in that region. One of the earliest use of the title *Mahārāja* in an indigenous Indian record is traced in the inscription of Khāravela (No. 91 above). But Ceylon is supposed to have used it as early as the second century B. C.

⁴ I.e. सुवस.

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्र[स्य] देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभयस्य लयनं
(= खानित-गुहा) आगतानागत-चातुर्दिश-संघाय (= सर्वदेशीयाय भिक्षु-सहाय) दत्तम् ॥

No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7

DUWÉ GALA Cave, Ceylon.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, III, p. 104, Plate XX.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script: Brāhmī (to be read from right to left)¹ of about the 1st century B. C.

TEXT²

1 णाले शतमिदिग शतदव [- वदतश गदिमित्तश लेणां]³ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भवतः (= तत्त्वभवतः) गतिमित्तस्य लयनम् (= खानित-गुहा) ॥

¹ This peculiar characteristic of the record, which appears to belong to about the first century B.C., may tempt one to suggest that the Brāhmī script was introduced in Ceylon before Aśoka (c. 273-232 B. C.) who writes it usually from left to right or that it was influenced by an earlier script of the south. Excepting some portions of the barbarously engraved Yerragudi MRE, Aśoka's Brāhmī records are not to be read from right to left. It may be argued that, like Kharoshthī, Brāhmī too was originally written from right to left and this may be regarded as connecting the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-historic writing of the Indus Valley from which it was undoubtedly derived. But I am inclined to ascribe the peculiarity to the error, ignorance or idiosyncrasy of the engraver as in the case of early medieval inscriptions engraved negatively or to be read from bottom to top or top to bottom. See *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 19; 1959-60, No. C 421; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 229. द has here a developed form; but other letters have not. Development of Brāhmī characters outside India was not uniform with their development in this country.

² From a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

³ There is the figure probably of a ship engraved at the right side of the inscription.



B—CENTRAL ASIA

Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese
Turkestan¹

Language : Prakrit² influenced by local languages.

Script : Kharoshthi³ of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

No. 1 (=BRS No. 14)

Double-wedge Tablet

¹ These records were discovered by Aurel Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niya river in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. They are described and the circumstances of their discovery are recorded respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907; *Serindia*, 1921; and *Innermost Asia*, 1928. The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, Part I, 1920, Part II, 1927. Part III (1929) of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and P. S. Noble. Their number has been given here in brackets. The results of the researches of T. Burrow have been published in his *Language of the Kharoshthi Documents* (Cambridge, 1937) and *A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents* (London, 1940). Most of these records are written with ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets; but some are on other materials such as leather. Many documents and a good many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in other languages and scripts, sometimes entire libraries,² have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of different countries of the world, especially Russia, Germany and Japan.

² It may be a variety of what is called the Paisācī Prakrit by grammarians. A few records are in Sanskrit and in verse (e.g., BRS Nos. 511, 523). Kharoshthi has been made to suit the requirements of Sanskrit in some cases; cf. note 3 below.

³ The late date of the records is also responsible for many peculiarities of the script. Interesting is the *visarga* indicated by two dots placed above the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Signs for *e* and length indicate *ai*. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling the subscript *r* (marked by us with a dot below the letters); cf. ॠ, ॡ, ॢ, ॣ, etc. The editors of the records have also noticed modified च (=क्व ?), ग (=घ), ण (=घ), व (=घ), म (=भ), य (=य), स (=ख), ङ (=ङ) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified क (=ख ?) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like फ (=ह), ॠ (=ट्ट ?), etc., may be conjuncts. The modified प (subscript) is either प or प. Final ॠ, ॡ or ॢ is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign put below the preceding letter. There are also some peculiarities in the numerals.

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet : Obverse

चोम्बो²-भिमय पोठंग³-न्यपे(य*)स च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet.

- 1 महनुअव महरय लिहति चोम्बो-भिमय-पोठंग-न्यपेय-
- 2 स च मल देति (१*) स च अहोनो इश पमेक विंजवे,ति यथ एष खोतनमि इतियाय गद (१*) चल्मदनदे
- 3 वलग् दितंति याव सचंमि गद (१*) सचदे वलग् दितंति

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 याव निनंमि गद (१*) निनदे याव खोतनमि चङ्गोददे⁴ वलग् ददवो होअति [याव][खो]तं.....⁵
- 2 यहि एद किलमुद्र अल एशति प्रठ यहि-पूर्विक निनदे खोतनंमि वलग्स् परिक्रेय
- 3 तेन विधनेन सध अयोगे,न ददवो (१*) यथधर्मेन निश्चि कर्तवो (॥*)

Under-tablet : Reverse

पमेकस् (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्बो-भिमय = भिमयाख्यः चोम्बो इति मुख्यकर्मचारिविशेषः)-पोठंग-न्यपेयाभ्यां (-पोठंगाख्य-मुख्यकर्मचारी न्यपेय-नामा) च [द्वाभ्यां] दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्बोभिमय-पोठंगन्यपेयाभ्यां च मन्त्रं ददाति ।—तत् (-यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] पमेकः (-पमेकाख्य-जनः) विज्ञापयति—यथा एषः (-सः) खोतम्ने (=खोतम्नाख्यं देशं ; to Khotan) दौत्याय गतः । चल्मदानतः (-चल्म-दानाख्यस्थानात् ; from Charchan) पालकं (-अश्वयायिनं रक्षिणं) ददाति यावत् साचं

¹ From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I. See Lüders, *Act. Or.*, XVII, p. 36.

² *Chojhbo* is a title of the chief local official. It is possibly of Iranian origin ; cf. Avestic *cazdahrant*. It is also found in the Maralbashi records as *chazba*.

³ *Shofhanga* (tax-collector ?) is also an official title ; possibly the same as *soshānkān* of the Tokhari records च is superfluous.

⁴ *Chagoda* is the ruined establishment on the Niya river. It was the name of the headquarters of Niya. It has been identified with the chief city of the territory called Ching-chüeh by the Chinese.

⁵ About 19 letters are lost.

(— साच-नामकं स्थानम् ; Endere ?) गतः । साचतः पालकं ददाति यावत् निनं (— निनाख्यं स्थानं ; Niya) गतः । निनतः यावत् खोतम्नं [गमनाय], चडोदतः (— चडोदाख्यात् स्थानात्) पालकः दातव्यः भवति यावत् खोत[म्नं गतः ।]...यदा एषा कीलमुद्रा (= मुद्राङ्कित-कीला-कार-काष्ठखण्ड-लिखितादेशः) अल (— तल) एष्यति, प्रष्टं (— अविलम्बेन) यथापौर्विकं (— यथापूर्वं निर्दिष्टं) निनतः खोतम्ने (— यावत् खोतम्नं) पालकस्य परिक्रयेयं (— वर्तनं) तेन विधानेन (= यथाविधानं) सार्द्धम् आयोगेन (= वृद्ध्या ; यद्वा—पारितोषिकेन) दातव्यम् । यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः (— परिक्रयायोगयोः अवधारणं) कर्तव्यः ।”

पमेकस्य (= पमेक-सम्बन्धीया कील-मुद्रा) ॥

No. 2 (= BRF No. 45)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet : Obverse

चोम्बो-यितक-तोंग-वुक्तोस् च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet : Obverse

- 1 महनुअव महुरय लिहति चोम्बो-यितक-तोंग-वुक्तोस् च मल देति (१*)
- 2 स् च अहोनो इश वसु-ल्यपिय विंजवेति यथ एदस् दक्षि चिमिकए धितु रुखयस् उनिति गिटए इश रय-द्वरंमि
- 3 कुठ-विक्षरस् ति व* प-अइए ब्योछिंनिदग् (१*) एद प्रचे द्विति त्रिति वर किल-मुद्र गछति (१*) यव अजक-दिवस् निश्चे न करितु (१*)
- 4 यहि एद किलमुद्र अल एशति प्रठ अत्र समुह अनद प्रोछिदवो यथ रयद्वरंमि

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 ब्योछिंनिदग् सियति तेन विधनेन अत्र विभशितव्य (१*) यति अंज विवद किंचि सियति अल यथ-धर्मेन निश्चे कर्त्तवो (१*) अल न परिवु-
- 2 जिशतु हस्तगद रय-द्वरंमि विसृजिदेवो (१*) इशेमि समुह निश्चे भविष्यति (॥*)

Under-tablet : Reverse

वसु-ल्यपे रुखयेन सध (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्बोयितक-तोंगवुक्तोभ्यां च दातव्यम् [एतत् लेखनम्] ।

¹ From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I.

² *Tonga* may have been a transport-official. Burrow suggests a military rank, and translates it as 'captain'.

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोक्षबोयितक-तोंगबुक्तोभ्यां मन्त्रं ददाति [च] । तत्
 (-यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वसु-ल्यपेयः विज्ञापयति यथा—एतस्य (-ल्यपे-
 यस्य) दास्याः चिमिकायाः दुहिता रुत्रयस्य उन्नीतिः (-पालनं—पाळनार्थं) गृहीता कन्या
 गृहीतिका [सती] अस्मिन् राज-द्वारे कृष्ट-क्षीराय (-मातृस्तन्य-धारशोधनाय) त्रिवर्षाश्वः
 व्यवच्छिन्नकः (-निर्द्धारितः) ।¹ एतत्-प्रत्यये (-एतद्विषये) द्वितीयं तृतीयं चारं कीलमुद्रा (=लेखः)
 गच्छति यावत् अद्यक-दिवसम् (-अद्यतनं) युवाभ्यां निश्चयः न कृतः । यदा एतत्-कीलमुद्रा
 अत्र (-तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्टुम् अत्र (-तत्र) सम्मुखं [यथा तथा युवाभ्याम् उभयपक्षः] आज्ञप्तं
 (-राजाज्ञा) प्रष्टव्यः । यथा राजद्वारे व्यवच्छिन्नकः स्यात् तेन विधानेन अत्र (=तत्र)
 विभाषितव्यं (-वक्तव्यं) [युवाभ्याम्] । यदि अन्यः विवादः कश्चित् स्यात् अत्र (-तत्र)
 यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः कर्त्तव्यः । [यदि कः अपि] अत्र (-तत्र) न परिवोधिष्यते (-मीमांसां
 प्रमाणयति), हस्तगतं [कार्यं] राजद्वारे विसर्जयितव्यं (=प्रेरयितव्यम्) । अस्मिन् [स्थाने]
 सम्मुखः (=साक्षाद्भावेन) निश्चयः भविष्यति ॥”

वसु-ल्यपेयः रुत्रयेण सार्द्धम् ॥

No. 3 (= BRS No. 152)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT²

Covering-tablet : Obverse

प्रियदर्शनस् देव-मनुश-संपुजितस् प्रियभ्रतु षोडंघ-ल्यपेयस् विप्रलिदवो ॥*

Under-tablet : Obverse

- 1 प्रियदर्शनस् देव-मनुश-संपुजितस् प्रियभ्रतु षोडंघ-ल्यपेयस्
- 2 चोक्ष्वो नस्तिंत नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगियो प्रेपेति बहु अप्रमेय (1*) एवं
- 3 च स च अदेहि गदेमि तहि प्रसदेन अरोगेमि (1*) [को]लियमि इवसु...न...
इदनि (1*)
- 4 अहुनो अत्र रयक उटियन वि सजिदेमि (1*) तत्र ले-वर्षग उट १ (1*) एष भूय रज्यमि

¹ A payment (here, a horse) was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child as a return for having [nourished the child in its infancy. विवर्षाश्व= a horse which is 3 years old; cf. त्रैवर्षकः उट् in No. 3 below.

² I.e., Vasu-Ly'ipey versus Rutraya.

³ From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

⁴ According to Rapson's suggestion, the two aksharas preceding न may be विप्रमे.

- 5 अज्ञतु ओर्दिदवो (१०) किलमुंल अल ह ...^१ सगमोयस् वंति (१०) एद किलमुंल वजिति पु-
- 6 तु सगमोयस् ददवो धरंनए अवश(१०) एदे किलमेचिये सर्वभवेन ज्ञेनिग सि-
- 7 यंति (१०) प्रथदे एत लेख अत्र प्रहिदेमि (१०) प्रहुद-अर्यय न तिमिदवो (१०) अवि एदस् सुमतस्

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 एष^२ उटियन पिचविदेमि (१०) हतु उवु तय अचोविन अचोयदे तुर निखलिदवो (१०) अवि
- 2 श्रमंन धर्मप्रिय-नम सलुवअए गोठमि बुच्यति (१०) यहि एष सुमत अल एइयति
- 3 तपदय एद श्रमंन सुमतस् हस्तमि अनविदवो पिचवंनए (१०) एष श्रमंन भरि-मण्डि-
- 4 गेय-नि-प्रोङ्गेयस्^३ दक्ष असि (१०) महि वंति पद विक्रित(१०) सर्व निश्चेय किदम (१०)
एष श्रमंन
- 5 अहुनो दहि होतु (॥०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शनस्य देवमनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रियभ्रातुः पोटंग-ल्यिपेयस्य [समीपे] विजालयितव्या
(— निग्रन्थीकृतव्या) [एषा कीलमुद्रा] ॥

प्रियदर्शनाय देवमनुष्यसम्पूजिताय प्रियभ्राते पोटंग-ल्यिपेयाय चोद्भवो-नस्तिन्तः (— चो-
द्भवो-पदाधिष्ठित-नस्तिन्ताह्वयः जनः) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं [च] (— तद्विषयकं
आशीर्वाचनं) प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयं [च] । एवं च तत् (— यत्) च—“अतः
(— ततः) [आ]गतोऽस्मि, तव प्रसादेन अरोगोऽस्मि । कोलिये (— कोलियाख्ये स्थाने)
.....इदानीम्..... । अधुना अत्र (— तत्र) [यं] राजकं (— राजकीयं) उष्टी-गणं
विसर्जितवानस्मि, तत्र (= तन्मध्ये) लैवर्पकः (= लिवर्प-वयस्कः) उष्टः १ । एषः भूयः
राज्याय (= राष्ट्राय) अध्यातं (= निर्विचारं) उद्घातय्यः (— प्रतिदातव्यः) । कीलमुद्रा (= मुद्रा-
क्षित-कीलकाकार-काष्ठखण्डस्थः लेखः) अल हेतौ शक-मोगस्य उपान्ते (— शक-मोगं प्रति) ।
एतत्-कीलमुद्रा वाचयित्वा पुनः शक-मोगाय दातव्या धारणाय (= रक्षणार्थम्) अवश्यम् ॥
एते किलमेकीयाः (= किलमे-सम्बन्धिनः जनाः; यद्वा — किलमे-वासिनः) सर्वभावेन [तव] ध्यानिकाः

१ Read हतु.

२ ए was originally omitted and subsequently added above ए.

३ Or, मोखीयस्.

(- ध्यान-विषयाः - परिचरणाहीः) स्युः¹ । प्रथतः (= प्रथ-नामक-स्थानतः ; यद्वा—पथितः) एतं लेखं अत्र (= तत्र) प्रहितवान् अस्मि ; [अतः] प्राभृतार्थाय (= पुरस्कारार्थाय) न स्तिमितव्यम् [इति विचिन्त्य] ॥ अपि [च]—एतस्य सुमतस्य (= सुमताख्यस्य जनस्य) [हस्तेन] एतम् उद्गीर्णं प्रत्यर्पितवानस्मि । इतः उपादाय (= वर्तमानात् प्रभृति) 'अचोविनाः' (- पुरुष-विशेषाः) 'अचोयतः' (- गुल्मात् ?) त्वरया निष्कालयितव्याः (- प्रेषयितव्याः) ॥² अपि [च]—श्रमणः धर्मप्रियः नाम सलुवयायाः (- सलुवया-नाम्नयाः नार्याः) गोष्ठे [अस्ति इति] उच्यते । यदा एषः सुमतः अत्र (= तत्र) एष्यति तत् उपादाय (- ततः प्रभृति—तदा) एतस्य श्रमणस्य सुमतस्य हस्ते आज्ञापयितव्यं प्रत्यर्पणाय³ । एषः श्रमणः भरि-मष्टिगोय-नि-(- ०मष्टिगोयापरनामा)-मोद्गेयस्य दासः आसीत्⁴ । मां प्रति पादः (= तस्य भृत्यस्य [= भृत्यसम्बन्धिनः श्रमस्य] चतुर्थः भागः) विक्रीतः । [क्रय-विषयकं] सर्वं निश्चयं कृतवन्तःस्म । एषः श्रमणः अधुना तव भवतु [पादेन ?] ॥

No. 4 (= BRS No. 165)

Rectangular Under-Tablet

TEXT⁵

Under-tablet: Obverse.

- 1 प्रियदर्शन-चोच्चो-क्रनय-पोठंग-ल्यपियस् च ओगु-किर्तिशर्म अरोग्य परि-
- 2 प्रोछति पुनपुनो बहो अप्रमेयो (।*) एवं च स च प्रथमदरो इमदे मगेन-पगोस् च
- 3 हस्तंमि लेख प्रहुइ प्रहिदेमि (।*) तदे जदयं भविदवो (।*) अवि-पेत-अवनंमि पल्यि पर-
- 4 वपिं शेप यं च इम-वपिं पल्यि तह सर्वं स्वोर तौमिहि⁶ सध इश विसृजिदवो (।*) यति
- 5 तदे पुरिम-पश्चिम विसृजिद्वतु पंथंमि परस् भविष्यति तुओ पोठंग-ल्यपेय

¹ Were the Kilmechiyas carrying the letter? Kilme=district, according to Burrow. Kilme=estate and Kilmechi=tenant, according to Thomas (*Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 63).

² The Achovinas were possibly a kind of special messengers to report among other things impending attacks from enemies. Acho may be a kind of frontier outpost. Thomas connects them with ājara or ājuh. The writer possibly wanted to have informations regarding any attempt to steal the camels on the way.

³ Burrow: "orders must be given for handing over this Sramana into the hands of Sumata."

⁴ It is interesting to note the degraded condition of the Buddhist monks in this period. नि=alias? Burrow makes नि=निज and suggests that often a word like putra or dāsa is omitted after नि. This interpretation of ni as a sort of genitive suffix seems to suit some of the cases. See below, No. 7, line 1, on the Covering-tablet (obverse).

⁵ From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, I.

⁶ तौमि is equated by some with तौमि (= त्वया) of some records.

- 6 तनु गोठदे व्योविशसि नधन भगेन (१*) यं च भुम-नवक-अंनेन ग्रिद अतिवहो
- 7 किनिदवो इश प्रहदवो (१*) वेग-किलिम-खियन पलिय भुम-नवक-अंन स्वोर विसृजित-
- 8 वो (१*) अवि पलिय उट तेनेव सध इश विसृजितवो (१*) म इ'चि तोंगन परिदे उट विधिप्यतु (१*)
- 9 तस उट-प्रचेय रय-सक्खि लिहिदग क्रिदग (१*) लिविस्तरंमि अनति-लेख अल गद (१*)
- 10 तहि चोम्भो-क्रनयस लिहमि एद कर्यमि तुओ चित कर्तव्य (१*) एष लियपेय न चित
- 11 करेति (१*) यो पुन तहि कर्यनि हक्खंति शक्खयमि अहो करंनय (१*) यो अल शुभाशुभ-
- 12 स प्रवृत्ति हक्खति एमेव लेहरगस हस्तमि लेख इश प्रहतवो (१*) यो इश वर्तमान
- 13 लियम्भुअर परिदे जदर्थ भविदवो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शन-चोम्भोक्रनय-पोठंघलियपेयौ (-०चोम्भोपदाधिष्ठित-क्रणयनामानं पोठंघ-
पदाधिष्ठित-लियपेयनामानं च) ओगु-कीर्तिशर्मा (=ओगूपाधिक०) आरोग्यं परिपृच्छति पुनःपुनः
बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च तत् (-यत्) च-प्रथमतः (=प्रथमतः) इतः मगेन-पग्गोः च (=मगे-
नारुपस्य पगुनाम्नः च पुरुषयोः) हस्तेन लेखं प्राभृतम् (=उपहारं [च] प्रहितवान्) अस्मि [अहम्] ।
ततः ज्ञातार्थाभ्यां [युवाभ्यां] भवितव्यम् । अवि-पेत्वापणे (=नानाजातीयमेप-विक्रय-स्थाने ;
यद्वा-अपि [च]०) [लभ्यः] बलिः (=करः) पूर्ववर्षीय-शेषः (=पूर्ववर्षीयकरस्य अवशिष्टांशः) यः
च (-एवं च) एतद्वर्षीयः बलिः तथा सर्वं स्फुर (=स्फूर्तियुक्तं-त्वरया) तोम्मिभिः (- तोम्मि-
संज्ञैः राजभृत्यैः ?) सार्द्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यम् । यदि ततः पूर्व-पश्चिमम् (=अप्रतः
पश्चात् च = असकृत् [बलिं] विसर्जयिष्यथः, पथि परस्य (=दस्युतस्करादेः-दस्युतस्करादिहृतः)
भविष्यति [च], [ततः] त्वं पोठंघ-लियपेयः *तनु-गोष्ठतः (-आत्मनः०) व्यवशेक्षसि (-क्षतिपूर्णं
करिष्यसि) नद्धानां (-बद्धानां पशूनां ; यद्वा-शस्यभाराणां) भागेन (-अंशानुसारेण) ॥ यत्
च-भूमिनवकाज्ञेन (-भूमिजात-नवशस्येन) घृतम् अतिबहु (-बहुपरिमाणं) क्रेतव्यम्, अस्मिन्
[स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यं [च] । वेगकिलिखीणां (=भारवाहि-घोटक-स्वामिनीनां ?) बलिः भूमि-
नवकाज्ञं स्फुरं (-त्वरितं) विसर्जयितव्यः । अपि [च] बलिः उष्ट्रः (-बलि-स्वरूपः उष्ट्रः) तैः
(=तोम्मिभिः) एव सार्द्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यः । न किञ्चित् [कालं] तोङ्गानां
(=राजभृत्यविशेषान्) परितः (=सकाशे) उष्ट्रः वितिष्ठतु (=उष्ट्रः रक्षितव्यः)² । तस्य उष्ट्र-प्रत्यये
(=उष्ट्रस्य विषये) राज-साक्षि[कं] लिखितकं (-लेखः) कृतकं (-कृतः) ; लिपि-स्तरे

1 Burrow explains the passage as 'widowed district-women'. Thomas suggests 'women of the land irrigated by Vega.' Alternatively, भुमन वक अंन = corn paid as rent for the lands, according to Burrow.

2 Burrow : "Do not keep back the camel from the 'Tongaa'".

(— छिपिविस्तारेण) आशंसि-लेखः अतः (= तत्र) गतः [च] । त्वां चोद्भवो-ऋणं क्षिप्वाभि—
 एतत्-कार्ये त्वया चित्तं (= मनोयोगः) कर्तव्यम् । एषः स्त्रियेयः न चित्तं करोति । यानि पुनः
 तव कार्याणि [अपराणि] सन्ति, दाश्यामि अहं करणाय [तेषाम्] । या अत्र शुभाशुभस्य
 प्रवृत्तिः (= वार्ता) अस्ति, एवम् एव लेखद्वारकस्य हस्ते [तद्विषयकः] लेखः अस्मिन् [स्थाने]
 प्रहेतव्यः (= प्रेषयितव्यः) । या अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वर्तमानः [व्यापारः], स्त्रियम्बुयस्य (= छिन्मुय-
 नामकस्य जनस्य) परितः [= सकाशान्] [तद्विषये] ज्ञातार्थेन भवितव्यं [त्वया] ।”

No. 5 (= BRS No. 288)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet: Obverse

- 1 भटरगम् चोद्भवो-सौचकम्
- 2 पदमुलमि विचछिदवो (1*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

- 1 भटरगम् प्रिय-देव-मनुजम् देव-मनुज-संपुञ्जितम् प्रचक्ष-चोधिस्त्वस्म महचोद्भवो-
 सौचक-
- 2 स् पदमुलमि चोद्भवो-यित्ति नमिस्त्वयस् सच नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर
 अरोगिय च
- 3 प्रेषेति बहु अप्रमेयो (1*) एवं च विनति स् च बहु-चिर-कल हुद न शकिदम तेहि वंति
 लेख-
- 4 प्रहुद-प्रेषनए (1*) तेन करन मुठ संजवे, यम न-इं चि य दिव्यज अंजत हवक्षति (1*)²
 एष यमने-
- 5 र चक्व... [क]³ अत विमज्जिद तेहि दिव्यशरिर-अरोगि-प्रेषनए (1*) यो से अत वेधन

Covering Tablet: Reverse

- 1 किंचि करिणति अवश मंत छुनिदवो (1*) से अमनेर तेहि जेनिग् स्यति (1*)
 न-इं चि अवो-
- 2 मत किंचि करेति (1*) प्रहुदम् अर्ध येन न दिमिदवो लहुग् प्रहुद प्रहित (1*) पञ्चदर
 धर्मपि-

¹ From the facsimile in *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, I.

² Burrow: "For that we earnestly beg your indulgence. Nothing should be unknown to your divine knowledge." इच्छति = इच्छति = अच्छद = Bengali चाँई.

³ The alternative reading suggested is चक्रविर. Burrow: चक्रव.

- 3 यस् हस्तमि लेख-प्राभृतं प्रेषिष्यम वो तेहि विचर सति (10) विहियस् परिते रज्जु १ नमिह्य-
- 4 अप् परिते कस्तुग १ (10) अपरिमित-गुणस्य मम्म-गतस्य प्रियभृतु चोम्बो-बुधरविचयम्
- 5 पदेभ्यं धर्मप्रिय अरोगि संप्रेषेयति बहु (10)

Under-tablet

समरेन' (10)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भट्टारकस्य चोम्बो-सौचकस्य (-चोम्बोपदाधिष्ठित-सौचकाख्यस्य) पादमूले विज्ञास्य-
तस्यम् (= इन्मोचवित्तव्यं) [लिखित-काष्ठ-द्वय-बन्धनम्] ॥

भट्टारकस्य प्रिय-देवमनुष्यस्य देव-मनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रत्यक्ष-चोभिस्यस्य महाचोम्बो-
सौचकस्य पादमूले चोम्बो-विहियः नमिह्यवया (-विहियपत्न्या नमिह्यवया) 'सखा
(-साख') नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं च प्रेषयति बहु अग्रमेयम् । एवं च विज्ञास्यते
तत् (= यत्) च - बहुचिरकालः भूतः न क्षत्वाः स्मः तव उपान्ते (-सकाशे) लेख-प्राभृत-प्रेषणाय ।
तेन कारणेन सुष्ठु संज्ञापयामः—नकाचित् (= न) च दिव्याज्ञा (-भवतः आज्ञानि)
[आवाभ्याम्] अज्ञाता अस्ति । एवं भ्रमणेन चकचकः अत्र (-तत्र) विस्मयितः तव दिव्यशरीरा-
रोग्य-प्रेषणाय (-स्वास्थादि-ज्ञापनाय) । यत् सः अत्र (-तत्र) वैधानं (= विधान-समूहं =
कर्मजातं) किञ्चित् करिष्यति, अवश्यं [तव] मन्तः [तेन] श्रोतव्यः । सः भ्रमणेन तव ध्यायिका
(-ध्यान-विषयः) स्यात् । माकिञ्चित् (-न) अभ्यवमतं (= अनभिप्रेतं त्वया ; यद्वा—
अननुज्ञातं त्वया) किञ्चित् करोतु । प्राभृतस्य अर्थे येन (= यथा) न स्तिमितस्यम् (= विहम्बः
न स्यात्), [तत्-कारणात् मया] कपुकं (-किञ्चिन्मात्रं) प्राभृतं प्रहितम्^१ । पञ्चाक्षरं (= पञ्चाक्षरं)
धर्मप्रियस्य हस्ते लेख-प्राभृतं प्रेषयिष्यामः यत् तव प्रत्यहं^२ (यद्वा—प्रतिपदं^३) स्यात् । विहियस्य
परितः (= सकाशात्) रज्जुः १, नमिह्यवयाः परितः कस्तुकः (-बन्धन-विशेषः^४ ;
यद्वा—कस्तुकः = धनुर्मध्यम्) १ ॥" अपरिमित-गुणस्य मम्म-गतस्य (= हृदये दत्त-स्थानस्य =

^१ Read *क्षिप.

^२ Burrow : "Whatever communication he makes to you there, by all means his words must be listened to. Let this *Sōmanera* be under your care. Let them do nothing in disregard of him. We have sent a small present, so that you need not worry about the present."

^३ Cf. Hindi *latti*, 'the string of a child's top; a cloth tied to the end of a pole to direct the flight of pigeons; a fillet.'

प्रियस्य) प्रियभ्रातुः चोश्चो-बुद्धरक्षितस्य पदाभ्यां धर्मप्रियः आरोग्यं संप्रेषयति बहु ॥
श्रामणेः (= श्रामणे-सम्बन्धि-लेखः) ॥

No. 6 (= BRS No. 358)

Leather Document

TEXT²

Obverse

- 1 महनुभव महरय लिहति चोश्चो-सौजकस्³ मंत देति (।*) एवं च जनंद भविदव्य यो लिहमि (।*) सच यहि रज-किचस् क्रि-
- 2 देन अनदि दित तह रज-कर्यमि ओसुक अवजिदव्य (।*) अवि स्वस् जिविद-परिचगेन अनद रक्खिदव्य यहि खेम खोतंनदे वर्तमन सियति (।*) एम चेव महि महरयस् पदमुलमि विंजविदव्य (।*) यो च अदेहि लेहरग-चडियस् ह-
- 3 स्तमि विंजति-लेख प्रहितेसि तह सर्व-जदर्थो स्मि (।*) अपि च विंजवेतु कल-पूर्णवलस् उट २ न इश धियंति पलयंति (।*) एदे उट अल लंचग परिपलि-तव्य (।*) पिवरए होतु (।*) शरतमि न-इ⁴ चि इश अनिदवो (।*)
- 4 अवि विंजवेसि यथ कल-पूर्णवल-नि-चमकस् मनुशन अंजे जन कर्मवेति (।*) लिहिदग सक्खि नस्ति (।*) से मनुश कल-पूर्णवलस् नमेन निखलिदवो (।*) येष विवद सियति रय-द्वरमि गरहिदव्य (।*)
- 5 अवि च यो इश [अवर]धि हुयंति इशेव तेप मंतव्य हुअति इत्यथ अल विसुजिदम (।*) भ्रयति विहरवल अल दनु-किलिमचियन मसु-मंसेन सुठ विहेइ⁵ति विन[जेति] (।*) [दिवसि]⁶ निसग विहरवल-
- 6 स सध पुत्त-परि[वर]स्य च दनु-किलिमयदे ददवो अट यं च⁷ सतु वचरि ४ (।*) यथ-अवरधि-धर्मेन रक्खिदवो न हस्त पददे ओडिप्यति न बलस्⁸ भविप्यति (।*) अवि सुदर्शनस् इमदे कुइ

¹ This sentence appears to bear a message from Dharmapriya to Chojhbo Buddhara-kabita in a letter actually from Chojhbo-Yilliy and his wife Namilgaya to the Great Chojhbo Sombhaka.

² From the facsimile in *Ancient Khotan*, Plate 93. The record has been translated by F. W. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII (1935), p. 64, and by Burrow in his *Translation*, pp. 69f.

³ Evidently the same as Sombhaka of the previous inscription.

⁴ BRS : विनटे ये दिनसि. Burrow connects निसग with निषय.

⁵ BRS read यं भ in the text.

⁶ Thomas बलस्=वा लस्. Burrow points out the improbability of the change of initial ब to व. He takes it to be an unknown word.

- 7 [२] विसृजितंति (१०) एदे तस् वंति ओद्दिदवो (१०) तेन विधनेन तनु किल्मेयदे भत ददव्य (१०) एम चेव सुरक्खिद कर्तव्य (१०) अवि अल सुदर्शनस् अल किल्मेचि-गोठ २ (१०) एदे जंन
- 8 शवथ शवाविदव्य न इमदे पप कर्त मल जल्पिदव्य न अदेहि शुनिदव्य (१०) वेळ-वेळय एदे जंन सुदर्शनस् वंति ओद्दिदवो (१०) अवि बहुवर अजदि-लेख गद पोठं-
- 9 ग-सल्लुवियस् पलयंने-मनुश-देयंनए (१०) यव अजक न देनसि खंनवटोसि (१०) चवळ ददवो (१०) यदि अहुनो भुय चवल न दस्यसि मनसंमि हुतु (१०) सिहधर्मस् पुल चवल भ्रमनेर दनु
- 10 निखलिदवो (१०) कुतिश-धर्म भ्रमन अंजेस दल्ल ददवो (१०) मसे, ४(+*)२ दिवसे, १०(+*)३ (॥*)

Reverse

चोद्दो सीजकस् ददवो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोद्दो-सीजकस्य मन्त्रं ददाति ।—“एवं च जानता भवितव्यं [त्वया] यत् लिखामि । तत् (—यत्) च—यथा राज-कृत्यस्य कृतेन आज्ञासिः दत्ता, तथा राजकार्ये औत्सुक्यम् आवर्जयितव्यं (—विधेयम्) । अपि [च] स्वस्य जीवित-परित्यागेन आज्ञप्तम् (—आज्ञा) रक्षितव्यं, यथा (—येन) क्षेमं (—मङ्गलं) खोतन्तः (=तदारूप-राज-धानीतः—राजसकाशात्) वर्तमानं स्यात् (—आगच्छेत्) । एवं च एव [सर्वं] मम महाराजस्य पादमूले विज्ञापयितव्यम् । यं च अतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) लेख-हारक-चडियस्य हस्ते [त्वं] विज्ञप्तिलेखं ग्रहितवानसि, तथा (=तत्पाठात्) सर्वज्ञातार्थोऽस्मि । अपि च [त्वया] विज्ञापितं [यत्] कल-पूर्णबलस्य (—कलोपाधिकपूर्णबलस्य) उष्ट्रौ २ न अस्मिन् [स्थाने] श्रयतः (—तिष्ठतः), [परंतु] पलायेते । एतौ उष्ट्रौ अल (—तल) रञ्जकं (=रञ्जयित्वा)^१ पालयितव्यौ । पीवरो भवताम् । शरदि^२ [तौ उष्ट्रौ] नकिञ्चित् (—न) अस्मिन् [स्थाने] आनेतव्यौ ॥ अपि [च] [त्वं मां] विज्ञापयसि यथा कल-पूर्णबल-नि (=कल-पूर्णबलापराख्य)-चमकस्य मनुष्येण^३ (—भृत्येन) अन्ये जनाः कर्मयन्ति (—भृत्यकर्म कारयन्ति) । लिखितकं (—स्वामित्व-प्रत्यायकं पत्रादि) साक्षी [च]

^१ Burrow : 'properly'.

^२ Thomas takes शरदि with the previous sentence.

^३ I.e., servant; cf. Bengali *munish*. Burrow : “a man belonging to Chamaka of *k ala Pūrpabala* is doing work there, and not other people; . . . there are neither written documents nor witnesses.”

नास्ति । सः मनुष्यः कल-पूर्णबलस्य नाम्ना निष्खालयितव्यः (=परेषां भृत्यकर्मणः बहि-
 र्कर्त्तव्यः) । येषां विवादः स्यात्, राजद्वारे गृहयितव्यम् (=अभियोक्तव्यं) [तैः] ॥
 अपि च 'यैः अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] अपराधिभिः भूयते अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे]
 एव तैः मर्त्तव्यम् भवति' इत्यर्थम् (=त्वया एवं विज्ञापितत्वात्) अल (=तल) [अपराधिनः]
 विसर्जितवान् अस्मि । श्रूयते, विहारपालः अल (=तल) तनु (=आत्मनः)-किल्मे-
 कीयानां मद्यमांसेन सुष्ठु विहृतयति' (=विशेषेण विहारं करोति-अपचिनोति) विनाशयति
 [च] । *दिवसीयः निश्रयः (=दैनिकं खाद्यादिकं) विहार-पालाय सार्द्धं पुत्र-परिवारेण
 'तनु-किल्मियतः (=विहारपालस्य स्व-विषयतः) दातव्यः—अष्टं (=गोधूमचूर्णं)^१ यत् च शक्त-
 वचयः ४ (=चतुर्वचरी-परिमाणम् अष्टशक्तुकम्) । [सः] यथापराधिधर्मेण रक्षितव्यः, न हस्त-
 पादतः उद्धास्यते (=वद्धयिष्यते = पाणिपादं न कर्त्तिष्यते) ; न तस्य बलास्तं (=शक्तिक्षयः)^२
 भविष्यति ॥ अपि सुदर्शनाय अतः कुटौ (=पाले) २ विसर्ज्येते । एतौ तस्य उपान्ते
 उद्धातयौ । तेन विधानेन (=पूर्वोक्त-विधानेन) [सुदर्शनाय] तनु-किल्मियतः भक्तं (=आहार्यं)
 दातव्यम् । एवं च एव सुरक्षितः कर्त्तव्यः [सः] । अपि [च] अल (=तल) सुदर्शनस्य अल
 किल्मकीय-गोष्ठे २ । एतैः जनैः (=किल्मेकीयैः) शपथः शापयितव्यः 'न अतः पापं कार्यं',
 मन्त्रः [च] जल्पितव्यः ; न अमुतः (=कारास्थ-सुदर्शनात्) [मन्त्रः] श्रोतव्यः । वेला[यां] वेलायां
 (=काले काले) एते जनाः सुदर्शनस्य उपान्ते उद्धातव्याः ॥ अपि च बहु-वारं आज्ञा-लेखः
 गतः (=प्रेषितः) सोढंग-सलुवियाय पलायन-मनुष्य-दानाय (=पलायित०) । यावत्
 अद्य न दत्तवान् असि । क्षणवर्त्तकः (=कालक्षेपकः) असि । चपलं दातव्यः [मनुष्यः त्वया] ।
 यदि अधुना भूयः चपलं न दास्यसि, मनसि [ते मनुष्य-दान-कथा] भवतु ॥ सिंहधर्मस्य
 पुत्रः चपलं श्रामणेरः [त्वया] तनुः (=स्वयं) निष्खालयितव्यः । [सिंहधर्म-पुत्रस्य]
 कृतेशधर्मः (=प्रभुधर्मा-प्रभुः)^४ श्रमणः [अस्ति चेत्, तस्मै] अन्यस्य दासः दातव्यः ॥" मासि
 ६, दिवसे १३ ॥

चोड्यो-सोमजकाय दातव्या [कील-मुद्रा] ॥

^१ Or, विहृतयति from विहृष्ट, 'injury'.

^२ Cf. the Bengali and Hindi word खाटा.

^३ Burrow: "He is to be kept under the conditions [prescribed] for criminals [in such a way, namely that] he shall not be free either hand or foot and shall not be *balasta*. . . These people are to be made to swear an oath, and no mere scandal is to be talked from here or heard there." Thomas: "Further, we have sent to you to the effect that those who are here offenders are to die here. We hear that the monastery-master there causes much damage to the vine crops of his own *kilma*-people with flesh, by reason of the corpses (*vinashṭa*) which you give him. On the part of the monastery-master and from the sons and family [of the condemned man] is to be supplied from their own *kilmi* flour, and any meal, *vacaris* 4, so that the offender may [during the interval before his execution 'here'] be kept properly alive". . .

^४ कुतिथ (from a stem कु?) = कोऽपि, according to some.

No. 7 (= BRS No. 579)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet: Obverse

- 1 एष प्रबंनग मोगत-नि-भुमस प्रचेय (I*)
- 2 तिविर-रमसोत्स अनद धरिदवो (II*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

- 1 संवत्सरे ४ (+*)४ (+*)१ महरय-रयतिरयस महंतस जयंतस धर्मियस सच-
धर्म-स्थिदम्
- 2 महनुअव-महरय-अंकाग-देवपुत्स वक्षुनमि मसे. ४ (+*)२ तिवसे. १० (+*)४
(+*)१ (I*) अस्ति मनु-
- 3 श चर-पुरुष मोगत नम (I*) से. उथिद तिविर-रमसोत्स वंति अक्रि-भुम विक्रिद
अडि-
- 4 नि-भिज-पयति मिलिम १ खि १० गिड मुळि तवस्तग हस्त १० (+*)३ वदश (I*)
मुलिये-
- 5 न संम संम सरजितंति (I*) तह एदस भुमस वंति तिविर-रमसोत्स एण्वर्थ हु-
- 6 द ववंनए किपंनए अंजस प्रहुइ देयंनए सर्व-बोग-परिभुहंनए
- 7 किक्कम करंनि सियति (I*) एद कय-विक किटति पुरठिद महात्मन (I*)
सविक्ष जनं-
- 8 ति रज-दरो कित्तेत्स पितेय काळ-करंत्स (I*) स च सविक्ष अप्सुअन अपिय-
शांच[I] (I*) स च
- 9 सविक्ष भियो अंज सविक्ष तोघ-कुवय सविक्ष वसु-चटिय सविक्ष

Covering-tablet: Reverse

- 1 अप्सु-करंत्स सविक्ष चोइवो-लुस्तु सविक्ष वुर्यंग-गित सविक्ष त्सधि[नव]-
कपोत सविक्ष
- 2 कोरि-ध्वल्य यस वटयग शिरास सविक्ष (I*) को पश्चिम-कवमि वेतेयति चोतेयति

¹ From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 261, Plate XXIII.

- 3 सजेयति तह रयद्वरमि मो चोदति अग्रमनं च सियति (।*) एष प्रबनग लिखि-
- 4 दग महि दिविर-तमस्व-पुलेन दिविर-मोगतस् त[न] महत्वन अनतेन (।*)
प्रमन व-
- 5 प-सहस्रमि (।*) यवजिवो
- 6¹ सुत-डिनिदं कित्सेत्सस् वटयग
- 7 श्रोङ्ग स*) कर्सेनव-शोदि(ते?)ङ्गस् च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

एतत् प्रपणकं² (- पत्रम् - आज्ञापत्री) मोगत-निज-भूमनः (= मोगत-भूमनः) प्रत्यये
(- सम्पर्के) । दिविर-रम्पोत्सस्य (- रम्पोत्सेण) आज्ञप्तं धर्तव्यम् ॥³

संवत्सरे [नवमे] ९ महाराज-राजातिराजस्य महतः जयतः धार्मिकस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य
महानुभाव-महाराजाङ्गवग-देवपुत्रस्य क्षणे (- शासन-समये) मासे ६ दिवसे १४ । अस्ति मनुष्यः
चर-पुरुषः (= गूढचारः) मोगतः नाम । सः उत्थाय (- स्वेच्छया) दिविर-रम्पोत्सस्य उपान्ते
(= रम्पोत्सं प्रति) अग्र-भूमनं (- उत्तम-भूमिं) विक्रीतवान् ; [अस्मिन्] अडिनि-बीज-पर्याप्तिः⁴
(= अडिनिनामक-शस्यबीजानां वपनाय पर्याप्त-परिमाणं) मिलिम० १ खि० १० ; गृहीतं मूल्यं
तापवस्त्रकाणि हस्ताः १३ (- त्रयोदशहस्त-परिमितानि) द्वादश (- द्वादश-संख्यकानि) ।⁵ मूल्येन
सम्यक् सम्यक् संरब्ज्येते [क्रेतृ-विक्रेतारौ] । तथा एतस्य भूमनः उपान्ते (= भूमिं प्रति) दिविर-
रम्पोत्सस्य ऐश्वर्यं (= स्वामित्वं) भूतं वपनाय कर्पणाय अन्यस्मै प्राभृत-दानाय सर्वभोगपरि-
भोगाय - किंकर्म (- यत्किमपि कर्म) करणीयं स्यात् [भूम्यां अस्याम्] । [क्रेतृविक्रेतारौ] एतत्
क्रयविक्रयं कुरुतः पुरःस्थितौ [सन्तौ] महात्मनोः (- मुख्यराजपुरुषयोः) ; [महात्मानौ] साक्षिणौ तौ
च एतत् जानीतः - राज-दार[कः] कित्सेत्सः, पितृव्यः (- राज-पितृव्यः)⁶ कल-करत्सः [च] । तौ च
साक्षिणौ अप्सूनां (- अप्सूयवंश्यानां?) अप्पीय-शांचौ (- तदाख्यौ) । ते च साक्षिणः भूयः
अन्ये - साक्षी तौच-कुवयः, साक्षी वसु-चडियः, साक्षी अप्सु-करत्सः, साक्षी चोश्चो-लुस्तुः, साक्षी

¹ The letters are in the middle of the line.

² Cf. the Persian word *parwana*.

³ Burrow : "This receipt concerning land of Mogata is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramahotsa." दिविर = कायस्थ ; cf. Persian *dabir*.

⁴ Cf. the words ट्रीणवाप, कुव्यवाप, etc. मिनिम and खि are probably abbreviations indicating names of measures.

⁵ Burrow : "thirteen hands (i.e. cubits) of carpet valued at twelve."

⁶ Burrow : "the royal administrator, the *kitsaila* Peteya." महात्मा = a magistrate.

बुयंग-पिगतः, साक्षी स्मचिनव-कपोतः, साक्षी कोरि-प्वल्यः यस्य वर्तकः (=स्थलवर्ती=प्रतिनिधिः)¹ शिरासः साक्षी । कः (-यः कश्चित्) पश्चिमकाले विवादयति (यद्वा—वेदयति), चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), सज्जायते [विवादयितुं] (यद्वा—संजयति भूक्रेतारं), तथा राजद्वारे मुखं चोदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), [तस्य विवाद-चोदना-संजयनादिकं सर्वम्] अप्रमाणम् (-अप्यर्थं—प्रमाणविरुद्धं) स्यात् । एतत् प्रपर्णकं लिखितकं (-लिखितं) मया दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्रेण दिविर-मोगतेन तेषां महात्मनां (-साक्षि-भूतानां राजदारक-राजपितृव्यादीनाम्) आज्ञप्तेन (=आज्ञया) । [अस्य] प्रमाणं (=प्रामाण्यं) वर्ष-सहस्रे (-०सहस्रं व्याप्य) [भविष्यति] । यावज्जीवं (=चिराय) सूत-चिह्नितं² [क्षेत्रं=क्षेत्रसोमा] कित्सैत्सस्य वर्तकेन श्रोत्रेण, कर्पेणव-शोदिह्नेन च ॥

No. 8 (=BRS No. 661)

Oblong Tablet

TEXT³

Obverse

- 1 संवत्सरे १० मसे, ३ धिवज्ञ १० (+•) ४ (+•) ४ (1•) इज् धुनमि खोतन-महरय-रयतिरय-हिनभदेव-विजि-⁴
- 2 दसिंहस्य (1•) त-कलि अस्ति मनुश(=शे) नगरग(-ग) खवनसं-नम (1•) तथ मद्र(-द्रे)दि (1•) अस्ति मयि उटः (1•) तनुवगः सो उटः अ-
- 3 विहजनु हरदि धहि-अधि तद्रिजु.⁵ वशो (1•) त इदनि सो उटो विकिनामि मुख्यल्ये -)न मप(-पे)-सहस्र अष्टि ४ (+•)
- 4 ४ (x•) १००० सुलिग-वगिति-वधगस्य सगजि (1•) तस्य [उटस्य किद(=दे) वगिति-वधग(-गे) निरवशिषो मुख्यो मस(=से) धितु ख-
- 5 नंसंस्य ग्रहिडु शुधि उवगडु (1•) अजि उवदयि सो उटः वगिति-वधगस्य तनुवगः संवितः (1•) यथ-गम गुरनीयः (1•)

1 *I.e.* साचिणः कोरि-प्वल्यस्य प्रतिनिधिः शिरासः साचि. Burrow : 'attendant.'

2 Burrow : 'cut the string' (स्वं छिन्नम्).

3 From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 291, Plate XXXVIII, and *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, II, Plate XII. See Noble, *BSOS*, V, pp. 445f.; Burrow, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 480f.; Konow, *Act. Or.*, XIII, pp. 231f. A consonant with a dot above it (possibly representing short *e*) is indicated here as in श(=शे), etc.

4 BRS : ०भस्य अविजि०.

5 BRS : अचित् इज्. अचि=अचि (Konow); 𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓 (Burrow).

- 6 सर्वकिंच करनीयः (१०) यो पचेम-कलि तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) चुदियदि विदियदि विवदु उयवियदि त(=ते न तथ
- 7 भदु धिनदि यथ रजधमुं स्यदि (१०) मय धलवगु, बहुधिव(=वे) लिखिदु ख्वर्णसंस्य अजिपनयि पुरदु स्प श न'
- 8 र स'
- 9 ननिवधग(=गे) सक्षि शशिवक(=के) सक्षि स्पनियक(=के) सक्षि (॥०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८ । इह (-अस्मिन्) क्षणे खोतन्न(Khotan)-महाराज-
राजातिराज-हीनाध्यदेव-विजितसिंहस्य (=हीनाध्यदेवनाम्नः विजितसिंहोपनामकस्य)^१ ।
तत्काले अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः(=नगरवासी) ख्वर्णसं-नामा । [सः] तथा मन्त्रयते
—“अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः । तनुवकः (=स्वकः) सः उष्ट्रः अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्गं तादृशं
'वशो' (=वशो इति दाहाङ्गम्) । तत् इदानीं तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि मूल्येन माप-सहस्राष्ट-
[केन] ८००० सुलिक-वगिति-वधगस्य (=सुलिकजातीय-वगितिनामकस्थानवासि-वधगाख्यस्य ?)
सकाशे ।” तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगिति-वधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य-मापः घृतः(=दत्तः), ख्वर्णसेन [च]
गृहीतः, [विक्रयसम्बन्धीयाः] शुद्धिः (-परिशोधः) उपगता । अद्य उपादाय(=अद्य प्रभृति) सः
उष्ट्रः वगिति-वधगस्य तनुवकः(-स्वकः) संवृत्तः, यथाकामं करणीयः (=व्यवहरणीयः [उष्ट्रः
वधगेन]) । सर्व-कृत्यं करणीयम् [अनेन उष्ट्रेण वधगेन] । यः पश्चिम-काले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते
चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), वेदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), विवादम् उत्था-
पयति [च], तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत (-तेन विधानेन दण्डः देयः) यथा राजधर्मः स्यात् ।
मया धलवगु-बहुधिवे[न] (=धलवगुग्रामस्य तदाख्यवंशस्य वा बहुधिव-नाम्ना) लिखितः[लेखः]
ख्वर्णसंस्य अभ्येषणया (=प्रार्थनया) पुरतः स्प०, श०, न०, र०, स० (-स्प-शादि-
नामपूर्वभागानां साक्षिणाम्)^४ । ननि-वधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्पनियकः साक्षी ॥

^१ In larger characters with long stems, apparently initials of three witnesses. Cf. note 4 below.

^२ These two letters are in Brāhmī. They are followed by some letters and symbols which cannot be read. On the reverse there are various isolated *aksharas*, many of which are Brāhmī. These may be the initials of various witnesses, some of whom were used to writing in Brāhmī.

^३ *Hinajha* is connected with Iranian *henaja*, 'commander of armies'. BRS make हिमजस्य अविजित०.

^४ It is possible that स्प = स्पनियक, श = शशिवक and न = ननिवधग.

BOOK III

**Inscriptions of the Gupta Age from the
Fourth to the Sixth Century A.D.**

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on Gold Coins mentioning Chandragupta I (c. 320-35 A.D.)¹ and Kumāradevi and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 8f.

First Side²

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-topped

¹ See *infra*, p. 270, note 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But, since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's plausible theory has not been generally accepted. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III, Num. Sup., No. 47). Some recent writers are inclined to rely on the details of Gupta history as found in the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* section of the *Bhaviṣhyottara Purāṇa* (M. Krishnamachariar, *Hist. Classical Sans. Lit.*, pp. cii-iii; *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 35-36, etc.):

ग्रीवटीतृक्चगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः ।
लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः ।
लिच्छवीयां समुद्राद्य देव्यायन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् ।
चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।
वर्षेस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तं राज्यं वीरायणौरसो ।
आन्ध्रभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपहरिष्यति ।
विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः ।
एकच्छत्रयकवर्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः ।
वचकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सवान्धवम् ।

कुमारदेवीमुद्राद्य नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥
सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥
राष्ट्रीयस्त्रालको भूत्वा राजपदवा च चोदितः ॥
तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्ञा चैव नियोजितः ॥
तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्मकम् ॥
क(का)चेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥
स्वनाम्ना तु शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥
नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो स्नेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥
अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥ etc.

These details may be summarised as follows. The son of Ghaṭotkachagupta (sic, Ghaṭotkacha), i.e. Chandragupta I, married Kumāradevi, daughter of the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, and sister-in-law of the Andhra king Chandraśrī of Magadha. He became first *Senādhyakṣa* of the Magadhan army with Lichchhavi help and then became *rāshṭriya-syālaka*. He killed Chandraśrī and, after 7 years, also the latter's son Puloman. With the help of his son Kācha, the Lichchhaviya, he extirpated Andhra rule from Magadha which he ruled for 7 years with the title *Vijayāditya*. He started a Śaka or era of his own. His son Samudragupta, daughter's son of the Nepal king, became king with the title *Aśokāditya* after having killed his father and other relations with the help of the Mlechchhas. These details go against many of the known facts of early Indian history. The Andhras never ruled in Magadha and Chandragupta and Samudragupta were never known respectively as *Vijayāditya* and *Aśokāditya*. Samudragupta did not kill his father. The account has to be regarded as a foolish forgery assignable to the 19th century when the reconstruction of Gupta history on epigraphic and numismatic basis was at its beginning.

² From representations in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate III, No. 1 ff. The gold coins of the Guptas were called *dināra* (from Roman *denarius*).

standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object (which on some coins is a ring) to Kumāradevī who stands on the left, to right, wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class':—

(right, on either side of the standard) चं² [ग]
द्र [म][:•] (i.e., चंद्रगुप्तः)

(left) कुम[र][•]र[द्रि]व[ी•]

Second Side

Lakshmi⁴, nimbate; wearing long loose robe; seated, facing, on lion couched to right or left; holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of throne on most specimens; border of dots; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters:—

(right) [लि]च्छव्यः⁵.

No. 2—Allahābād Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)⁶

In the ALLAHABAD Fort, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 6 ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1538 (for other references).

¹ See *infra*, p. 263, note 1.

² On some specimens, we have च
द्र (i.e., चन्द्रः).

³ On some specimen, we have देवी-श्रीः.

⁴ The lion may possibly indicate that the goddess represents the Annapūrṇā aspect of Ambikā. Gupta gold coins are imitated directly from those of the Kushāṇas and indirectly from those of the Indo-Greeks. The goddess may ultimately be an adaptation of the Greek goddess Pallas Athene; but it is directly connected with the goddess Ardoksho of the Kushāṇa coins.

⁵ This type of the coins and the claim of Samudragupta to have been a Lichchhavi-daushitra appear to point to the fact that Chandragupta I received the Lichchhavi dominions through the right of his wife. The republican tribe of the Lichchhavis is known to have ruled in North Bihār and later in Nepāl. It is however not impossible that Chandragupta I actually got Magadha from the Lichchhavis who were possibly in possession of that region in the early years of the 4th century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule only over Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa (=Ayodhyā) and Magadha.

⁶ See *infra*, No. 9, note 1. The pillar also bears two Aśokan records (*supra*, Bk. I Nos. 33-34).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class¹

Metre : Verses 1-2, cannot be determined; V. 3 अगधरा;
V. 4 शाहलविक्रीडित; V. 5 अगधरा; V. 6 मन्दाक्रान्ता;
V. 7 शाहलविक्रीडित; V. 8 अगधरा; V. 9 पृथ्वी

TEXT²

1³ ...कुल्यैः(?)...स्वे।तस.....

2 [यस्य ?].....(॥*) [१*]

3 .. मु^१(?) व.....

4 [स्फु]रङ्गं (?) क्षः स्फुटोद्[?]सित.....प्रवितत.....(॥*) [२*]

5 यस्य प्र[ज्ञानु]षङ्गोचित-सुख-मनसः शास्त्र-त[त्त्व]।त्यं-भक्तुः

—सख्यो— — — — नि— — — — नोच्छृ— — — — (॥*)

6 [स*]त्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्बुध-गुणित-गुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा

[वि]द्वल्लोके(ऽ*)वि[ना][शि*] स्फुटवहु-कविता-कीर्ति-राज्यं भुनक्ति (॥*) [३]

7 [ए*][हे]हीत्युपगुह्य भाव-पिशुनैरुत्कृष्टिर्णतै रोमभिः

सभ्येषूच्छसितेषु तुल्य-कुलज-म्लानाननोद्वीक्ष[त]ः (॥*)

8 [स्ने]ह-व्यालुळितेन वाष्प-गुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा

यः पिताभिहितो नि[रीक्ष्य] निखि[लां*] [पाद्येव*] [सुर्वी]मिति (॥*) [४]

9 [ह*]ष्टा कर्माभ्यनेकान्यमनुज-सदृशान्य[द्भु]तोद्भिन्न-हर्षा

भ[॥*]वैरास्वादयन्तः*] — — — — — — — — — [के*]चित् (॥*)

¹ The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of 'Aśokan' Brāhmī and those of 'Kushāṇa' Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised. The three stages in the development of Brāhmī both in the North and the South, as indicated above, may preferably be characterised as Early, Middle and Late corresponding respectively to the so-called Aśokan, Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record was engraved late in the king's life, but before his performance of the Aśvamedha. See *infra*, p. 275, note 2.

³ The first four lines, containing two verses, are almost wholly destroyed.

- [illegible]

¹ ग may be supposed to be the first *akṣhara* of the name गणपति (cf. line 21 below). The lacuna then may be conjecturally filled up by गणपत्यादीन्नृपान् सङ्गरे.

2 A prince of the Keta family appears to have been captured by his army while he was playing at the city of Pushpa (= Pushpapura = Pāṭaliputra), which may have been the capital of the king. Cf. the epithet पाटलिपुत्रक of a minister of Chandragupta II in *in/ra*, No. 11, and the epithets पाटलिपुरवराधीश्वर and उज्जयिनीपुरवराधीश्वर both applied to that king in the records of the Guttas of Guttala in the Dharwar District, South India; cf. also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* tradition of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī, and of Vikramāditya described as the king of Pāṭaliputraka. * Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1939, p. 468. After Chandragupta II, the first historical Vikramāditya, had extirpated the Śakas of Western India, Ujjayinī possibly became the second capital of the Gupta empire. The Guttas may have been descendants of a Kumāra viceroy of Ujjayinī.

- 20 नीलराज-वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म-पालककोप्रसेन - देवराष्ट्रककुबेर - कौस्थलपुरक-
धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्वदक्षिणापथराज - ग्रहण-मोक्षानुग्रह - जनित-प्रतापोन्मिश्र-माहा-
भाग्यस्य¹
- 21 रुद्रदेव-मतिल - नागदत्त - चन्द्रवर्म-गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बल-
वर्मायनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धृत-प्रभाव-महतः² परिवारकीकृत-सर्वार्थ-
विक-राजस्य³
- 22 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्त - नृपतिभिर्मालवार्जुनायन-
यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्रार्जून-सनकानौक-काक-खरपरिकाश्रिश्च⁴ सर्व-
दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-

¹ Kosala = South Kosala, mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilāspur region, —old cap. Śrīpura, 40 miles NE of Raipur. Mahākāntāra was a jungly territory; Vyāghrarāja (cf. also below, No. 49, note) is wrongly identified with Vyāghradeva (feudatory of Vākātaka Prithivīśhega II) of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. Kaunāla is possibly the 'Kaunāla water' = the Kollair Lake near Ellore, W. Godavari Dist. Kottūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in the Ganjam Dist. Piṣṭapūra = mod. Piṭhāpuram in the E. Godavari Dist. The king's name is apparently Mahendragiri (for names referring to a hill or ending in *giri*, see Lüder's List, Nos. 217, 299, 315, 475, etc.). Vishṇugopa was a Pallava king of Kāñchī and Hastivarman a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veōḡī. Palakka may be Palakkada in the Nellore region. Devarāshṭra is the Yellamañchili region of the Visakhapatnam Dist. Kuṣṭhalapura may be Kuttalur in the North Arcot Dist. Eraṇḍapalla has been identified with some localities in the Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Dists. Dakṣiṇāpatha is Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhyan range or the Narmadā river or the city of Māhishmatī on that river.

² Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena I Vākātaka; but the Vākātakas of Berar belonged to Dakṣiṇāpatha. Rudradeva may be or Rudrasena III (348-78 A.D. with a break in 352-63 A.D.) of the Śaka dynasty of Western India while Nāgadatta may be an ancestor of the viceregal Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana (cf. *Proc. I. H. C.*, Madras, 1945, pp. 78-81). Matila may be Mattila of a seal found in the Bulandshahr Dist., U. P. Chandrarvarman may be the king of the Susuniyā inscription (*infra*). Gaṇapatiṇāga and Nāgasena were Nāga princes. The coins of the former have been found at Pawāyā = Padam-Pawāyā = ancient Padmāvati, a centre of Nāga power according to the Purāṇas. The death of the Nāga prince Nāgasena at Padmāvati is referred to in the *Harshacharita*. If they both belonged to the house of Padmāvati, the record may refer to more than one expedition of Samudragupta. Coins of a king named Achyu[ta] have been found at ancient Abichchhatrā, mod. Rāmnaḡar in the Bareilly Dist., U. P. In the place of Achyuta and Nandin, we may also suggest a single name, viz. Achyutanandin. But cf. *Mahārāja Achyutavarman* of a Rajghat seal (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412). According to Manu, Aryāvarta is the land bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhya, the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Western Sea (Arabian Sea). Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 173.

³ Cf. below, No. 50, note.

⁴ Samataṭa was in South-East Bengal possibly with Karmānta (mod. Baḡ-Kāntā near Comilla, Tipperah Dist.) as capital. The chief city of Ḍavāka has been identified by some scholars with modern Ḍabokā in the Naogong Dist., Assam. The country thus corresponds to

- 23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूत-निखिल-
भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः देवपुत्रपाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकसुरुषैः सैंह-
कादिभिश्च
- 24 सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन¹ - कन्योपायनदान - गरुडमदङ्गस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन-
[य]ोचनाद्युपाय²-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रियिष्यामप्रतिरथस्य³
- 25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सक्तिभिश्चरण-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्त्तः साद्-
साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य⁴ भक्त्यवनति-माल-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो-
(ऽ*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[ः]

the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā Kolang rivers (K.L. Barua, *E. Hist. Kāmarūpa*, p.42, note). Kāmarūpa is the Gaubāti region of Assam. Kartripura seems to have comprised Katārpur in the Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria (Katyur) rāj of Kumaun, Garhwal and Robilkhand. During this period, the Mālavās (see *supra*, p. 91, note 6; 169, note 6) possibly lived in Rājasthān and West Mālwa. Mālava coins have been discovered in large numbers at [Mālava]-Nagara Tonk Dist., Rājasthān. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas have been found in the Mathurā region (Smith, *Cat.*, p. 160). For the Yaudheyas, see p. 178, note 4. The Prājunas mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* are placed usually in the Narsingpur Dist., M. P. The Sanakānikas lived in East Mālwa (cf. *infra*, No. 19). The Kākus possibly lived in the Kākanādabōṭa (=Sāñchi) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at Sākala=mod. Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhīras possibly lived in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) about this time.

¹ For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, pp. 111ff. देवपुत्र=the title देवपुत्र of the Kushāṇa kings. पाहि=Shāh, and पाहानुषाहि=Shāhān Shāh; cf. *Kshāyathiya*, *Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyanām*. पाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and पाहानुषाहि their emperor; but the passage देवपुत्रपाहिषाहानुषाहि appears to indicate the Kushāṇa emperor. सुरुष may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-सुरुष may mean 'the Śaka lords'. सैंहलक=inhabitants of Sindhala or Ceylon. Here is possibly a reference to the people of other islands of the Southern Sea such as Java and Sumatra.

² गरुडमदङ्ग-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates 'the request for a charter endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, administration) of one's own territory.' The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

³ Read पृथिव्या.

⁴ Samudragupta claims to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Viṣṇu) 'who is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked.' Cf. the *avatāra* conception in the *Gītā* verses परिवाणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥ See also *Gaṇḍasāha*, verses 167-81, 817-32, 1016-39, 1044-45, for king Yaśovarman described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Samudragupta was certainly a Vaiṣṇava; but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaiṣṇavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants. See *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VIII, Nos. 9-10, 1946, pp. 10⁹ 9-11; *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 414.

- 26 [कृप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्तदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः¹ समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य² स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-प्रत्यर्पणा-नित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य³
- 27 निशितविदग्धमति - गान्धर्वललितैर्वीडित-विदशपतिगुरु - तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विद्वज्जनोप⁴-जीव्यानेक-काव्य-क्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य⁵ सुचिर-स्रोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदार-चरितस्य
- 28 लोकसमय-क्रियानुविधान-माल-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य⁶ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य
- 29 लिच्छवि-दौहितस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य⁷ महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-गुप्तस्य सर्व-पृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-
- 30 भवन-गमनावान्त-ललित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः (1*) यस्य ।⁸

- 31 { प्रदान-भुजविक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयै-
रुपर्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः (1*)
पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तगुहा-
निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं [पयः*] (11*) 1*)

एतच्च काव्यमेवामेव⁹ भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

¹ Read सञ्च or मन्त्र. But उद्धरण-मन्त्र is better. Fleet : दीक्षाद्युप०.

² Note the conception of a divine king ; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

³ आयुक्त = a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates 'an officer'. Cf. Yukta in Aśoka's inscriptions and in other sources.

⁴ विदशपतिगुरु = वृद्धस्पति ; Tumbru—a Gandbharva ; Nārada—inventor of the Vīṇā. See *infra*, No. 6.

⁵ A fragmentary work called *Kṛishṇacharita* was published from Gondal (Kathiawar) in 1941. In the colophon of the work, we have श्रीविक्रमाद-महाराजाधिराज-परमभागवत-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-कृतौ कृष्णचरिते, etc. The book however looks like a recent forgery (cf. *Pravāsī*, Panaha, 1950 B.S., p. 303). Samudragupta's gold coin with the epithet *Śrīvikrama* (*JNSI*, V. p. 136) is also a forgery.

⁶ The name of this chief is Gupta and not Śrīgupta. His identification with Śrīgupta mentioned by Itsing as having lived about 175 A.D. is not beyond doubt.

⁷ Read समुद्र०. For the importance of the claim, see *supra*, No. 1.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word यस्य from the verses following. Fleet believed that lines 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead) ; but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven (cf. *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 77). Fleet's interpretation has now been discarded by scholars.

⁹ A *Kāvya* may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harishepa's work belongs to this third variety which is called *Champū*.

- 32 खाद्य(कृ०)टपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक-ध्रुवभूति-पुत्रस्य सान्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-
म[हादण्डनाय०]क-हरिषेणस्य' सर्व्व-भूत-हित-सुखायास्तु ।
- 33 अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टकेन ।

No. 3—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of
Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, M. P.; now in the
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 20; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1539.

Language : Sanskrit

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī²

Metre: Verses 1-8 वसन्ततिलका. The first six lines of the record are broken away and lost. They contained probably one verse and a half in the वसन्ततिलका metre in which the existing portion of the epigraph is composed. Line 28 of the record, which is broken away, contained the second half of Verse 8.

TEXT³

1 — — — — —
2 — — — — — (1*)
3 — — — — —
4 — — — — — (II*) [1*]

✓ खाद्यटपाकिक is meaningless. The officer was apparently the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen. महादण्डनायक was a military officer often functioning as an administrator. सान्निविशदिक is minister for peace and war. कुमारामात्य seems to be an executive officer (cf. अमात्य, 'a provincial governor', in the Nāśik inscriptions) of the same status as the Kumāra (the king's younger brother or son). Different designations may refer to different offices held at the same time or in different periods.

² The box-headed (square-headed) tops (*mātrā* or *serif*) of *aksharas* are formed by linking four short strokes in the shape of a square. On stone, the block in the centre of the square is usually taken out; but, on copper, it is usually not. It is sometimes called the Central Indian script; but it has been found outside that area, e.g., in the Kadamba records of the Kannaḍa country. In another variety, the *aksharas* are nail-headed, i.e., the top is triangular with the apex of the triangle downwards.

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record may actually have been earlier than *supra*, No. 2.

26 — — — — —

27 — — — — —

28 — — — — —

— — — — — (110) [60]

No. 4—Nālanda Spurious¹ Copper-Plate Inscription of
Samudragupta—Year 5.

LĪVANDĀ (Bargaon), Pātnā District, Bihār.

H. SASTRI, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 138; D. R.

BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 2075; A. GHOSH, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 52f.;

D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 135-36.

Language : Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 5th century A.D; but some *aksharas* like *gh* have later forms.

¹ Airikīṇa is the same as mod. Erap. The pillar bearing the inscription may have been raised by the ruler of Airikīṇa, who was probably a feudatory of Samudragupta and a relation of Dattadevi. The city was also called Airikīṇī; cf. एरकन्य = ऐरिकिण्या; on a coin (Allen, *Cat. (Anc. Ind.)* p. xci.

Read • हठप्रज्ञा •.

³ The rest of the record is lost. Lines 1-24 engrave one *pāda* each of the verse, with the exception of lines 9-10; lines 25ff. engrave two *pādas* each.

4 The record is certainly spurious. It was forged sometime about the 6th or 7th century. The authenticity of this grant of Gupta year 5 would indicate a rather unusually long reign period (135 years) for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Three generations ruling for such a length of time is extremely rare (cf. the reigns of George III, his son and his grand-daughter Victoria ruling for 141 years between 1760 and 1901 A.D.). The *Aśvamedha* is not referred to in the elaborate *Allahābād* inscription; it could hardly have been celebrated before the 5th year of Samudragupta's reign or of the Gupta era. The indiscriminate use of a *v* and *b* cannot be an early characteristic (see *infra*, p. 271, note 6). Samudragupta never assumed the title *Paramabhāgavata* which was really the title assumed by his successors. The application of this title in the *Nālandā* and *Gayā* plates proves that they were forged by persons whose model was a record of a successor of this Gupta king (cf. also the epithets in the 6th case ending; p. 271, note 3). If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, *infra*, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta, dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta era began from the 1st

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति (१*) महानौ-हस्यञ्च-जयस्कन्धावारानन्दपुर^३-वासका[स्व]ञ्चरा-
[जोच्छे]त्तु(ः*) पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधि-सलि[ळास्वा]-
- 2 दित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे[न्द्रा]न्त(क*)-समस्य^४ कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-
कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्स[न्ना]-
- 3 श्वमेधाहत्तुर्महाराज-श्री-गु(म*)-प्रपौत्तस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्तस्य महारा-
[जाधि]राज-[श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त]-पुत्र-
- 4 स्य लिच्छवि-दौ[हि]त्तस्य महादेव्याङ्गुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-परमभा[गवतो महा-
राजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगु]प्तः तावि[गुण्य](?)
- 5 वै[पयिक]भद्रपुष्करकग्राम-क्रिमिलावैपयिकपू[र्षना]गमा[म(योः*)] [ब्राह्मण-
पुरोग*]-ग्राम-व[ल]त्कौशभ्या(?)माह^५ (१*)
- 6 एव[**] चाह विदितम्बो^६ भवत्वेयो^७ ग्रा[मौ] [मया] [मा]तापित्तोरा[त्मनश्च]
पु[ण्याभिवृद्ध]ये जयभट्टिस्वामिने

regnal year of this king. At least the persons responsible for the forgery apparently believed that Samudragupta began to rule earlier than year 5 of the Gupta era. As however the records were forged with the help of the grant of a later ruler, nothing but the name of the villages granted and of the donees can be taken to be genuine. See below, p. 272, note 11.

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. Note that च in lines 3 and 10 approximates the form of the 6th or 7th century.

² Sign for सिद्धं later pronounced as चौ सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु and written रं in Bengal even now.

³ Sastri reads नूपुर. The sixth case-ending in the epithets of Samudragupta shows that part of the grant was copied from a record of one of his successors. A grant of Samudragupta is required to have सर्वराजोच्छेता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथचतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयया धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समः कृतान्तपरशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्यकोटिप्रदचिरोत्सव्राजश्वमेधाहर्ता महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्तो महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्तो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रो लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो महादेव्यां कुमार-देव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः.

⁴ Ghosh : °दानक.

⁵ Fleet finds here two officers called Valatkaushan. There are apparently some errors here, though we are reminded of *Valākaushthika* in *Mahāvalākaushthika* of some records (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 187). Probably शमवलत्कौशभ्याम् [उद्दिश्य] refers to the villagers and the royal agents in the village.

⁶ Read : चार्थो विदितो वो. The record uses व and व indiscriminately and points to the later characteristic of representing both व and व by the sign for व. This is possibly due to the fact that the grant was fabricated not earlier than the 5th-6th century, when, in North India, the sign for व began to be replaced by that for व gradually.

⁷ Read °लेतौ.

- 7 ¹ [सोपरि]करो[द्देशेना]ग्रहा[रत्वे]नातिसृष्टः² (I*) तद्युष्मा-
भिर[स्य]
8 त्तैविष्यस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा³ च कर्त्तव्या [स]र्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्रा(म*)-प्रत्या-
(या*) मेय-हिरण्यादयो देया न चेत् = प्र-⁴
9 [भृ]त्यनेन त्तै[वि]द्येनान्य-ग्रामादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-[कारु]क[ा]दय = प्रवेश[यित]व्या-
[म]न्यथ[1] नियतमाग्रहाराक्षेपः⁵
10 [स्य]ादिति ॥⁶ सम्बत् ५ माघ-दि० २ निवद्धः⁷ (I*)
11 अनुग्रामाक्षपटलाधि[कृत]⁸ - महापीलूपति - महाबलाधि[कृत]⁹ - गोपस्वामा(भ्या)देश-लि-
खितः (I*)
12 [कुमा*]र-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्तः¹⁰ (II*)

No. 5—Gaya Spurious¹¹ Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9.

GAYĀ, Gayā District, Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 256f. ; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1540.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

¹ Ghosh is inclined to fill up the lacuna by some epithets of the donee.

² For the meaning of this expression and others below, see *infra*, pp. 273-74, notes.

³ Read श्रोत०. Supply a word like वचनं after श्रोतव्यं.

⁴ Read देयाः । न चेत्तन्म०.

⁵ Read ०तव्याः । अन्वया and नियतम०. आक्षेप may indicate violation of the conditions relating to an *agrahāra*.

⁶ There are three short horizontal strokes after the usual sign for stop.

⁷ Read संवत् and निव०. Supply a word like लेखः after निवद्धः.

⁸ The Gayā plate reads अन्व०. See *infra*, p. 274, notes 6-7.

⁹ Read बला०. अक्षपटलाधिकृत = keeper of records, from अक्षपटल = a court of law, a depository of legal documents. The *Arthasāstra* suggests that he was the Accountant-General. He kept the accounts of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, *vyāji* or premia realised in kind or cash, status of the government agency employed, wages paid, free labourers engaged in connection with capital invested or work undertaken, market rates and the price of gems and commodities. महाबलाधिकृत = Field-Marshal. महापीलूपति = Head of the Elephant Force. See below, No. 37, note.

¹⁰ He was possibly the दूतक (executor of the grant).

¹¹ The record was engraved long after Samudragupta's rule. Fleet thought that the fabrication was done sometime about the beginning of the 8th century A.D., as he found the

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ-हस्त्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावाराजायोद्धा^३-वासकात्सर्व-राजो
छेत्तु^४ पृ-
- 2 धिन्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलिलस्वादित-यश(सो*) धनद-वरुणेन्द्रा-
- 3 न्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोच्छ-
- 4 ज्ञाश्वमेधाहर्तु^५ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य
- 5 महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि^६-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्या(*) कु-
- 6 मारदेव्यामुत्पन्न(:*) परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-
- 7 गुप्तः गयावैपयिक-रेवतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मण^७-पुरोग-ग्राम-वल-
- 8 त्कौषभ्या(१)माह । एव(*) चार्थं विदितम्यो^८ भवत्वेश^९ ग्रामो मया मातापितृरा-
- 9 त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय^{१०} बह्वृचाय^{११} स[व]द्वचा^{१२}
- 10 रिणे ब्राह्मण^{१३}-गोपदेवस्वामिने सोपरिकरोद्देशेनाग्रहारत्वेनाति^{१४}

expression महानौ-हस्त्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावारात् in later inscriptions. But this expression is also found in the grants of Harshavardhana of 627 and 630 A.D. and palaeographically this record may not be later than the time of Ādityasena. It may have been fabricated in the 6th or 7th century. It is not impossible that the record was prepared to replace a lost or damaged record of Samudragupta and the seal of the old record was attached to it. Gopadevasvāmin, donee of the Gayā plate, and Gopasvāmin, under whose orders the Nālandā and Gayā plates were prepared, may have been identical. Note that the forgers believed that Samudragupta had a camp at Ayodhyā. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4. The style may suggest that Nos. 4-5 were forged by the same person.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² Symbol for सिद्धं later pronounced as चो सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु.

³ Read °वारादयोध्या°.

⁴ °छेत्तुः is intended; but read °छेत्ता. See above, p. 271, note 3.

⁵ The intended reading is चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्तुर्म°.

⁶ Usually लिच्छवि.

⁷ Read ब्राह्मण. For Valatkaushan, see above, p. 271, note 5.

⁸ Read °र्थो विदितो वो.

⁹ Read °त्वेष.

¹⁰ I. e., भारद्वाज-गोत्र-जाताय.

¹¹ Read बह्वृचाय or better बह्वृचसत्र.

¹² Read सत्रज्ञ. सत्रज्ञचारिन् = fellow student = student.

¹³ Read ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ उपरिकर, 'tax paid by temporary tenants'. See below, No. 49. उद्देश = space above the surface of the land often specifically mentioned as तल.

- 11 सृष्टः (१०) तद्युष्माभिरस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा च कर्तव्या सर्वे [च] [स] मुचिता ग्राम-प-
- 12 त्वया¹ मेय-हिरण्यादयो देयाः (१०) न चेतत्प्रभृत्येतदाग्रहारिकेगन्यद्र²
- 13 मादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-कारुकादयः प्रवेशयितव्यामन्यथा³ नियतमाग्र-⁴
- 14 हाराक्षेपः (१०) स्यादिति (॥०) सम्बत् ८ वैशाख-दि १० (॥०)
- 15 अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत⁵-द्यूत-गोपस्वाम्यादेश-लिखितः⁷ (॥०)

No. 6—Inscription on the Lyrist type Gold Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 18ff.

First Side⁸

King seated, to left, nimbate, cross-legged on highbacked couch, wearing waist cloth, close-fitting cap,⁹ necklace, ear-rings and armlets, playing *Vinā* which lies on his knees¹⁰; beneath the couch is a footstool¹¹; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः¹²

¹ प्रत्यय = प्रत्याय (C. I. I., III, p. 170, note 5)—tax, revenue, income.

² Read चेतत्प्र० and ०गान्यद्र०.

³ Read त्वयाः । अन्यथा.

⁴ Read नियतमग्र०. अग्रहार = गुरुकुलादाहचक्राचारिणे दीयं चेत्वादि । But later the word came to be used to denote any rent-free gift of land; see below, No. 37, line 8.

⁵ Read संबत्. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4.

⁶ *Supra*, No. 4 reads अनु which may be right. Gopasvāmin's office was possibly connected with the villages. Bhandarkar : गालन्दायाम्.

⁷ Gopasvāmin's official titles are different in *supra*, No. 4. The occurrence of his name in both the grants may suggest that he is not a fictitious personality. द्यूत may indicate the Head of the department superintending the gambling houses. Supply लिखः अयम् after लिखितः.

⁸ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 3; see also Nos. 1ff. Nos. 6-8 here represent inscriptions on gold coins.

⁹ Some specimens represent the king as bare-headed.

¹⁰ Cf. निमित्तविदग्धमति-गान्धर्वललितैर्त्रौजित-विदग्धपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरु-नारदादिः in l. 27 of *supra*, No. 2.

¹¹ On some specimens, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि is found inscribed on the foot-stool. सि may be an indication of the mint or the mint-master.

¹² The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

Second Side

Lakshmī, nimbate, seated to left on a wicker-stool, wearing loose robe, close-fitting cap and jewellery, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopia (the horn of plenty, a Classical symbol of abundance like the Indian Kalpa-vriksha) in left arm; inscription on right in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

समुद्रगुप्तः¹

No. 7—Inscription on the *Āśvamedha* type² Gold Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 21ff.

First Side

Horse for the sacrifice to left before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back³; beneath the horse, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा

दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः (॥*)⁴

Second Side

Mahishī Dattadevī standing to left, wearing loose robe and jewellery, holding chowrie over right shoulder in right hand; left hand hangs by her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal on which the queen stands—a chain of flowers (?) extending round the spear; on some specimens, a gourd (?) at her feet; inscription in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

अश्वमेध-पराक्रमः

¹ On one specimen, the name seems to be written समुद्र०.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 10; see also Nos. 9-13. Note that the *Āśvamedha* which is not mentioned in the detailed Allahābād inscription must have been performed late in the king's life.

³ On some specimens, we have a low pedestal below.

⁴ The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate. Here is a verse in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवजा + उपेन्द्रवजा) metre, of which only two *pādas* are given. On one specimen, the reading is पृथिवीं विजित्य, and on another we have

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्याहत-वाजिमधः.

See J. P. A. S. B., N. S., X, p. 256; Banerji, *Prāchinamudrā* (Bengali), p. 129.

No. 8—Inscription on the Coins of Kācha alias Samudragupta¹

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 15 ff.

*First Side*²

King standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace; holding standard surmounted by a wheel (चक्र) in left hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—(beneath left arm) का

च (i.e., काचः)

(margin in circle) काचो गामवजित्य

दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति' (॥*)

Second Side

Lakshmi standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding flower in right hand and cornucopia in left arm; border of dots; a symbol on left; on right, inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

सर्वराजोच्छेत्त[१०].

¹ Kācha is generally identified with Samudragupta and the identification is no doubt reasonable (cf. the title सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता). Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son who was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. Some scholars however take Kācha to be a separate person. | Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is represented in the *Devichandragupta* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandragupta II. The tradition recorded in the drama has however not been supported by contemporary epigraphic evidence and may not be entirely historical. It appears that the necessity of sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only after Chandragupta I had become an emperor and that Samudragupta was the later name of one whose early name was without the *gupta*-ending like that of his grandfather. His early name seems to have been Kācha. The name of the Gupta dynasty is probably due to the stereotyped name-ending of Chandragupta I and his descendants and not to the name of Gupta, the first but a less important prince of the line. The Kācha issues of Samudragupta remind us of the early coins of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Shāh 'Alam bearing the pre-coronation names of the emperors, viz. Salīm, Khurram and Muazzam. See Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 97. For the evidence of the copper coins of a ruler named Rāmagupta, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 95-96. cf. also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XXXIX, p. 189.

² From representation in Allan's *Cat.*, Plate II, No. 9; see also Nos. 6-33.

³ It is half of a stanza in the चार्या, उपगीति or उद्गीति metre. The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate.

No. 9—Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II— Regnal Year 5; Gupta Year 61¹ (=380 A.D.)

Chandul Mandul Bagichi at MATHURĀ, Mathura District, U. P.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 8f.; D. B. DISKALKAR, *A. B. O. R. I.*, XVIII, pp. 166-70; D. C. SIRCAR, *I. H. Q.*, XVIII, pp. 271-75.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī resembling 'Kushāṇa script' of c. 2nd century A.D.²

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धम् (।•) भट्टारक-महाराज-[राजाधि]राज श्री-समुद्रगुप्त-स-
- 2 [त्पु]ल्लस्य भट्टारक-म[हाराज-[राजाधि•]राज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-
- 3 स्य विज(य•)-राज्य'-संवत्स[रे•] [पं]चमे [५] कालानुवर्त्तमान'-सं-

¹ This is the earliest genuine date of the Gupta era, "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, A.D. 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (Smith. *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). In the 11th century, Al-Bīrūnī accepted this epoch of the era, though he had wrong information about its relation with the Guptas. "As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śaka-kāla" (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 7). Accordingly, Gupta 1=Śaka 242=A.D. 320-21. In view of Al-Bīrūnī's statement regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, recent attempts to prove that it began from 200 or 272 A.D. or 57 B.C. must be regarded as utterly absurd. See *Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 47ff.

² For a Mathurā record of Kaṇishka's 14th year in 'Eastern Gupta script,' see *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96f. The peculiarity is due to the inclination and locality of the scribe and the existence of a cursive script side by side with the script generally used in the epigraphs.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

⁴ Bhandarkar : रज्य.

⁵ Bhandarkar reads गुप्त before काला°. I do not find any trace of *aksharas* like गुप्त in the facsimile. Our reading shows that the first regnal year of the king was the Gupta year 57=376-77 A.D. For the expression *kāl-ānuvartamāna* in a similar context, see Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 113.

- 4 वत्सरे एकपष्ठे^१ ६० (+*)^२.....^३[प्र]थमे शुक्रदिवसे पं-
- 5 चम्यां (स्याम्) (1*) अस्यां पूर्वा[यां] [भ]गव[त्कु]शिकादशमेन^४ भगव-
- 6 त्पराशराच्चतुर्थेन [भगवत्क*]पि[ल]विमल-शि-
- 7 ष्य-शिष्येण भगव[द्]उपमित*]विमल-शिष्येण^५
- 8 आर्योदि[ता*]चार्ये[ण*] [स्व*]-पु[त्र्या]प्यायन-निमित्त^६
- 9 गुरुणां च कीर्त्य[र्थमुपमितेश्च]र-कपिलेश्वरौ
- 10 गुर्वायतने गुरु^७ प्रतिष्ठापितो^८ (1*) नै-
- 11 तत्ख्यात्यर्थमभिलि[ख्यते] (1*) [अथ*] माहेश्वराणां वि-
- 12 ज्ञप्तिः क्रियते सम्बोधनं च (1*) यथाका[ले]नाचार्या-
- 13 णां परिग्रहमिति^९ मत्वा विशङ्क[] [पू]जा-पुर-
- 14 स्कार[] परिग्रह-पारिपाल्यं [कुर्या]दिति^{१०} विज्ञप्तिरिति (1*)
- 15 यश्च कीर्त्यभिद्रोहं कुर्या[त्]य[श्चा]भिलिखित[मुप]र्यभो

^१ Read एकपष्टे or एकपष्टितमे.

^२ Bhandarkar fills up the lacuna by the expression आषाढ-मासे. प्रथम indicates the first of the two Āshāḍhas including the intercalary one. There were two Āshāḍhas in 380 A.D. Better read पंचमे for पंचम्यां.

^३ Bhandarkar identifies this Kuśika with one of the four disciples of the great Saiva saint Lakulin or Lakulīśa who was the last incarnation of Maheśvara (Śiva) flourishing at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (mod. Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluk of the old Baroda State). According to the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*, the four disciples were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣhya while the *Cintra prasasti* quotes the names as Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣhya and Maitreya, who were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. The spiritual descendants of Gārgya were established at Somanātha in Kathiawar, as the *Cintra* record suggests, while those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā. Lakulīśa flourished about the beginning of the second century A.D. The word *ārya* is taken by Bhandarkar in the sense of 'the owner of a shrine'. But the dead ascetics of this sect are styled *Bhagavat* while the living ascetic is called *Ārya*.

^४ The names of the teachers end in *vimala*. Bhandarkar's translation makes a confusion between Upamita and Kapila.

^५ Bhandarkar suggests the restoration गुरुप्रतिमायुतौ. Apparently the representations showed as if Upamita and Kapila were standing each with a Liṅga on the head.

^६ Read *तौ.

^७ Read परिवहः इति (= परिवहः भविष्यति इति). Bhandarkar, who prefers full-stop after क्रियते (line 11) and आचार्याणां (lines 11-12) and translates यथाकालिनाचार्याणां as "the āchāryas for the time being," seems to have misunderstood the meaning of lines 10-14. यथाकालिन = यथाकालं, 'in proper time'. Cf. तस्मिन् काले = तेषां काले in Āraha Prakrit (Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 62). आचार्याणां = गुरुणाम् ?

^८ Read कुर्युः इति (= कुर्युः माहेश्वराः इति).

- 16 वा¹ [स] पंचभिर्मह[1*]पातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्स्यात् (10)
 17 जयति च भगवा[ण्डण्डः]² रुद्रदण्डो(5*)प्र[ना]यको नित्य['] (स्यम्) (11*)

Nos. 10-11—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 82 (= 401 A.D.)

UDAYAGIRI Hill, near Bhilsā, now called Vidiśā, old Gwalior State, M.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 (for No. 10); p. 35 (for No. 11);
 BOHLER, *V. Or. Journ.*, V, pp. 226 ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, Nos. 1260
 and 1541 (for other references).

No. 1

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८० (+*) २ आपाद-मास-शुक्ले(कुँ)कादश्याम्⁴ परमभट्टारक-
 महाराजाधि(राज*)-श्री-चन्द्र[गु]प्त-पादानुदयातस्य ।⁵
 2 महाराज-कुलग-पौत्रस्य महाराज-विष्णुदास-पुत्रस्य सनकानिकस्य महा[राज*]
 • • कस्यायं⁶ दे[यधर्मः] ।

No. 2

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-5—अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

¹ Bhandarkar wants to read उच्छिन्नात् or some such word after वा.

² Bhandarkar suggests the correction भगवान्दण्डः स. Here is then half of a stanza in the Āryā or Gīti metre.

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

⁴ Fleet reads a stop after म्.

⁵ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. The word अनुध्यात is usually taken to mean 'meditating on...' But in some cases it certainly means 'favoured.' See the Tālagunda inscription (*infra*); also my note in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, 1937, p. 229; cf. *Sac. Sāt.*, 1939, p. 239; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115ff.

⁶ There is space for two letters, of which the latter may be ट according to Fleet. May the name be सोडल ?

TEXT¹

सिद्धम् (॥*)²

- 1 यद[]तज्ज्योतिरर्काभमुद्यो[म्भा] • • — ~ • (१*)
• • • • ~ — क्यापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम् (॥*) [१]
- 2 विक्रमावक्यकीता दास्य-न्यग्भूत-पार्थिव[१] (१*)
• • • [स]न^३-संरक्ता धर्म • • — ~ • (॥*) [२]
- 3 तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचि[न्यो][ज्ज्वल-क*][र्म]णः (१*)
अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिन्यो^४ व्या[पृत-सन्धि-वि*]ग्रह[ः] (॥*) ३
- 4 कौत्सश्चाव इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया (१*)
शब्दात्यन्त्याय-लोकज^५ कवि = पाटलिपुत्रकः (॥*) ४
- 5 कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयात्यन्त^६ राज्ञैवेह सहागतः (१*)
भक्त्या भगवतश्शम्भोगुहामेतामकारयत् (॥*) ५

No. 12—Sānchī Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II— Gupta Year 93 (= 412 A.D.).

SĀNCHĪ, former Bhopāl State, now Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 31 f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1262 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² In the left margin in the level of line 3.

³ The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as

०सुध्यां भाति निरन्तरम् ।

दिवा-विभावरौ-व्यापि० ॥

⁴ For स, Fleet reads मा; but the ā-sign is not clear and the akshara may be read as a partially preserved स. The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as यस्य मासल-संरक्ता धर्मशस्य वसुधरा. अवकय = price.

⁵ Cf. amātyas described as pitṛipaitāmaha in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 100, 26; etc.

⁶ Chandragupta II was a digvijayin. This claim apparently refers to his expedition against the Sakas of Western India.

TEXT¹

[सिद्धम् ॥*]²

- 1 का[कना*]दबोट-श्रीमहाविहारे³ शील-समाधि-प्रज्ञा⁴-गुण-भाक्तेन्द्रियाय परम-
पुण्य-
- 2 क्षे[क्ष][ग*]ताय⁵ चतुर्दिगम्भागताय श्रमण-पुङ्गवावसथायार्य-सहाय महाराजाधि-
- 3 रा[ज-श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त-पाद-प्रसादाप्यायित-जीवित-साधनः अनुजीवि-सत्पुरुष-सद्भाव-
- 4 वृ[त्त्यर्थ*] जगति प्रख्यापयन् अनेक-समरावास-विजय-यशस्पताकः सुकुलिदेश-न
- 5 ण्डी • • • वास्तव्य उन्दान-पुष्पास्त्रकाद्देवो मज-शरभङ्गाभरात-राजकुल-मूल्य-की-
- 6 त-[म] • • • ईश्वरवासकं पञ्च-मण्डल्या[*] प्रणिपत्य ददाति पञ्चविंशतिञ्च⁶
दीना-
- 7 रान् (॥*) • • • ' याददेन महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज
इति प्रि-
- 8 य-ना[मनः*]⁷ • • • रितस्य सर्व-गुण-संपत्तये यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पञ्च
भिक्षवो भुञ्ज-
- 9 तां र[क्ष*]-गृ[हे*] [च*] [दी*][प]को ज्वलन्तु (॥*) मम चापराद्धात्पञ्चैव भिक्षवो
भुञ्जतां रक्ष-गृहे च

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Above the beginning of line 1.

3 Kākanādabota was apparently the old name of Sāñchī.

4 Originally व was engraved instead of प.

5 Fleet reads क...ताय; but the first akshara is clearly क्षे and traces of व still remain. *Kshetra** seems to be more suitable than *kshetr-ā*.*

6 Read विंशतिञ्च.

7 Fleet: त[द्]च..... Pañchamaṇḍalī is supposed to be the mod. Pañchāyat, the village jury of five or more persons. Cf. पाचक of a Nepalese inscription (*C. I. I.*, III, Intro., p. 183). राजकुल is a person belonging to the royal family or a nobleman; cf. mod. Rāwal. The word *rājakula* also means the king's court or court of justice, and hence a member of that court. It appears that the locality called Iśvaravāsaka was purchased by Āmrakārdava from the Rājakulas Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta and was offered to a monastery.

* Fleet fills up the lacuna by प्रियनामामावो भवत्येतस्य, and takes देवराज to be the name of an officer of Chandragupta II. देवराज or देवगुप्त was however another name of this king. The grants of Vākātaka Pravaraṣena II mention Chandragupta II, his maternal grandfather, as देवगुप्त. See *infra*, Nos. 60-62.

- 10 दीपक इ[ति] (॥*) [त]देतत्प्रवृत्तं य उच्छिन्धात्स गो-ब्रह्म-हत्याया संयुक्तो भवे-
त्पञ्चभिश्चान-
- 11 न्तर्ह्यैरिति¹ (॥*) सं ८० (+*) ३ भाद्रपद-दि ४ (॥*)

No. 13—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 90+x (=409-10+x)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 49 ff., Nos. 133 ff.

First Side²

Bust of king Chandragupta to right with traces of Greek letters³; on left:—

व ९० (+*) [*]⁴ (= [गुप्त]-वर्षे ९० + x)

Second Side

Garuda, standing, facing, with outspread wings; border of dots; above on right, cluster of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī Characters of the Northern Class:—

परमभाग[व*]त-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-विक्रमादित्य[:*]⁵

¹ The पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्म or *धर्म are the five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. They are five of the six *abhiṣṭhānas* (*supra*, p. 70, note 8), viz. *mātughāto* (matricide), *pitughāto* (patricide), *arahantaghāto* (killing an Arhat), *lohituppādo* (shedding the blood of a Buddha), *saṅghabhedo* (causing divisions among the priesthood), *aṇṇasatthuddeso* (following other teachers)—with the exception of the last or the last but one.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate X, No. 15.

³ The silver issues of Chandragupta II were originally meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śaka Satraps. The introduction of the king's bust, traces of Greek characters and the date are all due to the influence of the Satrapal coins. The silver coins of the Guptas were called *rūpaka* just as their gold coins were styled *dināra* (cf. No. 41 below).

⁴ There is a small sign after the figure for 90. We cannot be definite regarding its value. The date shows that Western India was conquered before 409-10+x A.D. Cf. *supra*, p. 188, note 2, and the provenance of *supra*, Nos. 3 and 10-12.

⁵ The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate. On another variety of these coins, we have the legend—श्री-गुप्त-कुलस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-विक्रमादित्य (Allan's *Cat.*, p. 51).

No. 14—Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra¹

MEHARAULI or Memharauli, near Delhi

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1243 (for earlier references); *J. A. H. R. S.*, X, pp. 86ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., V, pp. 407ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th century A.D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3—शदृलविक्रीडित.

TEXT³

- 1 य[स्यो]द्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमु[र]सा शबून्समेत्यागता-
नवङ्गेष्वहव-वर्त्तिनो(५*)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिं[भुं]जे (१०)
- 2 तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि⁴ येन [स]म[रे] सिन्धोज्जिता [व]ाहिका⁵

¹ He should probably be identified with Chandragupta II. The facts (1) that his name was Chandra (cf. the name on the copper coins of Chandragupta II) who died in the fifth century (cf. note 2 below), (2) that he went on a *digvijaya* (cf. *supra*, No. 11, line 5), (3) that he was lord of an empire (cf. line 5), (4) that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and (5) that he was a Vaishyava, suggest a monarch like Chandragupta II. His identification with Chandragupta I, the Nāga Chandrāmśa, or Chandravarman of Mālwa or of the Susuniyā record, etc., is less convincing. The identification with Maurya Chandragupta is absurd.

² As has been pointed out by Fleet, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving on iron, the characters approximate in many respects the Allahābād inscription (*supra*, No. 1), supposed by that scholar to be later than Samudragupta; but with the very marked *mātrās* or horizontal top-strokes, the letters resemble most closely those used in the Bilsāḍ inscription of Kumāragupta (No. 15, *infra*). The record must therefore be assigned to the 5th century. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. This pillar was brought here from some hill near the Beas by some energetic ruler of Delhi (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 401). Cf. Aśoka's pillars transferred to Delhi by Firūz Shāh (*supra*, p. 53, note 1).

⁴ For the seven mouths of the Indus, see *Periplus*. § 38, and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i. § 2.

⁵ Bhau Daji reads वाहिका. The right arm of the triangle of व is not preserved. हि is however quite clear. Bhandarkar places this Vāhlika (=Balkh) on the Vipśāā (Beas) on the strength of the Rāmāyaṇa verse quoted at p. 285, note 4, *infra*. There however the reading वाहिकान् is certainly a mistake for वाहिकान् or वाही°. For the

- यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वाय्यानिलैर्हृत्क्षिणः (॥*) 1¹
- 3 [खि]न्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या² कर्म-जितावनिं³ गतवतः कीर्त्या⁴ स्थितस्य क्षितौ (1*)
- 4 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
ब्राह्मप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशित-रिपोर्यत्नस्य शेषः क्षितिम् (॥*) 2⁴
- 5 प्राप्तेन स्व-भुजाज्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्राह्नेन समग्र-चन्द्र-[स]दर्शी वक्र-श्रियं विभ्रता (1*)

well-known Vāhika country (=the Panjab) on the Beas and other rivers, cf. पञ्चानां सिन्धुपञ्चानां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः । ताभ्यश्चैवाद्यानयचौन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥.....वह्निं नाम हीक्य विपाशायां पिशाचकौ । तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सटिः प्रजापतेः ॥ *Mbh.*, VIII, 44, vv. 7 and 41; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 184 ff.

¹ The verse simply refers to the four limits of the territory claimed to have been traversed by the king in course of his *dignijaya*. The eastern limit was वह्निः ; the southern limit दक्षिण-जलनिधिः ; the western limit सुखानि सिन्धोः ; and the northern limit वाहिक- . The conventional claim is on a par with that of later kings, e.g., Yaśodharman who boasts of conquering the whole country to the west of the लौहित्य, to the south of the तुहिन-शिखरिन्, to the east of the पश्चिमपयोधि and to the north of the महेन्द्र (cf. Mahendrāśbala in the Tirunelveli Dist.). It is a प्रशस्ति which may have germs of truth, but is conventional and may not be entirely historical. For the conventional *Chakravartī-kṣetra* or sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler, see Sircar, *Stud. Geo. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1ff. For *sva-bhuj-ārjita* kingdom of a king's successor, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251, text line 3, *IHQ*, XX, p. 78.

² Fleet unnecessarily corrects मूर्त्या to च्यां.

³ Read जितावनिं which is the reading of Fleet.

⁴ Bhandarkar thinks that the king was not dead but alive when the eulogy was engraved, though he was no longer ruling. The natural interpretation of the verse however suggests that the pillar is posthumous. Cf. खिन्नस्य (= अविजितदेशाभावात् शुभस्य) गां (= इहलोकं) विसृज्य (= परित्यज्य) [नवदेशान् जेतुम्] इतरां गां (= लोकान्तरम्) आश्रितस्य (cf. इत्यं पार्थिवराजराजविजयव्यापारपारंगतयक्ते शक्रजयाय कृष्ण-नृपतिः स्वर्गोक्त-यावा-गतम् in Hemādri's introduction to the *Vratākhaṇḍa* quoted in R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. Hist. Dek.*, App. C, verse 11); मूर्त्या (= देहेन) कर्मजितावनिं (= सकृताजितस्वर्गलोकं) गतवतः, [परं] कीर्त्या क्षितौ स्थितस्य [च] नरपतेः (= यद्यपि शरीरम् इहलोकं त्यक्तवत्, तथापि कीर्तिः इह एव तिष्ठति यस्य राज्ञः); शान्तस्य (= स्वर्गतस्य [राज्ञः]); तथा—निर्वाणस्य अपि अविगत-तापस्य [हुतभुजः इव], etc. If our identification is correct, the pillar was made for Chandragupta II about the end of his life; but the record was engraved by Kumāragupta I soon after his father's death.

184.5
16

तेनार्यं प्रणिधाय^१ भूमि-पतिना भावेन^२ विष्णो^३ मतिं
प्रान्शुर्विष्णुपदे^४ गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः (॥*) ३

No. 15—Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)

—Gupta Year 96 (= 415-16 A.D.).

BILSAD or Bilsaṇḍ, Etā (Etah) District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 43f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1263
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metres: Verse 1—स्रग्धरा; V. 2—शादूँलविक्रीडित.

TEXT^१

- 1 [सिद्धम् ॥*] [सर्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधि-स*][छिन्ना]-
स्वादित-यशसो
- 2 [धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हि*]रथ्यकोटि-प्रदस्य
चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहत्तुः

^१ There are traces of an incomplete धा after धा in the original.

^२ Fleet reads धावेन. The first akshara with serif is भा of which however the left slanting stroke has been joined with the right vertical arm. It may pass as a form of व, but not as ध which is written without serif. It may be tempting to suggest the correction देवेन referring the name to Chandragupta II Devagupta.

^३ Read विष्णौ.

^४ Read प्रांशुः. This Vishṇupada hill is not far from the Kurukshetra and the Beas. Cf. गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुदहः।...ततो गच्छेत् धर्मंशो विष्णोः स्थानमनुत्तमम्। etc. (*Mbh.*, III, 73, 8ff.; also 103ff.); एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम्। एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ (*ibid.*, III, 138, 8); ययुर्मध्येन वाह्नीकान् (sic. वाह्नीकान्) सुदामानघ पर्वतम् ॥ विष्णोः पदं प्रेषमाणा विपाशा चापि शास्त्रलीम्। (*Rām.*, II, 68, 18-19). Al-Bīrūnī (*Sachau, Alb. Ind.*, II, p. 142) refers to Lake Vishṇupada in the Nisbadha Range as the source of the Sarasvatī on the authority of the *Matsya P.* But the extant texts of the *Matsya* (121, 66), *Vāyu* (47, 64) and *Brahmāṇḍa* (51, 66) Purāṇas do not support this view.

^५ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

- 3 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्तस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्तस्य म० [हा]राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्तस्य¹
- 4 लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्तस्य०] [महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजा०]धिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-पुत्तस्य²
- 5 महादेव्यां दत्त[देव्यामुत्पन्नस्य०] [स्वयमप्रतिरथस्य०] [परम०]-भागवतस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्तस्य³
- 6 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्याभि[व]र्द्धमान-विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे षष्ठवते⁴
- 7 [अस्यान्दि]वस-पूर्वायां⁵ भगवतस्त्रैलोक्य-तेजस्वंभार-संभूताद्भुत⁶-मूर्तेर्ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य
- 8 • • • • निवासिनः स्वामि-महासेनस्यायतने[ऽ०]स्मिन्कात्तयुगाचार-सद्धर्म-वर्त्मानुयायिना
- 9 [माता]⁶ • • • • • [प]र्षदा मानितेन ध्रुवशर्माणा कर्ममहस्कृतेदम्⁷ ।
- 10 कृ[त्व]ा [नेत्र०]भिरामां मु[नि-वसति][मिह०] [स्व]र्गा⁸-सोपान-[रू]पां ।⁹
कौवेरच्छन्दविम्बां स्फटिकमणिदलाभासगौरां प्रतीलीम् ।¹⁰

¹ The illegible portion in lines 1-3 can be restored from passages in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

² For the faulty construction here (properly समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्तस्य) and in line 5 (properly चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्तस्य), see *supra*, p. 181, note 4, and the Gaṇhā inscription, p. 185.

³ Read षष्ठवतितमि. राज्यसंवत्सर=regnal year; but, when eras came into use, the same expression was technically used also with the year of an era (which took the place of the regnal year) just to indicate that the particular year of the era falls in the reign-period of the king. When both of them are mentioned, sometimes a distinction is made between the regnal year and the year of an era (cf. *supra*, No. 9).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 124, text line 1; p. 137, note 3, etc. पूर्वा= what has been given above; the date indicated above; cf. मालव-पूर्वा in one record. The word *pūrvā* is often used in respect of *tithi* (date) and *prastasti* (eulogy).

⁵ Fleet : संतता०. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

⁶ The lacuna may be filled up as मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्यार्थे साधु-पर्षदा.

⁷ Read कृतमिदम्.

⁸ The letters are indistinct in the first half of line 10.

⁹ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. कौवेरच्छन्द is a kind of pearl necklace.

¹⁰ Properly गौरां. प्रतीली= 'street, main road of a city', according to lexicons. Here the meaning appears to be 'a gateway, a gateway with a flight of steps'.

- 11 प्रासादाग्राभिरूपं गुणवर-भवनं [धम्म-स•]त्त¹ यथावत् ।²
 पुण्येत्वेवाभिरामं व्रजति शुभमतिस्तात-शर्मा³ ध्रुवोऽ•स्तु⁴ ।(1•) 1
- 12 — १ — १ — स्व — — शुभामृतवर-प्रख्यात-लब्धा भुवि ।⁴
 — — भक्तिरहीन-सत्त्व⁵-समता कस्तं न संपूजयेत् ।
- 13 [येनापूर्वं•]-विभूति-सञ्चय-चयैः शैली — — — — : ।⁶
 तेनायं ध्रुवशर्मणा स्थिर-वरस्तभो[च्छ]यः कारितः ।(1•) 2

No. 16—Dhanaidaha Copper-plate Inscription [of the time of Kumaragupta I]—Gupta Year 113 (= 432-33 A.D.)

DHĀNĀIDAHA, Rājshābī District, North Bengal (East Pakistan)

R. D. BANERJĪ, *J. A. S. B.*, V, pp. 459ff.; R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 347f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1267.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (इलोक).

TEXT^a

- 1[स•]स्वत्सर-श[ते]⁷ त्रयोदशोत्त[रे•]⁸

¹ The restoration is due to Fleet.

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ "May the venerable Śarmā endure for a long time". Here the second part of the name (शर्मा) represents the whole name (ध्रुवशर्मा). See *supra*, p. 269, note 3. There is a play on the word ध्रुव.

⁴ The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read सत्त्व.

⁶ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. The record is fragmentary. Lines 15-16 show that each complete line of the epigraph contained some 40 *akṣaras*. This is the right half of the original record containing about 22 *akṣaras* in a line. But lines 1-5 and 16-17 are further damaged. According to Banerji, the fragments of the upper left corner which was broken in the exhibition ground in 1906-07 contained the two *akṣaras* स and र which are evidently the second and third syllables of Kumārāgupta's name. Nos. 16, 18, 19, etc., are essentially sale-deeds and not records of free gift. They record semi-gifts, the state land being sold at a reduced rate to Brāhmanas, etc., who purchased it with religious motives. The land was probably rent-free.

⁷ Read संवत्सर. Some 28 *akṣaras* are lost; but they may be conjecturally restored as

⁸ चतुर्दश-सलिलास्वादितयशसी महाराजाधिराज-यौ-कुमारगुप्तस्य संवत्सरः.

^a Here followed the names of the month and the *tithi* (cf. *infra*, No. 17, lines 3-4).

- 2 [सं १०० + १० + ३०] [अस्या*][न्दि]वस-पूर्वायां परमदैवत-पर-
- 3 [म-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीपती*] कुटु[म्बि]¹
- ब्राह्मण-शिवशर्म-नागशर्म-मह-
- 4 वकीर्ति-क्षेमदत्त-गोष्ठक-वर्मापाल-पिङ्गल-शुक्ल-काल-
- 5 विष्णु-[देव]शर्म-विष्णुभद्र-खासक-रामक-गोपाल-
- 6 श्रीभद्र-सोमपाल-रामायक ?-ग्रामाष्टकुलाधिकरणञ्च⁴
- 7 विष्णुना(णा) विज्ञापिता इह खादा टा?) पार⁵-विषये⁶ सुवृत्त-
- मर्यादास्थिति]-
- 8 नीवीधर्म[क्षयेण⁷ लभ्यते] (1*) [त]दहंथ ममाद्यानेनैव⁸ वक्रमेन(ण) दा[तुं]
- 9 समेत्या(?)भिहितैः(*) सर्वमेव * * कर⁹-प्रतिवेशि(?) कुटुम्बिभिरवस्थाप्य क-
- 10 * रि * कन * यदितो * * [त]दवधृतमिति यतस्तथेति प्रतिपाद्य
- 11 [अष्टक-न*] वक-नला[भ्या]मपविष्टा क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापः(*) मेकं(एकः)⁹
- दत्तं(तः)(1*) ततः आयुक्तक-

¹ The word *kuṭumbin* means 'an agriculturist householder'.

² Banerji : समवल, The previous name is something like Sivakīrti.

³ Banerji : विष्णुभद्र.

⁴ अष्टकुल, like पञ्चमण्डली (mod. पञ्चायत) of *supra*, No. 12, may indicate the Pañchāyat Board. अधिकरण=court of justice and office of administration. The passage thus seems to mean 'the office of the Pañchāyat Board of the village'. अष्टकुल=eight families=representatives of eight (or more) families forming the board of administration.

⁵ Banerji : महाखुवापार.

⁶ I.e. अक्षयेन नीवीधर्मेण. Basak has धर्मक्षयेण.

⁷ सम = मध्यम्.

⁸ Probably क्षेत्रकर.

⁹ कुल्यवाप (lit. 'area which required one *kulya* of seed grains of the main crops') may be related to Old Beng. *kuṛobā*=mod. *bighā* (80×80=6400 square cubits=1600 sq. yards=1/4 of an acre which is 4840 sq. yards). But it appears to be a much larger area. This is supported by the price of a *Kulyavāpa* of land (4 *Dīnāras*=64 *Rūpakas* per *Kulyavāpa* of arable land and 2 *Dīnāras*=32 *Rūpakas* per K. of fallow land) considering the apparently high purchasing power of the Gupta coins. 4 *Āḍhakas*=1 *Droṇa* and 8 *Droṇas*=1 *Kulya*; therefore 4 *Āḍhavāpas*=1 *Droṇavāpa* and 8 *Droṇavāpas*=1 *Kulyavāpa*. In regard to Bengal, the reference should be to paddy seeds or more probably seedlings. According to the Bengal school of Smṛiti writers, a *Droṇa* of paddy is equal to 1 md. 21 str. or 2 mds. As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 md. of paddy for 10 *Bighās*, seedlings of one *Kulya* of paddy would require between 125 and 160 *Bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers to sowing of seeds and not of seedlings, one *Kulyavāpa* would be from 38 to 48 *Bighās* as the rate is 1 md. of paddy seeds for 3 *Bighās*. The *Āḍhā* (*Āḍhavāpa*), *Don* (*Droṇavāpa*) and *Kulvāy* (*Kulyavāpa*) are well-known units of land measurement in different parts of Bengal. But their present area have nothing to do with the original measurements. The areas have been modified owing to the

- 12 *भ्रा(?)लकटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्तं(त्तम्) (1*)
त[न्नव]-¹
- 13 भूम्या दा[नाक्षे]पे च गुणागुणमनुचिन्त्य शरीर-क[1*]न्नकस्य चि-
14 [र-चञ्चलत्वं*] (11*) [ड]कञ्च भगवता द्वैपायनेन (1*)
स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा²
- 15 [यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (1*)
[स विष्टायां कृमिभृत्वा पितृ*]भिः सह पच्यते (11*) 1
पष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति [भू]मिदः (1*)
- 16 [आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् 11*] 2
[पू*]र्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
महीं [मही][मताच्छेष्ट³]
- 17 [दानाच्छेद्योऽनुपालनं (नम्) (11*) 3
.....यं...⁴भद्रेन उत्कीर्णार्थं स्वामेश्वरदासे[न]⁵ (11*)

No. 17—Karamdāṇḍa Stone Linga Inscription
of the time of Kumāragupta I
—Gupta Year 117 (=436 A.D.)

Bharādihī Dīh, near KARAMDĀNDĀ, Faizābād District, U.P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 71f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1270
(for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT⁵

1 नमो महादेवाय । म[हाराजाधिराज-श्री][चन्द्रगुप्त-पादा*]-

varying length of the measuring rod as prevalent in different regions. See *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, pp. 943ff. See *infra*, Nos. 19 and 42 and notes. अपविच्छ्र=severing=separating=measuring out.

1 Possibly we have to restore भवद्विः सर्वैरेवानुमीयानुपालनीयं, °स्वामिनः = °स्वामिने.

2 Read दत्ता वा.

3 The intended reading may be [लिखिता पट्टिके]यं अमात्य-भद्रेण. Traces of क before यं are visible. Basak reads सु(?)यीभद्रेन(य).

4 Read सम्भे°, Banerji reads स्वप्नेश्वर.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The script is described as the so-called western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The eastern variety is characterised by the letters

- 2 नुध्यातस्य चतुधु(रु)दधि-सलिलास्वादित-य[शसो] [महाराजा*]-
- 3 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्य- संवत्स[र]-शते सप्तदशोत्त[रे*]
- 4 कार्तिक-मास-दशम-दिवसे(ऽ*)स्यान्दिवस-पूर्वायां [छान्दोग्याचार्याश्च]वाजि-
- 5 सगोत्र-कुरम[र]र[व्य?]भट्टस्य पुत्रो विष्णुपालितभट्टस्तस्य पू(पु)त्रो मह[र]र[र]-
- 6 जधिजाजा'-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यदिशखरस्वाम्यभूतस्य पुत्रः
- 7 पृथिवीपेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(ऽ*)न-
- 8 न्तरं च महाबलाधिकृतः² भगवतो महादेवस्य पृथिवीश्वर³ इत्येवं समाख्यातस्या-
- 9 स्यैव भगवतो यथाकत्तव्य-धार्मिक-कर्मणा पाद-शुश्रूषणाय भगवच्छे-
- 10 लेखरस्वामि-महादेव-पादमूले आयोध्यक-नानागोत्तचरण तपः-
- 11 स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूक्त-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग-भारडिदसमद-देवद्रोण्यां⁴
- 12

No. 18—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the
time of Kumaragupta I
—Gupta Year 124 (= 444 A.D.)

DĀMODARPŪR, Dinājpur District, North Bengal, now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 130 f.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

स (without a crescent-like curve in the left side), स (with a loop instead of the left curve) and ण (with the horizontal base absent and the lower part curved to left). I have not adopted the nomenclature as the forms are actually pre-Gupta and as they are sometimes used indiscriminately with the alternative forms.

¹ Read *जाधिराज.

² See *supra*, p. 268, note 1; p. 272, note 9. Cf. चण्डय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य in *supra* No. 11, line 3.

³ The Liṅga was apparently named after Prithivīśvara. For the use of only the first part of the devotee's name in coining the name of the god installed, cf. Śiva installed under the name Mihirēśvara by a lady named Mihiralakṣmī in the Nirmand inscription (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 288). Fleet's suggestion that the name refers to a combination of solar and Saiva worship is apparently wrong.

⁴ The lower portion of the akṣharas of line 11 are broken away, and भारडिदसमद is doubtful. Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi (Bhāraḍida)?

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 सम्ब² १०० (+ *) २० (+ *) ४ फागुण-दि³ ७ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-
महाराज[1*]-
- 2 विराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते पुण्ड्रवर्द्ध[न*]-
- 3 भुक्ताडुपरिक⁴-चिरातदत्तेनानुवहमानक⁵-कोटिवर्ष-विषये च त-
- 4 न्नियुक्तक⁶-कुमारामात्य-वेतवमन्य(व्य)धिष्ठाणाधिकरणञ्च नगरश्रेष्ठि-
- 5 धृतिपाल-सार्ववाहवन्धुमित⁷-प्रथमकुलिकधृतिमित-प्रथमका[य*]-
- 6 स्थशाम्बपाल-पुरोगे संव्यवहरति⁸ यतः ब्राह्मण कर्षटिकेण(न)

and that सम्ब² may be समुद्र, an epithet of Śiva. But Samudra may be the *nām-aka-deśa* of a deity called Samudresvara. One may suggest the correction पारगो भारद्दिद-समुद्र². In that case, Bhārādīda may possibly be identified with Bhārādī. देवद्रोणी=a procession with idols. But the passage श्रीसीमनाथ-देवद्रोणी-प्रतिवह-महायान्तःपाति⁵ of the Veraval inscription, line 12, may suggest that the word sometimes meant the property of a temple. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 143-44; also No. 46, note, below.

¹ From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

² Read संव which is a construction of संवत्सर: or संवत्सरे.

³ Read फागुन. दि stands for दिवस: or दिवसे.

⁴ Read भुक्ताडुपः. The city of Puṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāstbān in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* or province of this name comprised the Bogrā-Rājshāhī-Dinājpur region of North Bengal, though in a later period it also included parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. The chief town of Koṭivarsha=Bānapura (=Bāṇanagara, mod. Bāṅgerh)=Devikoṭa was in the present Dinājpur District.

⁵ Read दत्ते अनुवहमानकः. उपरिक is the title of a provincial governor. *Infra*, No. 12 has दत्तस्य भोगिनानु (ever prospering under the rule of...).

⁶ Note that the governor of the *visaya* was appointed by that of the *bhukti*.

⁷ Read वन्धु.

⁸ अधिष्ठान=city; अधिकरण=office of administration. Note that the governor was helped in the administration by a Pañchāyat Board of 4 members, viz., the guild-president the merchant, the representative of the artisan class and the representative of the writer class who possibly acted as secretary of the Board. The Board seems to have worked like the West Indian Chauthiā (Chaturjātaka) of which the chairman is the Nagar-sēth (Nagara-śreshṭhīn) and the Paṭel (village headman) and Paṭwari (accountant-scribe =Kāyastha) are members. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 6, note 2; XXXIII, p. 193; XXXIV, p. 142ff; etc. Note also that Mitra is typically and Pāla, etc., are usually cognomens of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. The Kāyasthas appear to be a mixed caste with both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa elements. So also are the Vaidyas. This is due to the fact that both are professional castes. The despised Vaidya born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother (*Mahābhārata*, XIII, 9) is the outcast now called Vediya and has little to do with the Bengal Vaidyas. For non-Brāhmaṇical family names among the Brāhmaṇas, cf. the Kalsikuri-Sultanpur]plate below.

- 7 विज्ञापित(म्*) अरहं¹ ममाग्निहोत्रोपयोगाय² अप्रदाप्रहत-खि-
8 ल-क्षेत्र[*]³ तदीनारिक्य-कुल्यावापेण⁴ शश्वता(दा)चद्रावर्क-तारक-भोज्ये[त*]-

Second Side

- 9 या⁵ नीवी-धर्मेण दातुमिति एवं दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने लिनी⁶ दीना[राण्यु*]-
10 पसंगृह्य यतः पुस्तपाल-रिशिदत्त⁷-जयनन्दि-विभुदत्तानामवधा-
11 रणया डोङ्गाया उत्तर-पञ्चिणद्देशे⁸ कुल्यवापमेकम् दत्तम्⁹ (॥*)
12 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा¹⁰ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (॥*)
भूमि-[दान]-संबद्धा[*] श्लोका भवन्ति (॥*)¹¹
13 स विष्टायां किमिभूत्वा¹² पिलिभि सह पच्यतेति¹³ (॥*) 1

No. 19—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of
the time of Kumāragupta I
—Gupta Year 128 (=447 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal, now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 133 f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 193.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

¹ Read अरहं.

² I.e., utilisation in the maintenance of sacred fire.

³ खिल and अप्रहत both mean 'untilled land'. अप्रहत may here mean 'unreclaimed land'. प्रदा=gift; so अप्रदा=non-transferable (or unsettled) property. See below, No. 39, note. For नीवी, see *supra*, p. 152, note 10.

⁴ Read तदीनारिक्य-कुल्यावापेन. Dināra is the Gupta gold coin named after the Roman Denarius which was the name of both a gold and a silver coin, the gold coin being specifically called Aureus.

⁵ Read भोज्य.

⁶ Read त्रीणि. दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने = तथेति प्रतिपाद्य.

⁷ Correctly पालयिदत्त Pustapāla=record-keeper. He determined whether the land could be and should be sold to the party.

⁸ Read पञ्चिमोद्देश. Deōgā was a locality.

⁹ Read वापः एकः दत्तः.

¹⁰ Read दत्तां वा.

¹¹ Properly भूमिदान-संबद्धः श्लोको भवति and it should be read before स्वदत्ता.

¹² The usual spelling is लुमि.

¹³ Read पिलिभिः सह पच्यते ॥ इति ॥

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स['] १०० (+*) २० (+*) ८² वैशाख-दि १०(+*) ३ पर[मदैव]त-
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-[श्री][कुमा*]-
- 2 रगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ [तत्पाद]-परिगृहीतस्य पु[ण्ड्र][व^३भ-भुक्तावुप[रिक-चि]रात-
दत्त[स्य]
- 3 भोगेना[नुव]ह[मानक]-कोटिव[र्षे]-विषये तन्नियुक्तक-कु[मा]रामात्य-वे[ल]-
- 4 वर्म्मणि^४ अभिष्टाना[धिक]र[णञ्च] नगर[श्रे]ष्ठिष्टतिपाल-सार्थवा[हव(व)न्धुमि]ल-प्र[थ]-
- 5 मकुल्लिकष्टतिमिल-प्र[थ]मकायस्थ[शाम्ब]पाल-पुरो[गे] सम्म्यव[हर]ति^५ [यतः*] स...
- 6 विज्ञापितं अ[हं]थ^६ मम प[ञ्च]-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनायानुवृत्ताप्रदाक्षयनि[वी*]-^७
- 7 मर्यादया दातुमिति (।*) एतद्विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपा[ल]-रिसिदत्त^८-जयन[न्दि-वि]-
[भुदत्तानामव*]-
- 8 धारणया दीयतामित्यु[त्प]न्ने^९ एतस्माद्य[था]नुवृत्त-लैदीनारि[क्य-कु]ल्यवापे[न]

Second Side

- 9 [द्व]यमुप[संगृ]ह्य^{१०} [ऐरा]वता[गो]राज्ये पश्चिम^{११}-दिशि पञ्चद्रो[णा]-

¹ From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

² Basak : ६.

³ Here as well as in many other records सन्धि has not been observed. सन्धि however is optional in Sanskrit prose, though in poetry it is compulsory and its violation there is called विसन्धि-दोष by grammarians.

⁴ Read संव्य०.

⁵ Evidently this portion contained the name of the purchaser with the third case-ending.

⁶ Read ०पितमहं०.

⁷ Read नौवो०. अनुवृत्त=customary, following the general rule. For the पञ्चमहायज्ञ, see मनु, III, 69.

⁸ The name is सविदत्त. Read ०पालविदत्त.

⁹ उत्पन्न=ascertained, decided. अवधारणा=ascertainment, determination, affirmation. Cf. तथेति प्रतिपाद्य in *supra*, No. 16, line 10. See also *infra*, No. 41, note.

¹⁰ दीनारह्य० is to be understood. In that case 5 *droṇas* (= *droṇavāpas*) would be equal to 3 *kulyavāpas* and 7½ *droṇas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. Actually, however, 8 *droṇas* = 1 *kulya*; 8 *droṇavāpas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. The *droṇ* is a land measure in many parts of Bengal even today; but it varies greatly according to the length of the measuring rod which again is of different length in different parts of the country. In some parts of Bengal the *droṇ* is a little less than 7 acres. See *infra*, Nos. 37, 42 and 43, and notes.

¹¹ Read पश्चिम.

- 10 [म]काः¹ ह[ट्ट]-पानकैश्च² सहितेति³ दत्ताः (I*) तदुत्तर-कालं सम्भवहारिभिः⁴
[धम्ममवेक्ष्या]नु[म]-
- 11 न्तव्याः⁵ (I*) अपि च भूमि-दानं सम्बद्धामिमौ⁶ श्लोकौ भवतः (I*)
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजाति[भ्यो]
- 12 यथाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (I*)
महीं महीवतां⁷ श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोऽ⁸तुपा(ल*)नं⁹ (II*) 1
बहुभिर्बन्धु¹⁰ दत्ता दी[य]ते च
- 13 पुनः पुनः (I*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति¹¹ (II*) 2

No. 20—Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription
of the time of Kumāragupta I
—Gupta Year 129 (= 448 A.D.)

MANKUWAR, Allahābād District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 46 f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1273
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class¹¹

¹ Read *कका: (भुखण्डा:*).

² It is difficult to accept the suggestion of F. W. Thomas that we should read here चरहट्ट and translate the passage, "with drinking places having Persian wheels." हट्टपानकैः = हट्टापानकैः, 'together with the market place (haṭṭa) and the sheds for watering cattle (āpāna)'.

³ Read सहिता इति.

⁴ Read संव्य० = by the administering agents.

⁵ अनुमन्तव्य = should be approved.

⁶ Read सम्बद्धावि०.

⁷ Read महीमता.

⁸ Read *नम्. Often in inscriptions we find the anustōra used in such cases.

⁹ Read बहुभि०.

¹⁰ Properly फलम् ॥ इति.

¹¹ The script is the so-called Eastern Gupta alphabet (cf. *supra*, p. 289, note 5).

TEXT¹

- 1 १ नमो बुधान² (।*) भगवतो³ सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्व-मताविरुद्धस्य⁴ इयं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता भिक्षु-बुद्धमित्येण⁵
- 2 सम्बत्⁶ १०० (+*)२० (+*) ८ महाराज⁷-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये ज्येष्ठमास⁸-दि १० (+*) ८ सर्व-दुःख-प्रहानार्थम्⁹ (॥*)

No. 21—Inscription on the *Asvamedha* type Gold Coins
of Kumaragupta I (414-55 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 66 ff.

*First Side*¹⁰

Horse standing to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before *yūpa* on altar, the pennons from which fly over the back of the horse; between the legs of the horse, inscription in the Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

अश्वमेधः (—अश्वमेधः or अश्वमेधाश्वः)¹¹

Second Side

Mahishī Anantadevī standing to left, nimbate, holding chowry over right shoulder and some object in left hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace,

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² The word सिद्धम् is expressed by the symbol. Possibly Prakrit बुधान² is intended.

Read बुद्धिभ्यः or बुद्धाय.

³ Read भगवतः.

⁴ I.e., 'one who was consistent with his own teachings,' 'who lived according to his own teachings.'

⁵ There is no reason to identify this Buddhāmitra with any particular monk of this name known from the history of Buddhism.

⁶ Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरि or संवत्सरः.

⁷ Mahārāja for Mahārājādhirāja in an unofficial record is of no historical importance.

⁸ ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ.

⁹ Read दुःख-प्रहाणार्थम्.

¹⁰ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 14; see also No. 13.

¹¹ On one specimen, we have जयत देव कुमार (= जयतिः दिवं कुमारगुप्तोऽयं ; Metre : सुपगीति).

armlets and anklets; sacrificial spear bound with fillets on left; border of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters:—

[श्री]-अश्व[मे]ध-महेन्द्र[:*]¹

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Kumārāgupta I—Gupta Year 124 (= 443-44 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 107 ff., Nos. 385 ff.

First Side²

Head of king to right as on the silver issues of Chandragupta II; on right:—[व १०००] (+*) २० (+*) ४ (=गुप्तवर्ष १२४)³

Second Side

Peacock⁴ standing, facing, with head to left and wings and tail outspread; border of dots; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

[विजितावनिरव*]नि-पति[:*] कुमारगुप्तो दिवं ज[यति*]⁵ (॥*)

¹ Properly, श्राद्धमेध*.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XVII, Nos. 11ff. This type is supposed to have been issued in the Ganges valley. The West Indian issues have a Garuḍa on the reverse. Kumārāgupta's viceroy in Mālwa was his brother, Mahārāja Govindagupta who is known from a Basāḥ clay seal and from a Mandasor record (of the Mālava year 524 = 467 A.D.) of Dattabhāṭa, son of Govindagupta's general Vāyurakṣita. See *infra*.

³ Other specimens of this variety have the dates 118, 119 and 122 of the Gupta era, corresponding respectively to 437-38, 438-39 and 441-42 A.D.

⁴ The peacock reminds us of the Peacock type of the gold coins of Kumārāgupta I, having, on obverse, king feeding peacock from bunch of fruit and, on reverse, god Kārttikeya riding on his peacock called Paravāṇi by some authorities. Kārttikeya and his emblem, the peacock, on these coins apparently refer to the king's name Kumāra which indicates that god.

⁵ Metre श्राया or उपमोति. The *anuvāra* and vowel-marks are not found on the Plate.

No. 23—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of the time of
Kumaragupta I and Ghatotkachagupta—

Gupta Year 116 (= 435-36 A.D.)

TUMAIN, Guna District, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
M. B. Garde, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Owing to the fragmentary nature of the record the stanzas have not been numbered and metres have been indicated in the foot-notes.

TEXT¹

1 — — — — —

..... — — — — —

..... [र]ारिख्यस्य² लोकव्यान्ते ।

चरणकमलमस्य³ वन्द्ये⁴ ते सिद्धसङ्ग्रहेः⁵ (॥*)⁶

राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनु जयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्

2 — — — — — (1*)

..... — — — — —

..... — — — — — (॥*)⁶

... श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः

कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] (1*)

ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम्⁷

वीर्याग्रहस्तेरुपगुह्य भूमिम् (॥*)⁸

3 ... — — — — —

..... [गडभ(डभं)]-गौरः (1*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. The first word may be सुरारि.

³ Read कमलमस्य.

⁴ Read सङ्ग्रहे.

⁵ Metre : मालिनी.

⁶ Metre : सङ्गरा.

⁷ Read पत्नी. Note the verb *raraksha* in the Perfect tense, even though Kumāragupta was the ruling monarch of the time (cf. line 4 below).

⁸ Metre : उपजाति (इन्द्रवद्या + उपेन्द्रवद्या).

क्षिप्र्यम्बरे गुगसमूहमयूखजालो

नाम्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः (॥०॥)

स पूर्वजानां स्थिरसत्त्व(स्व)कीर्ति-

भञ्जाज्जिन्तां कीर्त्तिं मभिपश्य ॥”

4 — — — — —
— — — — — (H•)³, ...

[गुप्तान्वया०]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्]१

समा-शते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते ।

कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रियिष्याम्

विराजामाने^६ शरदीव सूर्ये ॥^७

बटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 — — — — — — — — — — — (10)

— — — — —

$$\underline{\quad} - \quad - \quad - \quad - \quad - (\Pi^*)^n \dots$$

— — — — —

— — — — — (10)

— — — — — त —

इश्रीदेव इत्युज्जितं नामधेयः ॥०॥"

तदग्रजोऽभूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञ-

स्ततो ऽनुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः ।०)

ततोऽ० वरो यश्च स भद्रदेव-

स्ततः कनीयानपि सहृद्देवः]¹⁰ (॥●) ¹¹

¹ Metre: वसन्ततिलका. Ghaṭotkachagupta seems to have been Kumāragupta's son or brother and the viceroy of East Malwa.

² Only one danda is enough for proper punctuation.

³ Metre : उपेन्द्रवद्या or उपजाति.

* Read ०द्वराणां.

५ Reed पृथिव्या.

⁶ Read विराज०.

7 Metre: उपजाति.

* Metre : उपेन्द्रवा or उपजाति. Vaṭodaka has been identified with the village of Badoh in the Bhilsa (Vidisa) District, old Gwalior State.

* Metre : इन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

10 Read **ਭਾ.**

11. **Metre :** छपिन्द्रबन्ध०

6 ... — — — — —
 — — — — — न-सक्त-वित्ताः (1*)
 समानवृत्ताकृतिभावधीराः
 [कृता]लयास्तुम्बवने व[भू]वुः ॥¹
 अकारयंस्ते गिरि[श्रि]ङ्ग-तुङ्ग²
 शशि-[प्रभं] देवनि[वास-हर्म्यम्*] (1*)
 — — — — —
 — — — — — (11*)³

No. 24—Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning
 Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman—

Malava⁴ Years 493 and 529 (= 436 and 473 A.D.)

MANDASOR, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 81 ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 6
 (for other references).

✓ **Language:** Sanskrit

✓ **Script:** Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2. शादूलविक्रीडित; V. 3 वसन्ततिलका; V. 4 आर्या;
 Vv. 5-6 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 7-9 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 10 उपजाति (इन्द्र-
 वज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 11 वसन्ततिलका; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +
 उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 आर्या; V. 14 वसन्ततिलका; V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित;
 V. 16 हरिणी; V. 17 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 18 वसन्ततिलका;

¹ Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Tumbavana is modern Tumain in the Guna District, old Gwalior State.

² Read श्रङ्ग.

³ Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. The stanza records the construction of a Vishnu temple (cf. line 1).

⁴ See V. 35 below, and *supra*, p. 91, note 6. The era which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A.D. was earlier known as the *Kṛita* era or the era of the Mālavas or of the Mālava kings. As regards *Kṛita*, it may be noticed that we have also the spelling *Kṛita* (= *Kṛita*?) in early records. According to Buddhist traditions, Maḍhyāntika who preached Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kashmīra, built 500 monasteries, and "he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Sometimes after his decease, these inferiors became rulers of the country, but neighbouring states despising them as a lowborn breed would not have intercourse with them and called them *Kṛita* or 'the

V. 19 मालिनो; V. 20 वसन्ततिलका; V. 21 आर्या; V. 22 वसन्त-
तिलका; V. 23 वंशस्थ; V. 24 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 25 वसन्ततिलका;
V. 26 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +
उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता; Vv. 30-32 वसन्ततिलका; V. 33
आर्या (defective, with यतिभङ्गदोष); Vv. 34-37 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्);
Vv. 38-39 आर्या (with यतिभङ्गदोष in V. 39); V. 40 वसन्त-
तिलका; Vv. 41-42 आर्या; V. 43 मालिनी; V. 44 श्लोक
(अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT¹

1 [सिद्धम् ॥]

[यो] [वृत्त्य(त्प)धं] मुपास्यते सुर-गणै[स्सिद्धैश्च] सिद्धप्रत्थिभि-
रुपानेकाम्र-परैस्त्रिंशेय-विषयैर्मोक्षात्थिभिर्योगिभिः ।

भक्त्या तीव्र-तपोधनैश्च मुनिभिश्चाप-प्रसाद-क्षमै-

हर्तुर्यो जगतः क्षयाभ्युदययो-पायात्सवो भास्करः । (1*) 1²

तत्त्व-ज्ञान-विदोऽपि यस्य न विदुर्ब्रह्मर्ष-

योऽभ्युद्यता-

कृत्स्नं यश्च गभस्तिभिः प्रवृत्तै-पु ण]ति लोक लयम् ।

ग[न्ध]र्वाभर-सिद्ध-किन्नर-नरैस्संस्तूयते(ऽ*)भ्युत्थितो

भक्तेभ्यश्च ददाति यो(ऽ*)भिलपितं तस्मै सवित्रे नमः । (1*) 2

य-[प्र]त्यहं प्रतिविभात्युदयाचलेन्द्र-

विस्तीर्णं-तुङ्ग-शिखर-स्खलितांशुजालः । (1*)

क्षीबाङ्गना-

Bought' (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 265). If it may be believed that the back-
ground of the above tradition is the Skytho-Parthian occupation of N.W. India (and that
some of those foreign kings had originally been slaves like those of the Turkish Slave
dynasty of a later period), the name *Krita* (= *Krita*; *Krita* may be a later emendation) may
refer to the foreign origin of the era. That this era and the earlier Skytho-Parthian era are
identical is suggested by the date (year 103) of the Takti-Bāhl inscription (*supra*, pp. 125f.)
of the Parthian king Gondopharnes who was a contemporary of St. Thomas and lived in the
first century A.D. according to Christian traditions. Cf. *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R. K.
Mookerjee, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 557 ff.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III; cf. *infra*, Nos. 51-52.

² Note the use of the उपशानोय (old *visarga* before प् and फ्) indicated by = and the
जिह्वामूलोय (old *visarga* before क् and ख्) by ॡ here and elsewhere in the record.

³ Read वल.

3 जन-कपोल-तलाभिताम्र-

पायात्स वरसु[कि]रणाभ[रणो] विवस्वान् । (1*) 3

कुसुमभरानततरुवर-देवकुल-सभा-विहार-रमणियात् ।

ल्लाट-विषयान्नगावृत-शैलाजगति प्रथित-शिल्पाः । (1*) 4

ते देश-पार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाश-

मद्भादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखा-

4 न्यपास्य ।

जातादरा दशपुरं² प्रथमं मनोभि-

रन्वागतास्ससुत-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥ 5

मत्ते भ-गण्ड-तट-विच्युत-दान-विन्दु-

सिक्तोपलाचल-सहस्र-विभूषणायाः³ (1*)

पुष्पावनम्र-तरु-पण्ड⁴-वतंसकाया

भूमे परन्तिलक-भूतमिदं क्रमेण ॥ 6

तटोत्थ-वृक्ष-च्युत-

5 नैक-पुष्प-

विविक्त-तीरान्त-जलानि भान्ति ।

प्रफुल्ल-पद्माभरणानि यत्न

सरांसि कारण्डव⁵-संकुलानि ॥ 7

विलोल-वीची-चलितारविन्द -

पतत्रजः-पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः ।

स्व-केसरोदार-भरावभुग्नैः

क्वचित्सरांस्यम्बुरुहैश्च भान्ति । (1*) 8

स्व-पुष्प-भारावनतैर्नर्नगेन्द्रै-

मन्द-

6 प्रगल्भालि-कुल-स्वनैश्च ।

भजन्नागाभिश्च पुराङ्गनाभि-

¹ Read रमणीयात्. Lāṭa was the modern Nausari-Brosach region. Navasārikā (mod. Nausārī) in the Surat District of Gujarat was one of its chief cities.

² Modern Man-Dasor (Mandasor).

³ Read विभूषणायाः.

⁴ Fleet: मण्ड; R. G. Bhandarkar suggested the emendation खण्ड (Collected Works, III, p. 400). For the reading वण्ड, 'multitude,' see Proc. I. H. C., Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

⁵ Kāraṇḍava is a kind of duck.

ध्वनानि यस्मिन्समलंकृतानि ॥ 9

चलत्पताकान्यबला-सनाथा-

न्यस्यत्यंशुकान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।

तडिलता-चित्र-सिताब्ध-कूट-

तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत् ॥ 10

कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्या-

न्याभान्ति दीर्घ-बलभी-

7

नि सवेदिकानि ।

गान्धर्व-शब्द-मुखरानि¹ निविष्ट-चित्त-

कर्माणि लोल-कदली-वन-शोभितानि ॥ 11

प्रासाद-माळाभिरलंकृतानि

धरां विदार्यैव समुत्थितानि ।

विमान-माला-सदृशानि यत्

गृहाणि पूर्णैन्दु-करामलानि ॥ 12

यद्वात्यभिरम्य-सरिद्वयेन² चपलोर्मिणा समुपगूढ³ (1*)

8 रहसि कुच-शालिनीभ्यां प्रीति-रतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥ 13

सत्य-[क्षमा]-दम-शम-व्रत-शौच-धर्म-

[स्वाद्ध्या]य-वृत्त-विनय-स्थिति-बुद्धुपपेतैः ।

विद्या-तपो-निधिभिरस्मयितैश्च विप्रे-

र्य्यङ्गाजते ग्रहगणैः खमिव प्रदीप्तैः ॥ 14

अथ समेत्य निरन्तर-सङ्गतै-

रहरहः-प्रविजृम्भित-

9

सौहृदाः (1*)

नृपतिभिस्सुतवत्प्रतिम[1]निताः

प्रमुदिता न्यवसन्त सुखं पुरे ॥ 15

श्रवण-[सु]भग['] ध[1]नुर्व्व[णं] दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः

सुचरित-शतासङ्गाः केचिद्विचित्त-कथाविदः ।

विनय-निभृतास्सम्यग्धर्म-प्रसङ्ग-परायणा-

प्रियमपरुषं पत्न्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं(तुम्) ॥ 16

¹ Read मुखराणि.

² Read सरिद्वयेन.

³ Properly गूढम् ; but in this record and in others the use of the anusvāra is found in many such cases.

- 10 केचित्स्व-कर्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
 विज्ञायते ज्योतिममात्मवन्निः¹ ।
 [अद्यापि चान्ये समर-प्रगल्भा-
 [कु]र्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य ।(1*) 17
 प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञ-वधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
 वंशानुरूप-चरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
 सत्यवताः प्रणयिनामुपकार-दक्षा
 विस्त्रम्भ-
- 11 [पूर्व]मपरे दृढ-सौहृदाश्च ॥ 18
 विजित-विषय-सङ्गैर्दुर्म-शीलैस्तथान्यै-
 [मृ]द्भुभि[रधि]क-स[त्वेर्लोकयात्रा]मरैश्च² ।
 स्व-कुल-तिलक-भूतेर्मुकरागेरुदारै-
 रधिकमभि[वि]भाति श्रेणिरेवंप्रकारैः ॥ 19³
 तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितोऽपि सुवर्ण-हार-
 तांबूल-पुष्प-विधिना सम-
- 12 [लंकु]तोऽपि ।
 नारी-जनः श्रियमुपैति⁴ न तावदग्र्यां⁵
 यावन्न पट्टमय-वस्त्र-[यु]गानि धत्ते ॥ 20
 स्पर्श[वता वण्णा]न्तर-विभाग-चिह्नेन नेत्र-सुभगेन [1]
 यैस्सकलमिदं क्षितितलमलंकृतं पट्टवस्त्रेण ॥ 21
 विद्याधरी-रुचिर-पल्लव-कर्णपूर-
 वातेरिता[स्थि]रतरं प्रविचिन्त्य

¹ Read ज्योतिषः.

² Read मृत्वे.

³ Note that sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (= Nausāri-Broach region), when they settled at Daśapura (= Man-Dasor), adopted different professions, such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the caste-restrictions at least in Western India about the time of this record.

⁴ Fleet reads प्रिय⁵ and corrects •दद्या (his reading for •दद्या) to •दद्या. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

⁵ Jagannath reads स्पर्शजात (*Proc. I. H. C.*, loc. cit.). But that does not suit the metre and the sense. Of course स्पर्शजात would suit the metre.

18

[लो]कं(कम्) ।

मानुष्यमर्थ-निचयांश्च तथा विशालां

[स्ते]षां शुभा [म]ति[रभूद]च्छा ततस्तु¹ ॥ 22

(चतु[स्समुद्रान्त]-विलोल-मेखलां

सुमेरु-कैलास-बृहस्पत्योधराम् ।

वनान्त-वान्त-स्फुट-पुष्प-हासिनीं

कुमारगुप्ते प्रियिर्वी² प्रशासति ॥ 23

(समान-धीशुक-बृहस्पतिभ्यां

ललामभूतो भुवि

14

पार्थिवानां(नाम्) ।

रणेषु यः पार्थ-समानकम्मां

बभूव गोप्ता नृप-विश्ववर्मा ॥ 24

दीनानुकंपन-परः कृपणात्त-वर्ग-

सन्ध[1]प्रदो(ऽ*)धिकदयालुरनाथ-नाथः ।

[क]ल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनामभयं प्रदश्च³

भीतस्य यो जनपदस्य च बन्धुरासीत् ॥ 25

तस्यात्मजः स्यैर्य-नयोपपन्नो

व[न्धु]-प्रियो

15

बन्धुरिव प्रजानां(नाम्) ।

बन्धुर्त्ति-हर्त्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्मा

द्विदृष्ट-पक्ष-क्षपणैक[द]क्षः ॥ 26

कान्तो युवा रण-पटुर्विनयान्वितश्च

राजापि सन्नुपसृतो न मदैः स्मयाद्यैः ।

शृङ्गार-मूर्तिरभिभात्यनलंकृतो(ऽ*)पि

रूपेण यः कुसुम-चाप⁴ इव द्वितीयः ॥ 27

वेधव्य-तीव्र-व्यसन-क्षतानां

¹ The word ततस्तु = 'and then' is connected with the sentence with कारितं (line 18). The intervening verses are by way of a parenthesis.

² Read पृथिवी.

³ Better read °भय-प्रदश्च.

⁴ Fleet's transcript has याः कु०.

16 स्त्रि(स्मृ)त्वा यमथाप्यरि-सुन्दरीणां(णाम्)¹ ।

भयाद्भवत्यायत-लोचनानां

घन-स्तनायासकरः प्रकम्पः ॥ 28

(तस्मिन्नेव श्रितिपति-प्रिष्टु)पे बंधुवर्ष्मण्युदारे

सम्यक्स्कोतं दशपुरमिदं पाळयत्युन्नतांसे ।²

[शि]लवावासैर्जन-समुदयेः पट्टवा[यैरु]दारं

श्रे[णीभूतै]र्भवनमतुलं कारितं

17

दीप्तरश्मेः ॥ 29

विस्तीर्णं-तुङ्ग-शिखरं शिखरि-प्रकाश-

मभ्युद्वतेन्दुमल-रश्मि-कलाप-[गौ]रं(रम्) ।

यद्वाति पश्चिम-पुरस्य निविष्ट-कान्त-

चूडामणि-प्रतिसमन्नयनाभिरामं³ ॥ 30

रामा-सनाथ-[र-]चने दर-भास्करांशु-

वह्नि-प्रताप-सुभगे जल-लीन-मीने ।

चन्द्रांशु-हर्म्यतल-

18

चन्दन-तालवृन्त

हारोपभोध⁴-रहिते हिम-दग्ध-पद्मे ॥ 31

रोद्ध-प्रियंगुतरु-कुन्दलता-विकोश-

पुष्पा[सव]-प्रमु[दि]तालि-कलाभिरामे ।

काले तुषार-कण-कक्कश-शीत-वात

वेग-प्रनृत्त लवली-नगणैकशाखे ॥ 32

स्मर-वशग-तरुणजन-वल्लभाङ्गना-विपुल-कान्त-पीनोर-

19 स्तन-जघन-वनालिङ्गन-निर्भस्मित-तुहिन-हिम-पाते ॥ 33⁵

✓[मा]लवानां गण-स्थित्या या[ते] शत-चतुष्टये ।

¹ A म् was originally engraved after ण्.

² This suggests that Dasapura was the capital of Bandhuvarman.

³ Read रामम्. Fleet's transcript has रश्मि. Dasapura is called Paschimapura, 'city of the west', apparently because it was then one of the greatest cities of Western India.

⁴ Read भोग.

⁵ This verse composed of only one compound and several other defective features of the poem show that the author was only a second or third rate poet. The composition which shows more labour than poetic skill belongs to what is called the Gauḍī-riti by rhetoricians.

त्रिनवत्यधिके(ऽ*)ब्दानास्त्रि(सृ)तौ सेव्य-घनस्तने¹ ॥ 34

सहस्रमास-शुक्लस्य² प्रशस्ते(ऽ*)द्वि त्रयोदशे ।

मङ्गलाचार-विधिना प्रासादो(ऽ*)यं निवेशितः ॥ 35

बहुना समतीतेन ~~सहस्रमास~~ ^{सहस्रमास}

20 कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः ।

व्यशीर्यतैकदेशो(ऽ*)स्य भवनस्य ततो(ऽ*)धुना ॥ 36³

स्वयशो-[वि कृ]द्वये सर्व्वमत्युदारमुदारया ।

संस्कारितमिदं भूयः [श्रेण्या] भानुमतो गृहं हम् ॥ 37

अत्युन्नतमवदातं नभ स्पृशन्निव मनोहरैश्शिखरैः ।

शशि-भान्वोरभ्युदयेष्वमल-मयूखायतन-

21 भूतं(तम्) ॥ 38

वत्सर-शतेषु पंचसु विशंत्यधिकेषु⁴ नवसु चाव्देषु ।

यातेष्वभिरम्य-[तप]स्यमास⁵-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायां(याम्) ॥ 39

स्पष्टैरशोकतरु-केतक-सिंदुवार-

छोलातिमुककलता-मदयंतिकानां(नाम्)⁶ ।

पुष्पोद्गमैरभिनवैरधिगम्य नून-

मैक्यं विजृंभित-शरे हर-पूत-देहे⁷ ॥ 40

22 मधुपान-मुदित-मधुकर-कुलोपगीत-नगनैक⁸-पृथु-शाले ।

काले नव-कुसुमोद्गम-दंतुर-कांत-प्रचुर-रोद्धे ॥ 41

¹ Fleet 'सने. स्थित्या=according to the established custom, i.e., the custom of calculation established by the Republic of the Mālavas; cf. ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या in *infra*, No. 58, line 6. सहस्र=पौष and शुक्ल=शुक्लपक्ष.

² Here the period of about 36 years has been mentioned as 'a long time'. Fleet translates, 'under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair'. The language, however, seems to support D. Sharma who wants to translate, 'a part of this building was destroyed (damaged?) by other kings'. He thinks of the occupation of Central India by the Hūṇas (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 379ff.; IV, pp. 262f.). Bandhuvārman must have died long before 473 A.D. But the passage may refer to an attack on Daśapura by hostile kings and not to the occupation of the kingdom by the Hūṇas, which probably took place later. Cf. the Mandasor inscriptions of the time of Prabhākara and others below.

³ Alternatively नभः. स्पृशन् (masc.) does not suit स्पृशं (neut.). Fleet suggests the correction नभः स्पृशतीव which, however, does not suit the text quite well. Read स्पृशस्त्रिव. Fleet : मनोहरैः शि०.

⁴ Read विशंत्य०. तपस्य=काकान.

⁵ Fleet suggests the correction धूत; the expression means Madana. Fleet : मदयनिकानां.

⁶ Read नवरोद्धे.

शशिनेव नभो विमलं कौ[स्तु]भ-मणिनेव शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षः ।
भवन-वरेण तथेदं पुरमखिलमलंकृतमुदारं(रम्) ॥ 42
अमलिन-शशि-

23

लेखा-दंतुरं पिङ्गलानां

परिवहति समूहं यावदीशो जटानां(नाम्) ।
वि[कच'-क]मल-मालामंस-सक्तां च शार्ङ्गी
भवनमिदमुदारं शाश्वतन्तावदस्तु ॥ 43
श्रेण्यादेशेन भक्त्या च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।
पूर्वा¹ चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना ॥ 44

24

स्वस्ति कर्तुं-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 25 Junagarh Rock Inscription of
Skandagupta—Gupta Years 136, 137 and
138 (=455, 456 and 457-58 A.D.)

JUNĀGARH, former Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwār, now Junāgarh District,
Gujarat State.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 58ff.; BRANDARKAR'S List, No. 1276
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 मालिनी; V. 4 आर्या; V. 5 उपजाति
(इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 6-12 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 13-15
उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 16 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

¹ Fleet : विकट.

² The word प्रशस्तिः is understood here पूर्वा=the above (cf. line 7 of the Deogarh rock inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 127; etc.). It has been recently suggested that the word has been used here and in other cases as a synonym of *prastā* (B. C. Chhabra in *Sarupabharati*, pp. 14-24); but note the use of the word also in relation to *tithi* understood. The word really means 'the *prastā* or *tithi* quoted or referred to above'. It has also to be noted that, although *pūrvā* is often found in such contexts in epigraphic literature, it is not recognised in the lexicons in the sense of a *prastā* or *tithi*.

or बैतालीय-औपच्छन्दसिक ; Vv. 17-20 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 21-25 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 26 वंशस्थ ; V. 27 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 28-31 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 32-37 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 38 39 माळिनी ; V. 40 उपजाति (वंशस्थ + इन्द्रवंशा ; Fleet wrongly takes it to be वंशस्थ defective in the first syllable of the first and third *pādas*) ; Vv. 41-42 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 43-44 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 45 भार्या (१) ; Vv. 46-47 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT¹

Part I

1 सिद्धम् ॥

श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां
त्रिदशपति-सुखार्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
कमल-निलयनायाः शश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः

2 स जयति विजितार्तिविष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥ 1

तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्री-परिक्षिप्त-वक्षाः
स्वभुज-जनित-वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः ।

नरपति-

3

(भुजगानां मानदर्पोत्फणानां
प्रतिकृति-गरुडा[जां] निर्विषी['] चावकर्त्ता ॥ 2³)

(नृपति-गुण-निकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथु-श्रीः⁴
चतुरु[दधि-जल]ान्तां स्कीत-पर्यन्त-देशाम् ।

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. For the early history of the Sudarśana lake, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67. The lake was made exclusively to help cultivation in the Junāgarh region. Its history speaks eloquently of the beneficent activities of ancient Indian kings.

² Read शश्वत् ।

³ Fleet translates, "who plucked [and utilised] the authority of [his local] representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and used it as antidote against the [hostile] kings who were so many serpents." But प्रतिकृतिगरुडाजा may mean 'command conveyed through the Garuḍa in its representation,' i.e., a command under the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta king. निर्विषी is a kind of grass used as an antidote against all sorts of poison.

⁴ Read श्रीशत ।

4 अवनिमवनतारियः चकारात्म-संस्थां

पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-शक्त्या ॥ 3¹

५ (अपि² च जित[मे]व तेन³ प्रययन्ति यशांसि यस्य रिपवोऽपि (10))

आमूल-भल-दण्डो नि[वंचना]⁴ [म्लेच्छ-देशेषु]⁵ ॥ 4

5 (क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रधानं

ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।

व्यपेत्य सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्रां(स्तं)-

लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयाचकार ॥ 5⁶

तस्मिन्नूपे शासति नैव कश्चि-

द्वर्त्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।

6 आर्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो

दण्डेन⁷ वा यो भृश-पीडितः स्यात् ॥ 6

एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां

भग्नाग्र-दर्पा[न्] द्विपतश्च कृत्वा ।

सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तृन्⁸

संचिन्तया[मा]स बहु-प्रकारम् ॥ 7

स्यात्कोऽनुरूपो

7 मतिमान्विनितो⁹

मेधा-स्मृतिभ्यामनपेत-भावः ।

सत्यार्जवौदार्य-नयोपपन्नो

माधुर्य-दाक्षिण्य-यशोन्वितश्च ॥ 8

¹ Cf. Vv. 4 and 6 of *infra*, No. 28.

² Fleet's transcript has अपि. Practically, "जितमेव तेन" इति.

³ This is Fleet's conjectural reading. Mlechchha may indicate the Hūṇas who may have advanced against Central India about the end of Kumāragupta's reign.

⁴ मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्र may simply indicate 'princes'; but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skandagupta for the imperial throne after Kumāragupta's death. See *supra*, No. 23 and note, and *infra*, No. 31 and note.

⁵ Fleet reads दण्ड and suggests the emendation दण्डो. See Jagannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

⁶ Read गोप्तृन्. गोप्ता=governor. Skandagupta's deliberation over the appointment of a governor of the westernmost Gupta province may have been due to the Hūṇa menace in Central India. Cf. *infra*, Vv. 12-13.

⁷ Read •न्विनीतो. Note the accomplishments of an ideal ruling officer in verses 8-11; cf. also verses 17-18 and above, p. 180, text line 19.

- भक्तोऽनुरक्तो नृ-विशेष-युक्तः
सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्ध-बुद्धिः ।
आनृत्य-भावोपगतान्तरात्माः
सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥ 9
- 8 न्यायार्जनेऽर्थस्य च कः समर्थः
स्यादजितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च ।
गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धि-हेतौ
वृद्धस्य पाल-प्रतिपादनाय ॥ 10
सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु
यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो
भारस्य तस्योद्बहने समर्थः ॥ 11
- 9 एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन
नैकानहो-रात्र-गणान्स्व-मत्या ।
यः संनियुक्तोऽर्थनया कथंचित्
सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि-पालनाय ॥ 12
- नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां
स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवुः¹ (1*)
पूर्वतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं
नियुज्य राजा ष्टिमांस्तथाभूत् ।(1*) 13
- 10 तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मज-भाव-युक्तो
द्विधेव चात्मात्म-वशेन नोतः ।
सर्वात्मनारमेव च रक्षणीयो
नित्यात्मवानात्मज-कान्त-रूपः ।(1*) 14²
रूपानुरूपैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः³
नित्य-प्रमोदान्वित-सर्वभावः ।

¹ Read *रात्मा. नृविशेषयुक्त = endowed with many characteristics; having relations only with the best men.

² "His son, possessed of a filial disposition, as if his own self reduplicated; trained by self control; worthy to be protected like his own self by the all-pervading spirit: always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form."

³ Read *चित्रैर्ललितैः.

प्रबुद्ध-पद्माकर-पद्मवक्त्रो

नृणां¹ शरण्यः शरणागतानाम् । (1*) 15 ✓

11 अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितो (ऽ*) साविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य ।

स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदात्तैः² पितरं यश्च विशेषयांचकार । (1*) 16

श्रमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च

शौर्यं विना शौर्य-मह[1]र्ष्वनं च ।

दाक्ष्यं³ दमो दानमदीनता च

दाक्षिण्यमानृष्यम[शु]न्यता च । (1*) 17

सौंदर्यमार्येतर-निग्रहश्च⁴

अविस्मयो धैर्यमुदीर्गता च ।

12 इत्येवमेते (ऽ*) ति शयेन यस्मिन्-

न विप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति । (1*) 18

न विद्यते (ऽ*) सौ सकले (ऽ*) पि लोके

यलोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत ।

स एव कात्स्नर्येन गुणान्वितानां

बभूव नृणामुपमान-भूतः । (1*) 19

इत्येवमेतानधिकानतो (ऽ*) न्या-

न्गुणान्परीक्ष्य स्वयमेव पितृ ।

यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां

विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् । (1*) 20

13 आश्रित्य वीर्यं⁵ [स्वभु]ज-द्वयस्य

स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं⁶ (पम्) ।

नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेव-

मस्मिन्पुरे चैव शशास दुष्टाः⁶ । (1*) 21

¹ Both नृणां and नृणा are correct.

² उपस्कृत = blamed.

³ Fleet : दाक्ष्यं(?).

⁴ Properly नियङ्गयाविद्ययो ; read *हो षाविद्य* to suit the metre. Note that this record sometimes disregards the rules of sandhi at the junction between the first and second and the third and fourth pādas of a stanza.

⁵ Read वीर्यं, 'prowess'; 'process' in Fleet's translation seems to be a misprint.

⁶ Read दुष्टान्.

- विस्त्रं भमरूपे न शशाम यो (५*) स्मिन्
काले न लोकेषु स-नागरेषु ।
यो छालयामास च पौरवर्गान्
[स्वस्येव*] पुस्तान्सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान् । (१*)¹ 22
संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव
पूर्व-स्मिताभाषण-मान-दानैः ।
14 निर्यन्त्रगान्योन्य-गृह-प्रवेशैः (•)
संवर्द्धित-प्रीति-गृहोपचारैः । (१*) 23
ब्रह्मण्य-भावेन परेण युक्तः
[स]ङ्गः² शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् ।
प्राप्यान्स काले विषयान्सिषेवे
धर्मार्थयोश्चा (प्य*) विरोधनेन । (१*) 24
[यो — — — — — पर्णदत्ता]-³
त्स न्यायवानस किमस्ति चित्तं (सम्) ।
मुक्ता-कलापाम्बुज-पद्म-शीता-
चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् । (१*) 25
15 अथ⁴ क्रमेणाम्बुद-काल आगते]
[नि]दाय-कालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः ।
ववर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं
सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चात्परात्⁵ । (१*) 26
संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि षड्विरेव ।
राशौ दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे
गुप्त-प्रकाले गणनां विधाय । (१*) 27⁶

¹ "Even in this age which is a mean one, he did not fail to maintain confidence in the people together with those of the city (=those who have contracted the vices of city life)."

² शङ्ग = प्रियंवद.

³ May we restore यो (५*) जायताम्वात् खलु पर्णदत्तात् ?

⁴ Fleet's transcript has अथा.

⁵ चात्परात् = suddenly.

⁶ Bhanu Daji read गुप्तस्य काला[द्]गणनां विधाय which appears to be wrong.

- 16 (इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्रिनिगंता[:*])
 पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
 समुद्र-कान्ताः¹ चिर-वन्धनोपिताः
 पुनः पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययुः ।(1*) 28)
 अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्गमं
 महोदधेरुर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
 अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभितो
- 17 नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ।(1*) 29
 विषाद्य[मानाः] [खलु] [सर्वतो] [ज]ना[:]
 कथं-कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
 मिथो हि पूर्वापर-रात्रमुत्थिता
 विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः ।(1*) 30
 अपीह लोके सकले सुदर्शनं
 पुमां² हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
- 18 भवेन्नु सोऽ*)म्भोनिधि-तुल्य-दर्शनं
 सुदर्शन — — — — — (11*) 31
 — — — — — वणे स भूत्वा
 पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य ।
 धर्मं पुरो-धाय शुभानुबन्धं
 राज्ञो हितार्थं नगरस्य चैव ।(1*) 32)
 संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
- 19 त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिश्च ।
 [गुप्त-प्रकाले*] [नय*]-शास्त्र-वेत्ता⁴
 [विश्वे](ऽ*)प्यनुज्ञात-महाप्रभावः ।(1*) 33

¹ Read कान्ताचिर. The Raivataka is the hill opposite the Orjayat or Girnar. Note that the rainy season is supposed to be the proper time to meet one's lover. *Suvarpasikata* = mod. *Sogarekhā*.

² Read पुमान्. Fleet सांभोनिधिः. उत्सुक = anxious.

³ Note that Chakrapālita was made governor of Girinagara by his father Parpadatta who was Skandagupta's viceroy in Surāshtra. Both father and son appear to have had their headquarters at Girinagara.

⁴ Fleet: प. and वेत्ता.

आज्य-प्रणामैः¹ विबुधानयेष्टा

धनेर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा ।

पौगंस्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथाहमानैः²

भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान्मुहदश्च दानैः । (1*) 34

20 यैषस्य³ मासस्य तु पूर्व-प[त्ति]

— — — — — [प्र]थमे (5*) हिमस्य च ।

मास-द्वयेनादरवान्स भूत्वा

धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् । (1*) 35

आयामतो हस्त-शतं समग्रं

विस्तारतः षष्टिरथापि चाष्टौ ।

21 उत्सेधतो (5*) न्यत पुरुषाणि [सप्त?]

— — — — — [ह]स्त-शत-द्वयस्य । (1*) 36³

वबन्ध यत्नान्महता नृदेवा-

न [भ्यर्च्य?] सभ्यग्धटितोपलेन ।

अ-जाति-दुष्ट-प्रथितं तटाकं

सुदर्शनं शाश्वत-कल्प-कालम् । (1*) 37

22 अपि च सुदृढ-सेतु-प्रान्त (?) -विन्यस्त-शोभ-

रथचरणसमाह्व-कौचहंसास-धृतम् ।

विमल-सलिल — — — — —

भुवि त — — — — — द[ने] (5*) कः शशी च । (1*) 38

23 नगरमपि च भूयाद्द्विमत्पौर-शुष्टं

द्विजबहुशतगीत-ब्रह्म-निर्गष्ट-पार्प (पम्) ।

शतमपि च समानामीति-दुर्भिक्ष-[मुक्त*]

— — — — — [॥*] 39

[इति] [सुद] र्शन-तटाक-संस्कार-ग्रन्थ-रचना [स]माप्ता ॥

¹ Read *मेर्विबु* and *मानैभू*.

² यैष = belonging to यौष (= ज्यैष्ठ and चायाड). The first of Jyāishṭha appears to be intended.

³ Fleet believes that the embankment made was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation. But *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67, line 7 would suggest that the dam near the foot of the hill was actually much larger. The reference is possibly to the breach caused by the flood.

Part II

24 दत्तारि-दर्प-प्रणुदः पृथु-श्रियः

स्व-वङ्ग¹-केतोः सकटावनी-पतेः ।

राजाधिराज्याद्भुत²-पुण्य-[कर्मणः]

— — — — — (II*) 40

— — — — —

— — — — — (I*)

द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतां च नेता

दण्ड-स्थि[ता*]नां

25 द्विपतां दमाय ।(I*) 41 *N*

तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन

गोविन्द-पादापित-जीवितेन ।

— — — — —

— — — — — (II*) 42

— — — — — र्वं

विष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत् ।

अर्थव्ययेन

26 महतामहता³ च काले-

नात्म-प्रभाव-नत-पौरजनेन तेन ।(I*) 43

चक्रं विभक्तिं रिपु — — — — —

— — — — — (I*)

— — — — —

तस्य स्व-तन्त्र-विधि-कारण-मानुषस्य ।(I*) 44

27 कारितमवक्र-मतिना चक्रभृतः⁴ चक्रपालितेन गृहं हम् ।

वर्षशते(S*)ष्टात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल-[क्रम-गणिते*] (II*) 45

— — — — —

1 Read वंश.

2 Better read राजाधिराजा°.

3 I. e. महता + अमहता.

4 Read °भृतश्चक्र°.

- — — — — (1*)
- [स०]।र्थमुत्थितमिवोर्जयतो(ऽ०)चलस्य¹
- 28 कुर्वन्प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ 46
- अन्यच्च मूर्धनि सु — — — — —
- — — — — (1*)
- — — — — रुद्र-विहंग मार्गं
- विभ्राजते — — — — — (11*) 47

No. 26—Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.)

KAHAWM OF KAHAWAM, Gorakhpur District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 67; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1278 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 स्रग्धरा

TEXT²

सिद्धम्*) [1]³

- 1 यस्योपस्थान-भूमिर्नृपति-शत-शिरः⁴-पात-वातावधूता
- 2 गुप्तानां वंशजस्य⁵ प्रविस्त-यशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धः (1*)
- 3 राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते⁶
- 4 वर्षे क्षिप्रशहशेकीत्तरक⁷-शततमे ज्येष्ठ-मासि⁸ प्रपन्ने । (1*) 1

¹ The temple was possibly called here the *chūḍā-ratna* of the hill.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

³ This word stands in the left margin, सि on the level of line 2, and ह a little above that of line 3.

⁴ There is a sign resembling a punctuation mark, which might have been an accidental slip on the part of the engraver.

⁵ Read वंश०.

⁶ The word may refer to the fact that Skandagupta's reign became peaceful after the early years of struggle. शान्त = undisturbed by enemies, calamities, etc. Of course the *śānti* may have been temporary or local. पतेः looks like पतिः in the original.

⁷ Read क्षिप्रशहशे०. ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ.

- 5 ख्याते(ऽ*)स्मिन्ग्राम-रत्ने ककुभ¹ इति जनेस्साधु-संसर्ग-पूते ।²
- 6 पुत्तो यस्तोमिलस्य प्रचुर-गुण-निधेर्भट्टिसोमो महा[स्मा] (।*)
- 7 तत्सूनु रुद्रसोमः(ः*) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।³
- 8 मद्रस्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूद्भिज-गुरु-यत्तिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः ।(।*) 2
- 9 पुण्य-स्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्दीक्ष्य भीतो
- 10 श्रोयोर्थं भूत-भूत्य पथि नियमवतामहंतामादिकृत्तं न⁴ ।(।*)
- 11 पञ्चेन्द्रा⁵ स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततो ऽ* यम् यं⁶
- 12 शैल-स्तम्भः सुचाहगिरिवर-शिलराश्रोपमः कीर्त्तिं कर्त्ता ॥* 3

No. 26A—Supia Stone Pillar Inscription of the time
of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (= 460 A.D.)

Supia, old Rewah State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT⁴

- 1 [श्री]व[टो]त्कच(ः*) तद्वन्द्यो⁵ प्रवर्त्तमा*]-
- 2 [ने*] महार[।*]ज-[श्रीमसुद्रगु]प्तः(ः*) त[स्य]-
- 3 [स]-श्रीविक्रमा[दित्य](ः*) त[स्य]-महारा[ज]-
- 4 [श्री]महेन्द्रादित्य](ः*) तस्य [पु*]त्रः(ः*) चक्र[व]-

¹ Kakubha is the old name of modern Kabāup.

² The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read पञ्चेन्द्रान्. The expression is usually translated 'five excellent [images]' referring to the five naked Jain Tirthaṅkaras sculptured on the column. *Indra* (Lord) may however indicate *Jinendra* (lord of the Jinās) and refer to the five favourite Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira. धरणिधरमय = शिलामय; अहंता पथि आदि-कर्त्तृन् (= आदि-पथ-कर्त्तृन्) = those who lead the way in the path of the Arhats; नियम looks like वियम.

⁴ See the facsimile of the inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII. The use of the title *Mahārāja* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja* in the inscription, which is a private document, is of no importance (see p. 295, note 7). Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I have been mentioned here by their titles respectively as Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya.

⁵ Read तद्वन्द्यो.

- 5 [त्ति]तु[ल्यो] [महा]बलविक्र[मे]ण र[ाम]-
- 6 [तु]ल्यो ध[र्म्म]प[र]तया युधिष्ठिर¹ स[स्त्रे]-
- 7 नचरवि[नय]² महाराज-श्रीस्क[न्द]-
- 8 गुप्तस्य³ राज्य[सम्ब] 'त्सरशते एक-
- 9 चत्वारि[ंशोत्त]रके⁴ (I*) [अस्यां] दिवसपू-
- 10 र्वायां याम् ।) अवडर-वास्तव्य-कुटुम्ब[क*]-
- 11 कैवर्त्तिश्रेष्ठि-नसृ(ता) हरिश्रेष्ठि-पु[त्र] :* श्रीद-
- 12 [त्त](: I*) तद्गात्(ता) वर्ग(: I*) त[द्गा]त(ता) च्छ[न्दक] [श्रेति*] (I*)
- 13 स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थं यज्ञ:-की-
- 14 [त्ति]-प्रवर्ध य⁵ मान-गोत्र-शैलिका बल-य-
- 15 छि(ष्टि:)⁶ प्रतिष्ठापिता वर्गग्रामिकेण
- 16 जे(ज्ये)ष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्षस्य द्विती-
- 17 [यायां] ति[थौ] (II*)

No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 146(=466 A.D.)

INDOR, near Dībhāī, Bulandshahr District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 70 f. ; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219 ; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1279 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metres: Verse 1 गार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा

¹ Read युधिष्ठिर: or better युधिष्ठिरतुल्यः

² Read सत्येनाचारविनयै: or सत्याचारविनयै:

³ Read ०गुप्तः तस्य.

⁴ Read संव०.

⁵ Read ०रिंशो०. Lines 16-17 should have been engraved here.

⁶ For *yashṭi* meaning 'a pillar raised in memory of one's dead relatives', see *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XV, p. 6 ; above, Bk. II, Nos. 41, 63-66. *Bala yashṭi* means 'a strong (or stout) pillar'. It is called a *gotra-śailikā* or 'family pillar' because it was raised by Varga, who was a *grāmika* (headman) of the village of Avadāra (apparently identical with or in the vicinity of Supia), in the memory of several deceased members of his family. For *va(ba)la-yashṭi* in the Bhumāra inscription, wrongly interpreted by Fleet (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 110ff.), see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 167ff.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*)
यं विप्रा विधिवत्प्रबुद्ध-मनसो ध्यानैकताना स्तुवः²
यस्यान्तं विदशासुरा न विविदुर्बोध्वं³ न तिर्य-
- 2 गति[म्]⁴ (॥*)
यं लोको बहु-रोग-वेग-विवशः संश्रित्य चतोलभः
पायाद्रः स जगत्पि[धा]न-पुट-भिद्रश्म्या-
- 3 करो भास्करः ॥ 1
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्याभिवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्य-संवत्सर⁵-
शते पञ्चत्वा-
- 4 [रि०]डुदुत्तरतमे⁶ फाल्गुन-मासे तत्प(॥*)द-परिगृहीतस्य विषयपति-शब्देनाग-
स्यान्तर्व्वेद्यां⁷ भोगाभिवृद्धये वत्त-
- 5 माने चेन्द्रापुरक⁸-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विध-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुहैव-पुत्रो⁹ हरिवात-
पौत्तः डुडिक-प्रपौत्तः सतताग्निहो-
- 6 ल-छन्दोगो¹⁰ राजायगीयो¹¹ वर्षगण-सगोत्, इन्द्रापुरक-वगिम्भ्यां¹² क्षत्रियाचल-
यर्म-भृकुण्ठसिङ्गाभ्यामघिष्टा-¹³

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Read °तानस्तवाः ; or स्तनः, i.e. [वयं] विधिवत्प्रबुद्धमनसः विप्राः यं ध्यानैकतानाः [स्तनः] स्तनः.

3 Fleet °गतिः.

4 Read संवत्सर or संवत्सर. See *infra* No. 41, note.

5 Read षट् पञ्चत्वा°.

6 Read °रिंश°.

7 The traditional Antarvedi is the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Haridwār. The Bulandshahr District lies actually in this Antarvedi. Cf. कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं (*infra* No. 35, line 3).

8 Fleet चन्द्रापुरक. Cf. Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59. Indrapura is Indor, the findspot of the record. The same spelling of the name is found in line 6, though lines 7 and 8 have Indrapura.

9 "The Brāhmaṇa Devaviṣṇu who is the son of Deva and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of [the locality called] Padmā in [the town called] Indrapura."

10 Read °छन्दोगी.

11 Read °न यो.

12 Note that the Kshatriyas adopted the conventional profession of the Vaiśyas.

13 Read भृकुण्ठसिङ्गा°. Fleet : °घिष्टा.

- 7 नस्य प्राच्यां दिशीन्द्रपुराधिष्ठान-माडास्यात¹-लग्नमेव प्रतिष्ठापितक-भगवते सविसे
दीपोपयोज्यमात्म-यशो-
- 8 भिवृद्धये मूल्यं प्रयच्छति² (॥*) इन्द्रपुर-निवासिन्यास्तैलिक-श्रेण्या जीवन्त-
प्रवराया³ इतो (५*)धिष्ठानादपक-म-
- 9 ण-संप्रवेश-वधास्थिरायाः आजस्रिकं ग्रहपतेर्द्विज-मूल्य-दत्तमनया⁴ तु श्रेण्या यदभग्न-
योगम्
- 10 प्रत्यमाहो⁵व्याच*)च्छिन्न-संस्थं⁶ देयं तैलस्य तुल्येन⁷ पलद्वयं तु २⁸ चन्द्रावर्क-सम-
कालीयं(यम्) (॥*)
- 11 यो व्यवक्रमेदायमिमं⁹ निबद्धम्¹⁰
गोप्तो पुरुषो द्विज-धातकः सः (।*)
तैः पातकैः(*)
- 12 पञ्चभिरन्वितो(५*)ध-
र्माच्छेन्नरः¹¹ सोपनिपातकेश्वेति¹¹ ॥ 2

¹ Fleet could not find out the meaning of माडास्यात which however appears to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrapura. मूल्य=endowment, of which the interest or income was to be utilised [for the maintenance of a lamp for the Sun-god]. सप्र=touching. The deity was installed on the boundary of Mādāsyaṭa.

² Read प्रयच्छति. The *visarga* may have also been meant for a mark of punctuation.

³ Jivanta was the *Pravara* or President of the oilmen's guild.

⁴ आजस्रिक=अजस्र=perpetual. दत्त=gift. Better, दत्तम् । अनया.

⁵ Read प्रदमा. *माहो-व्याच्छि* ?

⁶ तुल्य seems to signify the same thing as तौल्य (weight).

⁷ This is evidently an abbreviation of तुल्येन पलद्वयम्. "This gift of a Brāhmaṇa's endowment for [the temple of] the Sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, even in moving away from this settlement and returning to it. But there should be given [daily] by this guild for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two *palas* of oil by weight [or in figures] *tu* 2, uninterrupted in use and continuing without any diminution from the original value."

⁸ Better read योऽतिक्रमे.

⁹ Read निबद्ध.

¹⁰ Read *धो गच्छे*.

¹¹ Better *य ॥ इति.

No. 28—Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

BHITARI, near Sayyidpur, Ghāzīpur District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 53f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1549 (for other references); Sewell's List, p. 349.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 पुषिताग; Vv. 2-6 मालिनी; Vv. 7-8 शार्दूलविकीर्णित; Vv. 9-12 श्लोक (चण्डुभ्)

TEXT¹

[सिद्धम् ॥*]²

✓ [सर्व]-रा[जो]च्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधिमलिष्ठ[1]स्वादित-यशस्यो धनद-
वरुणेन्द्र[1]न्तक-स[मस्य]

2 कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागत[1]नेक-गो-हिरण्य-[को]टि-प्रदस्य चिरो[स्स]ज्ञाश्वमेधाहस्त-
मंहाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत[स्य]

3 महाराज-श्रीचटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि-³
दौहित्यस्य महादेव्यां कुम[1]र[दे]व्या-

4 मुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त-
देव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः⁴

5 परम भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्गतो महादेव्यां
भ्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम-

6 भागवतो महाराजाधिर[1]ज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य

{ प्रथित-पृथुमति-स्वभाव-शक्तेः
पृथु-यशसः पृथिवी-पतेः पृथु-श्रीः (1*)

7 पि[तृ]-प[रि]गत-पादपद्म-वर्त्ती

{ प्रथित-यशः पृथिवी-पतिः सुतो(5*)यम् (॥*) 1

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Faint traces of apparently this word are found above the beginning of line 1.

3 Usually लिच्छिवि.

4 See *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, note 3; also line 3 of the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta II (*infra*, No. 32).

जगति भु[ज]-बलाढ्यो¹ गुप्त-वड्डे² क-वीरः³

प्रथित-विपुल-

8

Calony
धामा नामतः स्कन्दगुप्तः (1*)

सुचरित-चरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं⁴

न विहतममलात्मा तान-[धीदा?]-विनीतः⁵ (11*) 2

विनय-

9

बल-सुनीतैर्विवक्रमेण वक्रमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन ल[ब्ध] (1*)

स्वभिसत-विजिगीषा-प्रोद्यतानां परेषां

प्रणि-

10

Handwritten
हित इव ले[भे] [स] विधानोपदेशः (11*) 3⁶
(विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितिल-शयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा (1*)⁶
समु-

11

दित-ब[ल]-कोशा[न्युप्यमित्रांश] [जित्वा

क्षितिप-चरणपीठे स्थापितो वाम-पादः (11*) 4

प्रसभमनुप[मै] दिव्यभूस्त-शस्त्र-प्रतापै-

विन[य-स]मु-

12

[चितैश्च*] क्षान्ति-शौ[ये]न्निरुद्धम् (1*)

चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं

दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः (11*) 5

V.V. In
पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]

¹ Read बलाढ्यो.

² Read वड्डेक.

³ वृत्त=observance of law; virtuous conduct. विवृत्त=obstructed.

⁴ Fleet: 'disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?)'. Possibly, 'modest owing to his knowledge of the objects of senses.'

⁵ परिषां परिहिते=in the application against enemies. संविधानोपदेश=instruction in execution.

⁶ This shows that before the actual seizure of power, Skandagupta passed sometime in utter distress probably owing to defeat and the success of a rival for the throne. See verses 6-7 below and above, No. 25, line 1.

⁷ According to some अनुप्यमित्रांश. It is however not possible to be definite about the reading of the aksharas as they are not distinct. A people called Pushyamitra is known from the Purāṇas. Cf. Pargiter, Dyn. Kālī Age, Section LI.

13

विप्लुतां वङ्ग^१-लक्ष्मीं

भुज-वङ्ग-विजितारिर्ह्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः (I*)

जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्त्र नेत्वां

हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपे-

14

[त]:^२ (II*) 6

[स्वे]ह[ष्टैः] — — — — — व्यवलितं वङ्ग^३ प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो

बाहुभ्यामवर्णिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वात्तेषु कृत्वा दयाम् (I*)

नोत्सिको [न] च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं

15

संवर्द्धमान शुति-

गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दक-जनो(?) यं [प्रा]पयत्यार्यता[म्] (II*) 7

हृणैर्यस्य^४ समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता

भीमावर्त्त-करस्य

¹ Read वंशं. For Skandagupta's difficulties immediately after Kumāragupta's death, see also *supra*, No. 25, line 4 : पितरि सुर-सखित्वं प्राप्तवति, etc., and verses 4 above and 7 below.

² Sewell suggests that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī. The simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle (cf. No. 29, V. 3) of Skandagupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for some time.

³ Read वंशं. Cf. V. 4 above. उत्सिक्त = haughty; disturbed in mind; विस्मित = proud.

⁴ The Hūṇas (Ephthalites or White Huns) were possibly related to the Central Asian tribe known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. They showed great migrative activity in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when their leader Attila (c. 406-53 A.D.) tried to destroy the Roman empire. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, refers for the first time to the Hūṇas in relation to Indian politics; but he places the Hūṇa-land on the Oxus. They were apparently knocking at the western gates of the Gupta empire at the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire extending from Central Asia to Central India. But the success of the Hūṇas in Central India was short-lived. It ended with Mihirakula who was defeated by Yaśodharman, king of Mālwa, and king Bālāditya of the Gupta family. But the Hūṇas as a political power in India are referred to in inscriptions, e.g., Unā grant (Vikrama 956) of the Pratibhāras; Ajmer Harakelināṭaka inscription (Vikrama 1210) of the Chāhamānas; etc. Gubila Allāṭa (Atpur inscription of Vikrama 1031) and Kalachuri Karka (Khairba ins. of Kalachuri 823) married Hūṇa princesses. The Hūṇas were thus assimilated into Hindu society, and Hūṇa is known to be one of the 36 Rājput clans. Tod (*Annals*, Calcutta ed., I, p. 87) spells the name as Hun, Hoon and Hool. The *Harshacharita* places the Hūṇa kingdom in the Punjab region.

- 16 शलुषु शरा — — — — — (1*)
 — — — — — विरचितं(?) प्रख्यापितो [दीप्तिदा?] 8
 न यो(?)ति — न — — लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु शार्ङ्ग¹-ध्वनिः (11*)
- 17 [स्व]-पितुः कीर्त्ति — • • • • • — — • (1*)
 • • • • • — • • • • • — — • (11*) 9
 [कर्त्तव्या?] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः (1*)
- 18 [सु]प्रतीतश्चकारेमां य[ावदाचन्द्र-तारकम् (11*) 10
 इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठित-ज्ञासनः (11*)
 ग्राममेनं स विद[धे]² पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये (11*) 11
- 19 अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः (?) (1*)
 उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्य-धीरिति ॥³ 12

No. 29—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 122ff. Nos. 451ff.

*First Side*⁴

Bust of king to right; traces of Greek legend.⁵

Second Side

Burning altar in centre; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class—

परमभागवत-श्रीविक्रमादित्य-स्कन्दगुप्त[ः*]⁶

¹ Fleet : गार्ङ्ग. See Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60. Fleet : नभीषु ल०

² Some writers may regard this part as metrically defective.

³ Properly ०धौः ॥ इति ॥, संस्थित (settled) may refer to the gift village. Skandagupta may have installed the image of Vishnu and granted the village for the latter's worship for the merit of Kumāragupta I on the occasion of an annual *śrāddha* of the dead king.

⁴ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13ff.

⁵ On some specimens of the Garuḍa type, we have the word वर्षे and date behind king's head. The definite dates on Skandagupta's silver issues are Gupta years 146 and 148 (465-66 and 467-68 A.D.). The date on the coin No. 527 in Allan's *Cat.* has been doubtfully read as 145 or 148. A comparison of the figures for 8 on the coins of the Sakas of Western India however shows that the date is 148=167-68 A.D.

⁶ The full legend can be reconstructed from a study of several coins, as the legend is often imperfect. On some silver specimens, we see Siva's bull in place of altar and क्रमादित्य instead of विक्रमादित्य in the legend, while, in others, the legend is विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोयं or ०पतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति (Metre : उपसीति).

No. 30—Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription¹ of Purugupta (?)

BIHĀR (Bihārsharif), Pāṭuā District, Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 49f. ; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1548 (for other references) ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Ind. Cult.*, X, pp. 170 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verse 1 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा (defective in the 7th syllable of the 3rd foot) ; Vv. 3-4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 5 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 6-7 a metre the जाति type ; Vv. 8-10 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT²

Part I³

1⁴ — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — : (I*)
 नृ-चन्द्र इन्द्रानुज-तुल्य-वीर्यो
 गुणैरतुल्यः — — — — — (II*) 1

2 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (I*)
 तस्यापि सूनुभुवि स्वामि-नेयः
 म्यातः स्व-कीर्त्या — — — — — (II*) 2

3 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (I*)
 [स्व] सैव यस्यातुल्य-विक्रमेण⁵
 कुमारगु[प्तेन] — — — — — (II*) 3

¹ Fleet assigns the inscription to Skandagupta.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Lines 26-83 from Fleet's transcript with emendations.

³ In Part I, the writing appears to have extended over four faces of the column ; but, in Part II, over three faces of it.

⁴ The first and second *pādas* entirely and parts of the fourth *pāda* of these verses have peeled off. Thus about 22 *aksharas* at the beginning and about 6 at the end are lost in each line of Part I. Lines 1-10 contained a verse of about 44 *aksharas* each. A line in Part II contained about 27 *aksharas*, of which about 18 from the beginning are lost.

⁵ Cf. p. 320, note 2. The reference is probably to Kumāragupta's marriage with someone's sister.

- 4 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 [पि]लिंश्च¹ देवांश्च हि हव्य-कव्यैः
 सदा नृशंस्यादि — — — — — (11*) 4
- 5 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 [अ]चीकरद्देव-निकेत-मण्डलं
 क्षितावनौपम्य — — — — — (11*) 5
- 6 [वटे?] किल (1*)
 स्तम्भ-वरोच्छ्रिय²-प्रभासे तु मण्ड..... 11*) 6
- 7 भिवृ³क्षाणां(णाम्) (1*)
 कुसुम-भरानताग्र-[शुंग?] -द्व्यालम्ब-स्तवक.....(11*) 7
- 8 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 भद्रार्थ्या भाति गृहं नवाभ्र-
 निम्मोकि-निर्मु[क्त] — — — — — (11*) 8
- 9 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 स्कन्द-प्रधानैर्भुवि मातृभिश्च³
 लोकान्स सुप्य(?) — — — — — (11*) 9
- 10 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — यूपोच्छ्रयमेव चक्रे (11*) 10
 भद्रार्थ्यादी.....

¹ Read पितृ²च.

² Read वरोच्छ्रय.

³ The divine mothers were originally seven and then eight in number ; cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा । माहेश्वरी चैव वाराही चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः ॥ or ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा । कौमारी चैव चामुण्डा चर्चिकेयटमातरः ॥ Afterwards the number was further raised to nine, sixteen, etc. The Mothers are mentioned with Svāmi-Mahāsena (Skanda) in the records of some early dynasties, e.g., the Kadambas and the Chālukyas. There may have been a reference to Skandagupta in this section of the record.

- 11 न्द्रगुप्त-वटे अन्शानि¹ ३० (+*) ५ ता(?)भ्रकटा-
कु(?) : कळ
12 पितुः स्वमातुर्दय्यस्ति हि दुष्कृतं भजतु तने
13 काग्रहारे अन्शानि¹ ३ अनन्तसेनेनोप

Part II²

- 14[सर्व-राजोच्छे*] तुः प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य³
15 [चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे*]न्द्रान्तकमण्य कृतान्त-
16 [परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरो*]स्त्राश्वमेधाहत्तुः
17 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीवटो*]त्तच-पौत्रस्य महाराजा-
18 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि-दोहित्वस्य म*]हादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य
19 [महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्र*]स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां
20 [दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः पर*]मभागवतो महाराजा-
21 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धा*]तो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्या-
22 [मुत्पन्नः परम भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य*] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातः
23 [परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपू*][रु]गुप्तः (॥*)⁴
24 परमभागवतो
25 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री पूरुगुप्तः*] [वै*]षयिकाजपुरक-सामै[ग्रा][म*]-
26 ग्रा . क ..[अ*]क्षय-नीवी ग्रामक्षेत्रं
27 कृ...उपरिक कुमारामात्य-
28 ङ्गि कुलः(?) वणिज*)क-पादितारिक-
29 [आ*]ग्रहारिक-शौलिक गौलिमकास(न)न्यांश्र(श्र)-
30 वा[सि]कादीनस्मत्प्रसादोपजीविनः
31 [समाज्ञापयामि*]... .. वस्मैणा वि ऽपितो ऽ*)स्मि मम पितामहेन

¹ Read अंशानि: In line 11, Fleet reads स्त(?)न्द्रगुप्तवटे.

² There are two demarcating lines between the two parts of the record. The second part looks like the copy of a charter of which lines 14-23 represent the seal.

³ Read पृथिव्या*. The lost words in lines 14-23 are supplied with the help of other inscriptions and seals.

⁴ In lines 23 and 25, Fleet suggests स्कन्दगुप्त.

- 32 नमे भद्र-गुहिकस्वामिना भद्रा[र्य]का¹
 33 [प्र]ति[ष्ठापिता*]..... आमोकय...नाकय... .. 2

No. 31—Sarnath Buddhist Stone Image Inscription
 of Kumāragupta II³—Gupta Year 154
 (= 473 A.D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Benares District, U. P.

GUPTA, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, p. 124.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: V. 1 उद्गीति; V. 2 आर्या; V. 3 गीति (?).

¹ Bhadrāryakā is probably the same as Bhadrāryā of lines 8 and 11. It appears to be the name of a goddess, possibly Pārvatī (=Āryā) since. Bhadra is a name of Śiva. V. S. Agrawala (*J. N. S. I.*, III, p. 82) suggests that Bhadrā is the wife of Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa).

² The rest of the record is lost.

³ Some scholars identify this Kumāragupta with the Kumāragupta of *infra*, No. 32; others however point out that, in that case, the reigns of Pārugupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta (who are placed after Skandagupta's death about 467 A.D. and before Budhagupta whose earliest known date is 476 A.D.) would be abnormally short, and take this Kumāragupta as a different king, the successor of Skanda and predecessor of Budha. But abnormally short reigns are sometimes found in history. We have moreover to consider the troubled period (cf. verses 4-6 of *supra*, No. 28) that followed Kumāragupta's death (455 A.D.). Some scholars suggest that Pārugupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta represent a rival line ruling (or merely claiming to rule) side by side with the line represented by Skandagupta and Budhagupta. It is also suggested that the Dāmodarpur grant of Gupta Year 224 (=543 A.D.) belongs to Kumāragupta [III of the seal] and that his grandfather Pārugupta succeeded Budhagupta as supreme ruler after 495 A.D., although Pārugupta then must have been very young at the time of his father's death. But we have now the Nālandā seal of Budhagupta represented as the son of Pārugupta (*J. H. Q.*, XIX, p. 273). A damaged seal discovered at Nālandā in the Patna District, Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 335ff. and *infra*) proves that Kumāragupta of No. 32 had a son named Viśvugupta. The inscription found at Mangraon (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), dated in the 17th year [सम्वत्(संवत्सर)े सप्तदशे सम्वत्(संवत्सर)े १०(+*)७; see *ibid.*, p. 246] does not belong to this Viśvugupta, but to Viśvugupta, grandson of Adityasena of the 'Later Gupta' dynasty. If Pāru's son Narasimha succeeded Budha, Kumāra of No. 31 was another son or brother of Pāru.

TEXT¹

- 1 वर्षे शते गुमानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे (१०)²
भूमिं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते मासि ज्येष्ठे³ द्वितीयायाम् ॥ 1
- 2 भक्तशवर्जित-मनसा यतिना पूजार्थमभयमिक्षेण (१०)
प्रतिमाप्रतिमस्य गुणै[र]प[रि]यं [का]रिता शास्तुः⁴ ॥ 2
- 3 माता-पितृ-गुरु-पू[र्व]ः⁵ पुण्येनानेन सत्त्व[त्त्व]-कायो(५०)यं(यम्) (१०)
लभतामभिमतमुपशम-मि * * * * * म् ॥ 3

No. 32—Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta II⁶

BHITARI, Ghāzipur District, U.P.

HOERNLE, J. A. S. B., LVIII, Part i, p. 89; J. F. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX (1890), p. 225.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT⁷

- 1 [सर्व]राजोच्छेत्तु—पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज-श्री[गुप्त] प्रपौ[त्त्व]स्य महाराज-
श्रीवटोत्कच-पौत्त्वस्य म[हा]-
- 2 [राजा]धिर[ग]ज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्त्वस्य लिच्छु[वि-द्रौहित्यस्य] म[हादे]व्य[त]
[कुमा]रदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-

¹ From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A R., 1914-15. Plate. LXIX—N. The Nālandā seals of the same king offer an identical text (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 66; Plate VII, d-e).

² Read सचतुः to rectify the metre.

³ ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ ; शास्ता = बुद्ध.

⁴ Gupte : पूर्तिः ; D.R. Sahni : पूर्तिः, पूर्व = ancestors.

⁵ May we suggest ०सुपशमं हितसुखं तदेव भवतु सत्त्वानाम् ? सत्त्वकाय = a person who is an abode of virtue.

⁶ See p. 328, note 3. For the gold coins of Kumāragupta surnamed Śrī-Kramāditya, see Allan, *Cat. (Gupta)*, pp. 140f.

⁷ From the facsimile in *J.A.S.B.*, LVIII, Part i. The upper part of the seal of the Guptas is occupied by emblems, the chief of them being Garuḍa in relief on a counter-sunk surface.

- 3 [श्री]समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुस्तस्तत्परि[गृही]तो म[हादेव्या[न्दत्तदेव्या]मुत्पन्नस्त्वयं
च[प्रति]रथ—परमभाग-¹
- 4 [वतो] [महाराजा]धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य [पुस्त]स्तत्पाद[ानु]द्वया[तो] महा-
देव्य[ानि] [ध्रु]वदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हारा]-
- 5 [जाधि]राज-श्रीकुमार[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुस्तस्तत्पादानुद्वया[तो] महादेव्यामनन्त-
देव्य[ानि]मुत्पन्नो महा[रा]-
- 6 [जाधिरा]ज-श्री[पूरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुस्तस्तत्पादानुद्वया[तो] महादे[व्यां] श्रीचन्द्र-²
देव्यामुत्प[न्नो] म[हा]-
- 7 [राजाधिरा]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगु [पु]स्तस्त[त्पा]दा[नु]द्वया[तो] मह[ादेव्यां]
श्रीम[न्मिल]-³
- 8 [देव्या]मु[त्प]न्न—परमभ[ा]गवतो मह[ाराजाधिरा]ज-श्रीकुम[ार]र[गुप्तः ॥]

¹ Hoernle : च प्रति०.

² Cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Lahore, 1940, 3 Allan (*Cat. [Gupta]*, p. 134, Pl. XXI, No. 23) describes a gold coin of Pūrugupta with the legend पुर on the obverse; beneath the king's left arm and श्रीविक्रमः (or श्रीविक्रमादित्यः) on the reverse. S. K. Saraswati thinks that the *akshara* read as प looks like व and is inclined to suggest that the name is वृष (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 691f.). It is difficult to be sure on the point. Pūrugupta has been identified with king Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī or Ayodhyā, who was the father of Bālāditya and a patron of Vasubandhu and is known from Buddhist traditions (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, pp. 210f.). पूरुगुप्त was originally read as पुरगुप्त.

³ Fleet reads श्रीवत्स०. On the Nālandā seal, the name has been read as वेण्यदेवी by H. Shastri and चन्द्रदेवी by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77 ; *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1924-35, p. 63).

⁴ For some gold coins with the obverse legend नर beneath the king's left arm and the incomplete verse [जयति ?] नरसिङ्गु(सिंह)गुप्तः, and the reverse legend वा(वा)जादित्यः see Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 137f. According to Buddhist traditions, Bālāditya, a Buddhist king of Magadha, was a contemporary of king Mihirakula who invaded Bālāditya's territory and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards set free. See Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 288f. If Pūrugupta ascended the Imperial Gupta throne after Budhagupta (494 A.D.), the contemporaneity of this Narasimhagupta with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (circa 515-35 A.D.) is apparent. But Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 503) relies on the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* which suggests that Buddha(Budha)gupta was succeeded by Tathāgatagupta, after whom Bālāditya II [contemporary of Mihirakula], succeeded to the empire. A Nālandā seal represents Budha as the son of Pūru (*I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 273 and *infra*).

⁵ Fleet reads महा[लक्ष्मी?]देव्या०. But cf. the Nālandā seals referred to above.

No. 33—Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription of
Budhagupta¹—Gupta Year 157 (=476 A.D.)

SARNATH, Vārāṇasī District, U.P.

Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15. pp. 124-25; Jagannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-4 चतुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT

- 1 गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे (1*)
शते समानां² पृथिवीं वधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥ 1
[वैशाख-मास-सप्तम्यां मूले श्याम-गते*]³
- 2 मया (1*)
कारिताभयमिलेण प्रतिमा शाक्य-भिक्षुणा⁴ ॥ 2
इमामुद्दण्ड⁵-सच्छल-पद्मास[न-विभूषितां ताम् 1*)]
[देवपुत्रवत्तो दिव्यां*]
- 3 चित्ताव[न्या]स-चित्तितां⁷ ॥ 3
यदस्ति⁸ पुण्यं प्रतिमां⁹ कारयित्वा ममास्तु तत्⁹ (1*)
माता-[पित्तोगुं][रूपां च लोकस्य च समासये ॥*] 4

1 Buddhist tradition refers to a Buddhagupta, son of Śākrāditya who was king of the territory including Nālandā (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 164). Buddha was formerly taken to be a mistake for Budha and Śākrāditya to be the same as Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I) and thus Budhagupta was supposed to have been a son of Kumāragupta I. But there is evidence now to show that Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. See No. 36A below.

2 From the facsimile in Plate LXIX—P in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15. The restorations are made with the help of a similar record in Plate LXIX—O.

3 The metre is generally believed to require a short fifth and long sixth syllable.

4 मूले श्यामगते = at the time of the asterism Mūlā belonging to the dark fortnight.

5 Śākya was the name of the clan to which the Buddha belonged. Later, it was also used to indicate a follower of the Śākyamuni Buddha. Note that the Bhikshus and Arhats are often called *Buddha-putra*.

6 Gupte: *मुदण्ड*. देवपुत्रवत् = चादि-बुद्ध, the origin of the Dhyāni-Buddhas?

7 Read चित्तिताम्. Gupte: चित्तविद्यासचित्तितां.

8 Gupte: यदत्तु.

9 Gupte: मया भवतम्.

No. 33A—Varanasi Pillar Inscription of the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 159 (=479 A. D.)

RĀJONĪT at Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasī District, U.P.

D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, XV, 1949, pp. 5ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT¹

- 1 स[म्ब]² १०० (+*) ५० (+*) ९ मार्ग-दि³ [२०] (+*)८ महाराजाधिरा[ज]-
- 2 बुध[गु*]प्त-राज्ये पार्वरिक-वास्तव्य-मार-
- 3 [विष १]-दुहिता(ला) साभाटि (१)-दुहि(ला*) च दामस्वा-
- 4 मि[न्या] शिलास्तम्भ⁴ स्था[पि]तः (॥*)

No. 34—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 163 (=482 A. D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 135f.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (चतुष्टुम्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 [सं १००*] (+*) [६०] (+*) ३ आपाट-दि १० (+*) ३ परमदैवत-परम-
भट्ट[र]क-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगुप्ते [पृथि]वी-पत्नी तत्पाद-[परि]गृहीते पुण्ड्र[व]-

¹ From impressions.

² Read *sambha* = *samvat* = *samvatsara*.

³ I.e. *Mārggaśīrṣa*-disease.

⁴ The *visarga* is elided according to the option allowed by Sanskrit grammar. The pillar was probably raised by Dāmasvāminī in memory of her dead parents, Māraviśha and Sābhāṭi.

⁵ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

- 2 [ईन]भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-ब्रह्मादत्ते संव्यवहरति (१*) स्व[स्ति] (१*) पलाश-
हृन्दकात्सविश्वासं महत्तराष्टकुलाधि[क]-
- 3 [र]ण(णं) ग्रामिक-कुटुम्बिनश्च^१ चण्डग्रामके ब्राह्मणाद्यान्क्षुद्र-प्रकृति-कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-
मुक्तानुदर्शयन्ति [यथैवं ?]
- 4 [वि]ज्ञापयती नो^२ ग्रामिक-नाभको(५* इमिच्छे^३ मातापितृस्त्वपुण्याप्यायनाय
कदि(ति चिद्राह्मणायंजान्प्रतिवासयितुं
- 5 [तद]र्हथ ग्रामानुक्रम-विक्रय-मर्यादया मत्तो हिरण्यमुपसंगृह्य समुदयवाद्याप्रद-स्त्रि-
क्षेत्राणा[.]
- 6 [प्र]सादं कर्तुमिति^४ (१*) यतः पुस्तपाल-पल्लदासेनावधारितं युक्तमनेन विज्ञापित-
मस्त्ययं विक्रय-
- 7 मर्यादा-प्रसङ्गस्तदीयतामस्य परमभट्टारक-महाराज-पा[दे]न पुण्योपचयायेति^५ (१*)
पुनरस्यैव
- 8 [पल्लदा]सस्यावधारणयावष्टस्य नाभक-हस्तादीनार-[द्वय]मुपसंगृह्य^६ स्थायपाल-
कपिल श्रीभद्राभ्यायायक[स्य]^७ च समुदय-

¹ Read कुटुम्बि० and ०नसुद्र०. महत्तर=elders; the head of the village jury. The passage means "the village jury consisting of eight members and headed by the mahattara (elder), and the agriculturist householders who are village headmen." The word कुटुम्बिन् is the origin of Kurmi or Kulmbi, a prominent agriculturist caste of Northern India. ग्रामिक=headman of a village; Manu (VII, 115-19) seems to suggest that he was the king's representative in the village. Palāśavṛindaka was the centre of local administration of a group of villages, one of which was Chaṇḍagrāma. Two villages called Palāśtārī and another called Palāśdāngā lie not far off from Dāmodarpur. स्वस्ति (may it be well) introduces the record proper, the preceding part being considered as the date portion. सविश्वासं अनुदर्शयन्ति=tell (or, inform as follows) with confidence [in the addressees].

² Basak suggests the correction विज्ञापयतीती. Read ०पयति, नः=अकान्.

³ Read इच्छये or इच्छामि.

⁴ Read ०मिति. ग्रामानुक्रमविक्रयमर्यादया (cf. मर्यादया in line 9)=according to the custom of sale prevalent in the villages. समुदयवाद्य=yielding no income (See pp. 345, 360). अप्रदा=non-transferable property (cf. pp. 292, 349).

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 348, note 6. Better महाराजपादानां.

⁶ इय had at first been omitted and was then engraved in the lower margin of the plate. Note that two *dināras* instead of three are accepted in this case. Waste land of the State, available for sale for the purpose of reclamation, was thus of different types and prices.

⁷ Possibly स्थानपाल=watchman, policeman.

⁸ Read ०भामायायक्य (*infra*, No. 41, line 14). Apparently the money was received through the two persons.

- 9 [बाह्याप्रद*]-[त्रि]ल-क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकमस्य वायिग्रामकोत्तर-पार्श्वस्यैव च सत्य-
मर्यादाया दक्षिण-पश्चिम-पूर्वण
- 10 महत्त]राजधिकरण-कुटुम्बि(म्ब)भिः प्रत्यवेक्ष्याष्टक-नवक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविच्छत्²
चतुस्सीमोल्लिङ्ग³ च नागदेवस्य
- 11 [दत्तं(त्तम्)] (1*) [तदु]त्तर-कालं संव्यवहारिभिर्दुर्ममवेक्ष्य प्रतिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च⁴
महर्षिभिः (1*)
स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां राम् ।
- 12 [स विष्टा]यां कृमिन्त्वा पितृभिस्सह पश्यते (॥*) 1
बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
- 13 तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 2
पष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥⁵ 3

No. 35—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 165 (= 484 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 89; *ibid.*, p. 88 for other references.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 अर्था.

¹ Read मर्यादाया.

² Read °ष्टक-नवक-नला° as in other records. It may be suggested that the unit of the measurement was 8×9 reeds (measuring rods). But the *deivachana* may also indicate that two rods were used in measuring a plot of land. In that case, the custom may have been to measure the length with a rod 9 cubits long and the breadth by one 8 cubits long. It is also possible that *ashṭaka*, *navaka* and *navaka* here are related respectively to *dakṣiṇa*, *pāschima* and *pūrva* of line 9. अपविच्छा=having severed, i.e. having measured out.

³ Basak च तुष्टिमो°. Read °सीमा उ°. उल्लिङ्ग=making clear by marks (*infra*, No. 41, line 19). °देवस्य=देवाय. Bāyigrāma=Baigrām near Hili, Bogra District.

⁴ Better read °नीयम् । उक्तञ्च.

⁵ Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

TEXT¹

- 1 जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरण्णव-विपुल-सलिल-पर्यङ्कः [1]
जगतः स्थिर्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि*]-²
- 2 हेतुर्गुरुड-केतुः (॥*) 1
शते पञ्चपष्ठ्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।
आपाठ-मास-[शुक्ल]-
- 3 [द्वा]दश्यां³ सुरगुरोर्दिवसे ॥(१*) 2
सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ (॥*)
कालिन्दो-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं पाळयति लोकपाल-गुणे-⁴
ज्जगति महा[राज]-
- 4 श्रियमनुभवति सुरप्रिमचन्द्रे च । (१*) 3
अस्यां संवत्सर-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्यां⁵ स्वकर्मभिन्नस्य क्रतु-याजि[नः]
- 5 अधीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रप्रेम्मेत्वायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्रेण पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो
वरुण[विष्णोः]
- 6 पौत्रेण पितरमनुजातस्य⁶ स्व-वंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्रेणात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तेन
विधातुरिच्छया स्वयंवरयेव र[ा]ज-
- 7 लक्ष्म्याधिगतेन चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथित-यशसा अक्षोण-मानधनेनानेक-शस्त्र-समर-
जिष्णुना महाराज-मातृविष्णुन[ा]

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² The restoration is due to Hall. न्यय = लय = प्रलय.

³ Prinsep : तयो०. The date is Thursday, the 21st June, 484 A.D. This is the earliest use of the name of the weekdays, which the Indians learnt probably from works of the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. Greek influence on Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.) is well known. His *Paulīśasiddhānta* is based on the works of Paul of Alexandria (c. 378 A.D.); cf. also his *Romakasiddhānta* in which *Romaka* = Graeco-Roman.

⁴ Read गुणैः । जगति. With the province called कालीन्दी-नर्मदा-मध्य, compare अलवर्दी of *supra*, No. 27, line 4. Rivers were apparently taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta *vishayas*.

⁵ पूर्व्यां (=during the above) is an idiomatic use for पूर्व्यां तिथौ. See above, p. 137, note 3.

⁶ पितरम् अनुजातः = one who takes after or resembles his father [in merits].

⁷ The Erāṇ inscription of Toramāṇa and Dhanyaviṣṇu (*infra*) proves that the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūṇas almost immediately after Budhagupta (possibly during the reign of Bhānugupta; cf. *infra*, No. 38), and it is not impossible that the western part of Central India had been gradually conquered by them during the later years of

- 8 तस्यैवानुजेन तदनुविधायिन[1] तत्प्रसाद-परिगृ[ही]तेन धन्यविश्वना च ।¹ मातृ-
प्रित्तोः² पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतः ।³
9 पुण्यजनार्दनस्य⁴ जनार्दनस्य ध्वजस्तम्भोऽ[५]भ्युच्छितः ॥५॥ स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-
[पु]रोगाभ्यः सर्व-प्रजाभ्य इति ॥१॥

No. 36—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

DAMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 138f.; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Cult.*, V, pp. 432f.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metro: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (पद्यम्).

TEXT⁴

First Side

- 1 काल्गुन-दि १० (+०) [५] परमदेवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-
श्रीवृधगु[प्ते]⁵ [पृथिवी*]-
2 [पत्नी*] [त*]त्पाद-परिगृहीतस्य पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तवृषिक-महाराज-जयदत्तस्य⁶
भोगेनानु[वहमा]-

after the death of Skandagupta. But the evidence of the *Harshacharita* suggests that the 'Later' Guptas ruled Mālava (East Mālwa) after the short rule of the Hūyas, while the local line represented by Yaśodharman (cf. *infra*, Nos. 53ff.) regained power in West Malwa.

¹ The sign of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Read मातापित्रीः.

³ पुण्ड्रजनार्दन = troubler of the demons (पुण्ड्रजन).

⁴ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

⁵ Read वृध^५. The year of the Gupta era is lost at the beginning of the record.

⁶ Jayadatta appears to have belonged to the family of Chitrāśadatta and Brahmadatta of *supra*, No. 34 (cf. names of the *śreṣṭhins* Dhṛitipāla and Ribhupāla; the *sārtharāhas* Bandhumitra and Vasumitra; the *Kulikas* Varadatta and Matidatta; the *Kāyasthas* Sāmbapāla, Viprapāla and Skandapāla). The cognomens like *Gupta* show that the second member of the father's name was usually continued in the son's, and thus gave rise to a family-name. The successors of Chandragupta I and Gopāla had names ending in *gupta* and *pāla*, and thus the lines came to be known as the Gupta and Pāla families. In the

- 3 नके [को]टि[वर्ण]-विषये च तन्नियुक्तकेहायुक्तक-गण्डके^१ अधिष्ठानाधिकरण[^२]
नगरश्रेष्ठिरिभु-
- 4 पा[ल]-सात्थवाहवसुमित्त-प्रथमकुलिकवरदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थविप्रपाल-पुरोगे च स[म्भ]-
वहरति^३
- 5 अनेन श्रेष्ठ-रिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखर^४ कोकामुखस्वामिनः^५
चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः [श्वे]तव-
- 6 राहस्वामिनो(ऽ*)पि^६ सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्तिनो^७ पुन्याभिवृद्धये^८
डोङ्गामापे^९ पूर्व^{१०} मया
- 7 अमदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तक्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ^{११} तयोराद्य-कोकामुखस्वामि-
श्वेतवराह-

fifth century A. D., such cognomina appear to have been prevalent in Bengal as also in some other parts of India. Most of the modern Bengali family-names are of this type, though some (e.g. Niyogī) are derived from official titles (some of them being of Muhammadan times) and from *mūlagrāmas* or *gāṇis*, i.e. villages where the families claimed to have originally lived (e.g. Vandyopādhyāya from a village called Vandyā or Vandyaghāṭa).

¹ This may also be read as गण्डके.

² Read संभ्य०. The correct form of the Śreṣṭhin's name is सभुपाल.

³ हिमवच्छिखर literally means "the peak of the Himalayas". The reference is to Barābhachhatra (Varābhakhetra) in Nepal; cf. my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff. The situation of the land granted to the gods (cf. *infra*, p. 338, note 1 and line 14; No. 39, line 17) suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. It has been wrongly supposed that the Kōṭivaraha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal. Actually a pilgrim of these parts visited Barābhachhatra and dedicated in favour of the deities worshipped there some land lying in his home district. Better हिमवच्छिखरस्थ.

⁴ A *tīrtha* called कोकामुख is mentioned in *Mbh.*, III, 84, 158; XIII, 25, 52, and the *Purāṇas*, and this is the present Barābhachhatra at the confluence of the Kokā and Kauśiki in Nepal. The word *ādya*, 'original', refers to the deities at Barābhachhatra as distinguished from the two gods of the same names installed in a temple near the gift land at a later date. Kokāmukha was a form of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. See my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff.

⁵ The name of the deity clearly shows that he represented the Boar form of the god Viṣṇu.

⁶ Read *शंसिना.

⁷ Read पुण्या०.

⁸ Read यामे. The village has also been mentioned in *supra*, No. 18.

⁹ Better *सृष्टकाः (= दत्ताः) । तद०.

- 8 स्वामिनोर्ना[म]लिङ्गमेकं¹ देवकुल-द्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिका-द्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यहं²
वास्तुना
- 9 सह [कुल्य]वापान्यथाक्रम-मर्यादया दातुमिति (1*) यतः पुस्तपाल-विष्णुदत्त विजय-
[नन्दि]-स्थानु-³
- 10 नन्दिनामवधारणयावष्टतमस्यनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामि-
इवेतवरा[ह]-स्वामि नोः]
- 11 अप्रदा श्रेष्ठ-कुल्यवापा⁴ एकादश दत्तकास्तदर्थञ्चोह देवकुल-कोष्ठिका-करणे⁵
युक्त[मे]त[द्वि]ज्ञा।-
- 12 [पितं][क्र]मेण तत्क्षेत्र सामीप्य-भूमौ वास्तु दातुमित्यनुवृत्त-विदो नारिक्यकु[ल्यवा]प-
विक्रय[मर्या]द-⁶

Second Side

- 13 [या*]... ..
- 14 पु[ष्करि]णी पू [वर्णे] रिभु[पा]ल-पु[ष्करि]णी ?] [दक्षिणेन]
- 15 दत्ताः (1*) [त]दुत्तरकालं [सं]व्यवहारिभिर्देवभ[क्ता]नु-
मन्तव्या⁷ [उक्तं] व्यासेन (1*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्ता-
- 16 [म्वा⁸ यो हरेत] वसुन्धराम् (1*)
स विष्टा[यां] क्रिमिभूर्त्वा⁹ पि[नृ]भिस्स[ह पचयते] (11*) 1
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

¹ Read नाम-लिङ्गमेतद्*, नामलिङ्ग = marked by the names [of Kokāmukhasvāmin and vetavarāhasvāmin]; देवकुल = temple; कोष्ठिका = store-room. These were meant for two new deities named after the original gods of Barābhachhatra. The new temples were built in the forest area near the gift land (cf. *atr* = *āraṇye* in No. 39 below). It appears that the gift land was transferred to the local imitations of the gods of Barābhachhatra because it was difficult for the donor to send the income of the land to the original gods in distant Nepal.

² Read स्थाणु०. वास्तु = building ground.

³ Or अप्रदा(:*).

⁴ करणे = करणाय or करणविषये. क्रमेण = in proper order; in due course of time.

⁵ क्रयमर्यादा (line 9) from the purchasers' viewpoint is the same as विक्रयमर्यादा from the sellers' viewpoint. Lines 13-15 contained a description of the boundaries of the land.

⁶ Better *मन्तव्याः। उक्तं.

⁷ Read *त्तां वा.

⁸ The usual spelling is कृमि. विष्टा = विष्टा. Read *भूर्त्वा

- 17 [यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं [महीमतां] श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छेयो(ऽ*)नुपादनं]¹ (॥*) 2
[बहु]भिर्बसु[धा द]त्ता
- 18 [राजभिश्च] पुनः पुनः (।*)
[य]स्य [य]स्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य तस्य] त[दा] फलमिति² (॥*) 3

No. 36A—Nālandā Seal of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihar.

H. SASTRI, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 64; A. GHOSH, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, 1943, pp. 119 ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, pp. 273 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT³

- 1 [सर्वराजोच्छेतुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]-श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीचतुर्क-
- 2 [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]-दौहितस्य महादेव्यां कुमार-
- देव्यामुत्पन्न-
- 3 [स्य महाराजाधिराज श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]-गृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः
- 4 [स्वयज्ञाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- नुध्यातो
- 5 [महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज*]-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- 6 [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]-हाराजाधिराज-श्री-[पूरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
- 7 [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्री*]-[महा ?]देव्यामुत्पन्नः
- 8 [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-बुधगुप्तः (॥*)

¹ Read °नम्.

² Better फलम् ॥ इति ॥

³ From the photograph in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66. The record is fragmentary; but it establishes beyond doubt that Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. The concluding part of this record may be compared to the corresponding section of the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Budhagupta's stepbrother Narasimhagupta—

⁶ [दानुध्यातो म*]हादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपूरुगुप्तस्तस्य पु

⁷ [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-

⁸ [वतो महाराजाधिरा*]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (॥*)

See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, p. 273. The spelling of the name of Narasimhagupta's father is here clearly Pūrugupta.

No. 36B—Nālanda Seal of Vishnugupta¹

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihār.

KRISHNA DEVA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 239.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Northern Brāhmī of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

TEXT²

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

- 1 ... [म•]हाराजाधिराज-श्र[ी*]-[पू०]गुप्तस्वस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो
... ..
- 2 ... [म•]ह[ी*]र[ी]ज[ी]धिराज-श्रीनरसिंह[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो
- 3 ... [महा•]राजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्वस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो म[हा]-
- 4 [देव्यां ... देव्यामुत्प•]न्न-परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीविष्णुगु[प्तः*](॥•)

No. 37—Gunaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainyagupta—Gupta Year 188 (= 507 A.D.)

GUNAIGHAR, 18 miles to the north-west of Comilla, Tippera District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, pp. 53ff.; M. GHOSH, *ibid.*, p. 561.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

¹ It is not known whether he ruled before or after Budhagupta (476-91 A.D.).

² From the photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. The upper part and the left side of the seal are broken away and lost.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ²-हस्त्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावारात्क्रीपुराद्भगवन्महादेव-पादानुदयातो³
महाराज-श्रीवैन्द्यगुप्तः⁴
- 2 कुशली • • • • • स्वपादोपजीविनश्च कुशलमाशंस्य समाज्ञापयति (१*)
विदितं भवतामस्तु यथा
- 3 मया मातापितृोरात्मनश्च पु[ण्या]भितृ[द्ध]ये(५*)सत्पाददास-महाराज-कुट्टदत्त-
विज्ञाप्यादनेनैव माहायानिक-शाक्यभिक्षुवा-
- 4 चार्य्य-शान्तिदेवमुद्दिश्य गोप(?) ... [दिग्भागे ?] कार्यमाणकार्य्यवि-
लोकितेश्वराश्रम-विहारे⁶ अनेनै-
- 5 वाचार्य्येण प्रतिपादित[क?]-माहायानिक-वैवर्त्तिक-भिक्षु-संघनाम्परिग्रहे⁷ भगवतो
बुद्धस्य सततं लिप्कालं⁸
- 6 गन्ध-पुष्प-दीप-धूपादि-प्र[वर्त्तनाय] [त*]स्य भिक्षुसंघस्य च चीवर-पिण्डपात-
शयनासन-ग्लानप्रत्ययभेषज्यादि-

¹ Prepared with the help of Bhattacharya's transcript. The plates published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, are not quite satisfactory. The seal has the figure of a recumbent bull to right and the legend : महाराज-श्रीवै[न्द्यगुप्तस्य]. See note for below.

² महानौ = ship. Note that the navy gradually became an important factor in the army of Indian kings, though the conventional units are said to have been हस्त्यश्च-रथ-पादातं सेनाङ्गं स्थायतुष्टयम्. Note also the omission of the chariot. Cf. above, Nos. 4-5.

³ The king was a devotee of Śiva; but the way in which the idea is expressed is rare in inscriptions; cf., however, वामदेव-पादानुध्यात in the Kalachuri and नामदेवपादानुध्यात in the Chalukya records. For अनुध्यात, see *supra*, p. 279, note 5.

⁴ In literature, the name is often written वैन्द्यः. It is interesting that his पाददास and उपरिक are also styled महाराज (lines 3 and 16). His title महाराज therefore cannot prove that Vainyagupta was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as महाराजाधिराज. His dominions possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihār.

⁵ Some 8 akṣaras are lost and may be restored as ब्राह्मणादीकुटुम्बिनः or समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः.

⁶ Māhāyāna is a developed school of Buddhism the early orthodox school being called Hinayāna. The Māhāyānists worshipped many gods and goddesses, such as the five Dhyaṇi Buddhas derived from the Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajñā, the numerous Bodhisattvas, etc. Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva. See *supra*, p. 133, note 5.

⁷ Read सङ्गानां. The Vaivarttikas (following the doctrine of Vicarita or Māyā?), otherwise unknown, were apparently a sect of the Māhāyānikas. An emendation that has been suggested is माहायानिकावैवर्त्तिक⁸

⁸ Possibly ब्रिकालं (= विसन्धः) is intended.

- 7 परिभोगाय¹ विहारे [च] खण्ड कुट्ट-प्रतिहंस्कार-करणाय² उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्ते-
डदकग्रामे³ सर्वतो भो-
- 8 गेनाग्रहारस्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्र-पट्टेनातिसृष्टाः (1*) अपि
च खलु धृति-स्मृती-
- 9 [ति*]हा[स]-विहितां⁴ पुण्य-भूमिदान-धृतिमैहिकामुत्तिक-फल-विशेषे स्मृतो⁵
भावतः समुपगम्य स्वतस्तु पी-
- 10 डामप्युरीकृत्य पाल्लेभ्यो भूमिं * * * * * (1*) * * * द्विप⁶ शिरस-
हचन-गौरवात्स्व-यशो-धर्मावाप्तये चैते
- 11 पाटका अस्मिन्वि⁷हारे शशत्कालमभ्यनुपालयितव्याः ॥*⁸ अनुपाछनम्प्रति च
भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्या-
- 12 सेन व्यासेन गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति (1*)
पट्टिं वर्ष-स[हस्रा]णि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 13 न्येव न र* के वसेत् (॥*) 1

¹ चौवर=cloth; पिण्डपात=giving alms; here possibly, getting food शयनासन=bed and seat; स्नानप्रत्यय-भेषज्य=पोडाहितुक*=medicine or medical treatment for diseases.

² कुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फटित.

³ I.e., in the village of Kāntedāśaka in the division called Uttara-maṇḍala.

⁴ पाटक is the name of a land measure. According to Hemachandra, it means half of a village (cf. Beng. *pāḍā*). By a calculation of the area of the five plots, we see that $8\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* + 90 *droṇavāpas* = 11 *pāṭakas*; or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* = 90 *droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* was therefore = 40 *droṇavāpas*. For the *droṇ* of the Chittagong District as noticed by Hunter (*Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, p. 164), see *supra*, p. 293, note 10. Hunter (p. 301) says that in the Noakhāli District, the *droṇ* in Shāstānagar = about 48 acres, in Sandvīp = about 84 acres, and in Government estates = about 25 acres. 1 acre = $3\frac{1}{10}$ *bighās*. The scheme is 4 *kaḍā* = *gaṇḍā*, 20 *gaṇḍās* = *kāni*, 16 *kānis* = *droṇ*; but measuring rod = 14, 16 or 22 cubits, and cubit = 18 or 20½ inches (sometimes, reference is to the hand of a particular person, i.e. a cubit of uncertain length). See p. 361, note 7.

⁵ Bhattacharya : हापविहिता.

⁶ Read *द्विप स्मृती. Some suggest स्मृती.

⁷ Restore नापहरित्, बाधाच न कुर्यात्. पीडामप्युरीकृत्य = even courting [pecuniary] troubles.

⁸ Bhattacharya suggests *भ्यनुमन्ताः.

- स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्बा' यो हरेत् [वसु]न्धरां(राम्) (1*)
 [स] विष्टायां कृमिभुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते (11*) 2
- 14 पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्ताद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
 महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्चयो²(5*)नुपायनं(नम्) (11*) 3
 वर्त्तमानाष्टाशोरयु-
- 15 त्तर-गत-संवत्सरे पौष-मासस्य चतुर्विंशतितम-दिवसे' वृत्केन महाप्रतीहार-
 महापीलुपति-पञ्चाधि-
- 16 करणोपरिक-पाटुपरिक-[पुर?]³पुरपालोपरिक'-महाराज-श्रीमहासामन्त-विजयसेने-
 नेतदेकादश-पाटक-दा-
- 17 नायाज्ञामनुभाविताः कुमारामात्य-रेवज्जस्वामी भामह-चत्स-भोगिकाः⁶ (11*) छिन्नितं
 सन्धिविग्रहारिकरण-काय-⁷
- 18 स्थ-नरदत्तेन (11*) यत्सैकक्षेत्रखण्डे नव-द्रोणवापाधिक-सप्त-पाटक-परिमाणे सीमा-
 लिङ्गानि (10) पूर्व्वेग गुणिका-
- 19 ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा विष्णुवर्धकि-क्षेत्रश्च⁸ (1*) दक्षिणेन मिदुविळाळ(?)-क्षेत्रं राज-
 विहार-क्षेत्रश्च⁸ (1*) पश्चिमेन सूरी-नाशी-रम्पूर्णक-

1 Read दत्तां वा.

2 Read दानाच्छ्रेयो.

3 Read 'श्वि'शति.

4 पुर seems to have been engraved twice owing to mistake.

5 This Vijayasena has been identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Mallasārūl inscription (*infra*). महाप्रतीहार=the chief officer superintending the defence of the gates of the royal palace and also of the capital city. पञ्चाधिकरणोपरिक=chief superintendent of five administering offices. पाटुपरिक=chief officer of the accounts department (cf. पाटी=arithmetical). पुरपालोपरिक=the chief police officer of the royal city. उपरिक=superior officer. पौलु (Arabic fil)=elephant (according to Medinikara of the 14th century). See *supra*, p. 272, note 9. पौलुपति=leader of the elephant force, or keeper of the elephants (cf. *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, p. 30, mentioning *pīlupati* and *gajapati* side by side), or both. Words like पौलु and दिविर were introduced into Indian administration by foreign invaders like the Scytho-Parthians. The word गजवर (originally Persian) is used in Book II, No. 26. सामन्त=fendatory chief.

6 Read 'मिकी च. It appears that the *dātaka* (executor) Vijayasena entrusted the business to *Kumārāmātya* Revajjasvāmin and to two other officers called *Bhogika*, *Bhogika* indicates a *jāgirdār* or an official enjoying an *inām* in lieu of salary.

7 Read वियहाधि. Naradattha was a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.

8 Read चेत्य. वर्धकि=a carpenter in profession or caste. राजविहार=royal monastery.

- 20 क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) उत्तरेण दोषी-भोग-पुष्करिण[¹]
[प*]वम्पियाकादित्य-व(व)न्धु-क्षेत्राणाञ्च सीमा (11*)
- 21 द्वितीय-खण्डस्याष्टाविंशति-²द्रोणवाप-परिमाणस्य सीमा (1*) पूर्व्वेण गुणिका-³
ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा (1*) दक्षिणेन एक-
- 22 विलास(१)-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) पश्चिमेन राजविहार-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) उत्तरेण वैद्य(१)-
क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (11*) तृतीय-खण्डस्य त्रयोविंशति-²द्रोणवाप-
- 23 परिमाणस्य सीमा (1*) पूर्व्वेण क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) दक्षिणेन नखहा-
चरिण(१)-क्षेत्र-सीमा (1*) पश्चिमेन

Second Side

- 24 ज(जो१)लारी-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) उत्तरेण नागी-जोडाक-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (11*) चतुर्थस्य
त्रिंशद्द्रोणवाप-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा (1*) पूर्व्वेण
- 25 बुद्धाक-क्षेत्र-सीमा (1*) दक्षिणेन कालाक-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य-क्षेत्र-
सीमा (1*) उत्तरेण महीपाळ-क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (11*) [प]ञ्चमस्य
- 26 पादोन-पाटक-द्वय-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा (1*) पूर्व्वेण खण्ड-वि[दु]ग्गुरिक-
क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) दक्षिणेन मणिभट्ट-
- 27 क्षेत्रं(स्वम्) (1*) पश्चिमेन यशरात-क्षेत्र-सीमा (1*) उत्तरेण नादडदकग्राम-सीमेति
(11*) विहार-तलभूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (1*)
- 28 पूर्व्वेण चूडामणिनगर-नौयोगयोर्मध्ये जोला (1*) दक्षिणेन गणेश्वर-
विलास-पुष्करिण्या नौ-खातः (1*)
- 29 पश्चिमेन प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-⁴क्षेत्र-प्रान्तः (1*) उत्तरेण प्रडासार-नौयोग-खातः (11*)
एतद्विहारप्रावेस्य-शून्यप्रतिकर-

¹ भोग may be a personal name and दोषी may stand for Sanskrit ज्योतिषी. भोग may also indicate Doshi's temporary possession of the tank.

² Read विंशति.

³ Gupekāgrabhāra of lines 18-19 and Guṇikāgrabhāra of line 21 are apparently identical and the same as modern Gupāighar.

⁴ Beng. जोলা (= खात) means a ditch. Between Chūḍāmaṇinagara and Śrīnaṇyoga; or, between the *naṇyogas* (places for parking boats) of Chūḍāmaṇi and Nagarāśrī?

⁵ For another temple of Pradyumnadeśvara Śiva, see the Deopādā inscription (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 42 ff.).

- 30 हज्जिक'-खिळ-भूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*) पूर्व्वेण प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-क्षेत्र-
सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन शाक्यभिश्वाचार्य-जित-
31 सेन-बैहारिक-क्षेत्रावसा(?) नः(नम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन ह(?)चात-गंग उत्तरेण दण्ड-पुष्किणी²
चेति ॥ सं १० (+*) ८० (+*) ८ पोष्य³-दि २० (+*) ४ (॥*)

No. 38—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhanugupta—Gupta Year 191 (= 510 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 92f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1 2 श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्); Vv. 3-4 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT⁴

- 1 १^५ संवत्सर शते एकनवत्युत्तरे श्रावण-बहुलपक्ष-स[स]म्य[ī]म्याम् (।*)
2 संवत् १०० (+*) ८० (+*) १ श्रावण-च-दि^५ ७ ॥
• • रु^६-वङ्गादुत्पन्नो^७ • •^८

¹ Cf. Beng. *हाजा* in the expression *हाजा-यका*, flood and drought, loss caused by them. Here *हज्जिक* may mean 'marshy land'. *विहारप्रविश्य*=land regarded as a part of the site of the monastery (*प्रविश्य* derived from *प्रवेश*, income, revenue) for the purpose of assessment (*J.A.S.*, Letters, 1952, p. 78, note). *गन्धप्रतिकर*=not yielding any revenue. *तलभूमि*=land granted to a religious establishment for its maintenance at the time of consecration (pp. 357, 360). *विलास*=possibly, a mechanic caste like *वर्धकि*. *गंग* (Beng. *गाङ्ग*), rivulet.

² Read *पुष्करिणी*.

³ Read *पौष*.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

⁵ *सिद्धम्* expressed by a symbol.

⁶ *व* is an abbreviated form of *बहुल-पक्ष* and *दि* of *दिवस*. Sometimes we have *व* (= *वय*) instead of *व* (= *बहुल*).

⁷ Fleet suggested that, of the three letters, the third is *च* and the second may be *ल*.

⁸ Read *वंशा*.

⁹ The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscript *र* sign which may suggest that the name was something like *धुवराज*, Or, *गोपराज*?

3

राजिति विश्रुतः (१०)

तस्य पुत्रोऽतिविह्वलन्तो नाम्ना राजाथ माधवः ॥ १

गोपराजः]

4

सुतस्तस्य श्रीमान्विख्यात-पौरुषः (१०)

शरभराज-दौहित्यः स्व-वङ्ग^१-तिलकोऽधुना(?) (॥०) २

5

श्री-भानुगुप्तो^२ जगति प्रवीरो

राजा महा-न्^३ पार्थ-समोऽति-शूरः (१०)

तेनाथ सार्द्धंन्विह गोपर[ाजो]

6

मिस्तानु[गत्येन]^४ किलानुयातः ॥ ३

कृत्वा (च^५) [यु]द्धं सुमहत्प्रक[ा]शं

स्वर्गं गतो दिव्य-न[रे]^५ [न्द्र-कल्पः^५] (१०)

7

भक्तानुरक्ता च^५ प्रिया च कान्ता

भ[ार्याव]ल[ग्न]ानुगता[ग्न]र[ा]शिम् ॥ ४^५

No. 39—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 224 (= 543 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind*, XV, pp. 142f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 193f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (चण्डुम्).

^१ Read वङ्ग.

^२ It is not impossible that, when Vainyagupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire, Bhānugupta was ruling the western part and another line of rulers had control over the central part.

^३ The *aksharas* are indistinct. Fleet conjecturally reads वय्यार; but the last *akshara* appears to be न.

^४ Fleet thinks that the metre is faulty as this च has been lengthened by the influence of प्रि. But the conjuncts प्र and ऋ as also न and ऋ are said to be exceptions to the rule वर्णसंयोगपूर्वम् and, before them, the vowels may be short by a sort of poetical licence; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 11; *Sisupā'avadha*, X, 60, etc.

^५ Here is an early reference to the Suttie. Cf. *JAHNS*, XIX, pp. 203 ff. The battle referred to may represent a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūnas in Central India.

TEXT¹

Seal

कोटिवर्षाधिष्ठानाधि[करणस्य]² ।

First Side

- 1 स[स्व]³ २०० (+*) २०⁴ (+*) ४ भाद्र-दि ५ परमदेवत-परमभट्टारक-म[हा]-
राजाधिराज-श्री...⁵
- 2 गुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते⁶ पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरि[क-महाराज]स्य [महा*]-
- 3 राजपुत्र-देवभट्टारकस्य हस्यश्च-जन-भोगेनानुवहमा[न]के को[टिव]र्ष-विष-
[ये] च त-
- 4 क्षियुक्तकेह-विषय-पति-स्वयम्भुदेवे⁷ अधिष्ठानाधिकरण(ञ*) आर्य[न]गर-
[श्रेष्ठिरिभु]पाळ-

¹ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV

² "[The seal] of the administrative board of the city of Kōṭivarsha". See p. 291, note 8, above.

³ Read संव which is the contraction of संवत्सर; or ०२.

⁴ Basak : १०.

⁵ Basak suggests बुधगुप्त, while Krishna Sastri wants to restore कुमारगुप्त, sometimes identified with the king mentioned in *supra*, No. 32, though Viśnugupta's name may also be thought of (cf. No. 36-B). It may be pointed out that, besides the controversy regarding the ascription of Narasimhagupta and his son Kumāra and grandson Viśnu before or after Budha, the position is complicated due to the existence of other rulers of the family like Vaiṇya and Bhānu. It may also be noted that the *आर्यमञ्जरीमूलकस्य* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 671-76) gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as बालास्य (बालादित्य)-कुमार-उकारास्य-देव. If this Deva[gupta?] may be identified with Deva-bhaṭṭāraka (who appears to have been the emperor's son made governor of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana) of the present inscription, the missing name may be conjecturally restored as उपगुप्त. The possibility of an Upagupta in the Gupta genealogy has been suggested by Raychaudhuri on the basis of the name of Upaguptā, mother of Maukhari Śāśaṇavarman (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 500, note).

⁶ Read गृहीतस्य. The technical difference between अनुध्यात and परिगृहीत is not known. One of them possibly indicates appointment and the other acceptance of an appointment or position at least in some cases.

⁷ Basak's corrections इह* and स्वयम्भु* are unnecessary. Ribhu* is written for Ribhu*.

- 5 सार्ववाहस्याणुदत्त-प्रथमकुलिकमतिदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थस्कन्दपाल-पुरोगे [स] 'व्य[वह]रति
- 6 आयोध्यक-कुलपुत्रक'-अमृतदेवेन विज्ञापितमिह-विषये समुदयबाह्याग्रहत-²
खिल-[शे]त्ता-
- 7 णां सिदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(९*)नुवृत्तः तदर्हथ मत्तो दीनारानुपसंगृह्य
मन्मातुः [पु]ण्या-
- 8 भिवृद्धये अन्नारण्ये³ भगवतः प्रवेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुले खण्ड-फुट-प्रति-⁴
[सं]स्का[र]-[क]-
- 9 रणाय बलिचरुसखप्रवर्त्तन-गव्यधूपपुष्पप्रापण-मधुपर्क⁵दीपाद्युप[यो]गा[य] च
- 10 अप्रदा-धर्मेण तान्नपट्टीकृत्य श्वेत-स्तोकन्दातुमिति⁶ (1*) यतः प्रथमपुस्तपाल-
नर[न]न्दि-
- 11 गोपदत्त-भट(१)नन्दिनामवधारणया युक्त[त]या ध[र्माधि]कार-[बु]द्ध्या विज्ञापित(१*)⁶
ना[त्त*] [वि*]-

¹ Read 'पुत्रकास्त'. Ayodhyā, whence Amritadeva hailed, is the ancient city near modern Faizābād. कुलपुत्र=born of a noble family.

² *Supra*, p. 292, note 3. It may also be suggested that, of the two terms खिल and अप्रहत, one indicates land never tilled (or not tilled for a long time) and the other land whose cultivation has been stopped for some time (or for a short period). Some scholars translate खिल as 'fallow' and अप्रहत as 'untilled'.

³ Note that the original deity was worshipped on the Himavach-ekbikbara (*supra*, No. 36) while his substitute was installed at a place which has been indicated here as a local forest. See above, p. 337, notes 3 and 4; p. 338, note 1.

⁴ Prakrit फुट is for Sanskrit स्फुटित. I.e., "for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn."

⁵ "For instituting बलि, चरु and सख; for supplying cow's milk, incense and flowers, and for applying मधुपर्क, lamp, etc." बलि=oblation, animal sacrificed to a deity चरु=oblation of rice or barley usually boiled in milk; सख=oblation; here possibly, distribution of food (प्रसाद), or giving food and shelter to guests. मधुपर्क=usually दधि सर्पिर्जलं चौद्रं सिता चैतेष पंचभिः। प्रोचते मधुपर्कः... स्तोक=a small plot. गव्य=milk (sometimes चीरं दधि तथा चान्नं मूत्रं गोमयमेव च).

⁶ Basak: विज्ञापितवा...; see No. 41, lines 12-13; No. 42, lines 15-17. Basak's translation has "...a quarrel with the Vishayapati. However, through his Highness Paramabhattāraka, the victory of right is assured." There is however no doubt that श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादेन धर्मपरतावाप्तिः is the same as भट्टारकपादानां धर्मफल-वड्भागावाप्तिः of *infra*, No. 41, line 13. परता=फल=result; धर्मपरतावाप्तिः=धर्मफलप्राप्ति. See also *infra*, No. 43, line 13. विरोध=चर्चविरोध (No. 41, lines 12-13)=opposition to one's interest. Or, विषयपतिनां विरोधः=objection from the District Magistrates.

- 12 पय-पतिना(°) कश्चिद्दिरोधः केवलं श्री-परमभट्टारकपादेन धर्म्मप[र]-
13 [तावासि][:°]¹

Second Side

- 14 इत्यनेनावधारणाक्रमेण एतस्मादमृतदेवात्पञ्चदश-दीनारानुपसंगृह्य एतन्मातु[:°]
15 अनुग्रहेण स्वच्छन्दपाटके(S°)[र्द्ध]टी-प्रावेश्य-लवङ्गसिकायाञ्च² वास्तुभिस्सह
कुल्यवाप-द्वयं
16 साट्ठवनायमके(S°)पि वास्तुना सह कुल्यवाप एकः परस्पतिकायां पञ्चकुल्य-
वापकस्योत्त[रे]ण
17 जम्बून[द्या]:³ पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः पूरणवृन्दिकहरी पाटक-पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप
एकः इत्येवं खिल-क्षेत्र-
18 स्य वास्तुना सह पञ्च कुल्यवापाः अग्रदा-धर्म्मेण⁴ भग(व°)ते श्वेतवराहस्वामिने
शश्वत्कालभोग्या दत्ताः (I°)
19 तदुत्तरकालं संव्यवहारिभिः⁵ देवभक्तगानुमन्तव्याः (I°) अपि च भूमि[दा]न-
सम्बद्धाः⁶ श्लोका भवन्ति (I°)
20 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा⁷ यो हरेत् वसुध्वरां(राम्) (I°)
स विष्टायां किमिभुंत्वा⁸ पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (II°) 1
व(व)हुभिर्ब्वसुधा दत्ता

¹ These *aksharas* are engraved below the closing words of the previous line. Better °वाप्तिरिति । अनेनाव°.

² मातुः अनुग्रहेण = out of consideration for his mother. अर्द्धटी-प्रावेश्य = included in *Ardhaṭī* to form a single unit for the assessment of revenue, प्रावेश्य being derived from प्रवेश (=revenue, income). See above, p. 345, note 1 and below, p. 354, note 5.

³ Read जम्बू°. The areas of land referred to as पञ्चकुल्यवापक and पाटक possibly already belonged to the god. *Pūraṇa-Vṛindikabhari* may be modern *Brindakocree*, 14 miles to the north of *Dāmodarpur*.

⁴ I.e., "according to the custom relating to अग्रदा" (see p. 292, note 3; p. 333, note 4). वास्तु = building land; खिल-क्षेत्र = fallow land.

⁵ संव्यवहारिन् = officers in charge of administration.

⁶ Read सम्ब°.

⁷ Read दत्तां वा.

⁸ Usually कृमि°. Read °इभुंत्वा.

21

राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(ळम्) (॥*) 2

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद¹22 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति² (॥*) 3

¹ Properly, भूमिदः ।

² Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND SUBORDINATES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—Inscriptions of Bengal

No. 40—Susuniya Rock Inscription of Chandravarman¹ (c. 340-60 A.D.)

SUSUNIYA HILL, near Bānkuṛā, Bānkuṛā District, West Bengal.

N. N. VASU, *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, III, pp. 268f.;
H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 317ff.; XIII, p. 133; K. N. DIKSHIT,
Arch. Surv. Ind., A. R., 1927-28, pp. 188f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th
century A. D.

TEXT²

Part I

1 पुष्करणाधिपतेर्महाराज³-श्रीसिद्धवर्माणः⁴ पुत्रस्य

2 महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रवर्माणः कृतिः (।०)

¹ This king is usually identified with the Āryāvartta ruler Chandravarman mentioned in *supra* No. 2. Some scholars wrongly identify Pushkarapū with Pushkara near Amer and suggest that the king was a brother of Naravarman of Malwa (*infra*, No. 51) and was the same as king Chatdra of *supra*, No. 14. Pushkarapū is however modern Pokharā, a place on the Dāmodar river in the Bānkuṛā District and Chandravarman was apparently a local ruler of South-East Bengal.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is found on the back wall of a ruined cave. ण in Part I is different in shape from the ण in Part II.

³ °पते° looks like पुते; but the subscript does not appear to be due to engraving. Shastri: °रज.

⁴ Read °सिंह°.

⁵ This line begins from below °णाधि° of पुष्करणाधि° of the previous line.

Part II

1 चक्रस्वामिनः दोसग्रगतिस्तुष्टः¹ (॥*)

No. 40A—Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (= 439 A.D.)

Sultānpur near Naogāon, Rājshāhī District, East Pakistan. The inscription may have been lying originally at Kalaikuri in the same neighbourhood.

D. C. SIRCAR *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 12ff.; N. B. SANYAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 57ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT²

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूषर्³ [कौ] शिकायाः³ आयुक्त[काच्युतदासो(९*)धिक]-
रणञ्च हस्तिशीर्षे [विभीतक्या गुल्मगन्धि]-
- 2 [कायां] धान्यपाटलिकायां संगोहालिषु ब्राह्मणादीन्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः⁴ [कुश]-
लमनुवर्ण्य बोधयन्ति (१*) विदितम्बो⁴
- 3 भविष्यति यथा⁵ इह-वीथी-कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदास-देवदत्त-लक्ष्मण-
का[न्ति]देव-शम्भुदत्त-कृष्ण-

¹ Shastri: °दास. The vowel mark of the first consonant is *o*, and the consonant itself looks like क. But we have to accept Shastri's correction दासायैषातिस्तुष्टः (better °स्तुष्टा). Chakrasvāmin is Vishnu to whom possibly the cave, Chandravarman's *kṛti* (work), was dedicated. According to K. N. Dikshit, the village Dhosagrāma was made over to Chakrasvāmin by king Chandravarman (*A.S.I.*, A.R., 1927, p. 188).

² From impressions.

³ The Śrīngavera *siṭhī* seems to be the modern Singra Police Station in the Rājshāhī District of East Pakistan.

⁴ Read बोधयतः। विदितं बो. The plural number in बोधयन्ति suggested itself to the author of the record apparently because the अधिकरण consisted of a number of members. See below, No. 41 (p. 356, note 6).

Read भवतु.

- 4 दास-पुस्तपाल सिंह^१नन्दि-यशोदामभिः वीथी-महत्तर-कुमारदेव-गण्ड-प्रजापति-^१
उमयश(शो)-रामशर्म-ज्येष्ठ-
- 5 दो दा(म)-स्वामिचन्द्र-हरिसिंह(सिंह)-कुटुम्बि-यशोविष्णु-कुमारविष्णु-कुमारभव-कुमार-
भूति-कुमार-य(शोगु)स-वेळिनक-
- 6 शिवकुण्ड-वसुशिवापरशिव-दामरुद्र-प्रभमित-कृष्णमित-मघशर्म^१-ईश्वरचन्द्र-रुद्र-भव-
स्वामि(देव)-
- 7 श्रीनाथ-हरिशर्म-गुप्तशर्म-सुशर्म-हरि^१-अलातस्वामि-ब्रह्मस्वामि-महासेनभट्ट-पष्टि(ष्टी)
रा-[त]- गु • • • श-
- 8 र्म^१-उष्टशर्म-कृष्णदत्त-नन्ददाम-भवदत्त^१-अहिशर्म-सोमविष्णु-लक्ष्मणशर्म-कान्ति-
धोव्धोक-क्षेमशर्म-शु-
- 9 क^१शर्म-सर्पपालित कङ्कुटि-विश्व-शङ्कर-जयस्वामि-वैवरीशर्म^१-हिमशर्म-पुरन्दर-जय-
विष्णु^१-उम • • •
- 10 सिंहदत्त(सिंहदत्त)-बोन्द-नारायण(ण) दास-वीरनाग-राज्यनाग-गुह-महि-भवनाथ-गुह-
विष्णु-शर्व-यशोविष्णु-टक्क-कुलदाम - • • व-
- 11 श्री-गुहविष्णु-रामस्वामि-कामनकुण्ड-रतिभद्र^१-अच्युतभद्र-लोडक-प्रभकीर्ति-जयदत्त-
कालुक^१-अच्युत-नरदेव-भव-
- 12 भवरक्षित-पिच्चकुण्ड-प्रवरकुण्ड-शर्वदास-गोपाल-पुरोगाः वयं च विज्ञापिताः (10)
इह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-
- 13 स्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीनारिक्य-खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवा(वा)प-विक्रय-मर्या-
दया इष्टेमहि^१ प्रति
- 14 प्रति मातापितोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनक^१-चातुर्विद्य-वाजि(ज)सनेय-चरणाभ्यन्तर-
ब्राह्मण-देव-
- 15 भट्ट^१-अमरदत्त महासेनदत्तानां^१ पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यवा(वा)पान्क्रीत्वा दातुं^१-
(तुम्) एभिरेवोप-^१

¹ The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.

² The name does not prove that this agriculturist Brāhmaṇa had anything to do with the Kaivarta community.

³ Read इष्टदामः.

⁴ Puṇḍravardhana, headquarters of the province of that name, is modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, East Pakistan. चातुर्विद्य = community of the Chaturvedins.

⁵ Note that Datta is no longer a Brāhmaṇa cognomen in Bengal. Some Brāhmaṇa families thus appear to have been merged in non-Brāhmaṇa communities.

⁶ Read एष्वेवोप^१.

- 16 रि-निर्दिष्टक-ग्रामेषु खिल-क्षेत्राणि विद्यन्ते (1.) तदर्हथास्ततः अष्टादशदीनारान्गृहीत्वा एतावन्नव-कुल्यवा(वा)[पा.] -

Second Side

- 17 न्यनु[पा]दयितुं(तुम् ।) यतः एषां कुलिक-भीमादीनां विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपाळ-
सिंह(सिंह, नन्दि-यशोदा[मनोश्वा.]) -
- 18 वधारणयावष्टता(त)(म.)स्त्ययमिह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिल-क्षेत्रस्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगा-
याक्षय-नीव्या द्विदीना-
- 19 रिक्य-कुल्यवा(वा)प-विक्रयोऽ. नुवृत्तस्तदीयतां नास्ति विरोधः कश्चिदित्यवस्थाप्य
कुलिक-भीमादिभ्यो(भ्यः) अष्टादश-
- 20 दीनारानुपसङ्हरितका¹नायीकृत्य हस्तिशीर्ष-विभीतक्यां(की)-धान्यपाटलिका-
[गुल्मगन्धिका]-ग्रामेषु -
- 21 चां दक्षिणोद्देशेषु अष्टौ कुल्यवा(वा)पाः धान्यपाटलिका-ग्रामस्य पश्चिमोत्तरोद्देशे[आच-
खात]-परिखा-वेष्टित-
- 22 मुत्तरेण वाटानदी² पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानमि(श्वे)ति कुल्यवा(वा)-
प(मे)की³ गुल्मगन्धिकायां पूर्व-
- 23 णाचपथः पश्चिमप्रदेशे द्रोणवा(वा)प-द्वयं हस्तिशीर्ष-प्रावेश्य⁴-ताप[सपोत्तके]
दयितापोत्तके च वि-
- 24 भीतक-प्रावेश्य-चित्रवातङ्गर [च] कुल्यवा(वा)पाः सप्त द्रोणवा(वा)पाः षट् (1.)
एषु यथोपरि निर्दिष्टक-ग्राम-प्र-
- 25 देशेष्वेषां कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदासादीनां मातापित्तोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये
ब्राह्मण-

¹ Better read °वापान् प्रतिपाद°.

² Read दीनारानुपसङ्गतका°.

³ The Vātā-nadi appears to be the modern Bārā-nai, Singrā lying about 10 miles to the north-east of its junction with the Atrai. Better read वेष्टित उत्तरेण.

⁴ Read कुल्यवाप एकी.

⁵ *Prāveśya* appears to be the same as *praveśa* of other inscriptions (cf. *J. A. S.*, Letters, XVIII, p. 78). *Sivīḍi-praveśa-Kandalivāḍa-grāma* has been explained by us as meaning that Sivīḍi and Kandalivāḍa were adjoining localities, the latter having its rent assessed along with the former. In the present record, *Tāpasapottaka* was similarly attached to Hastīśirsha and Chitravātsāgara to Vibhītaka or Vibhītakī. See pp. 345, 349.

- 26 देवभट्टस्य कुल्यवा(वा)पाः पञ्च 'कु' ५] अमरदत्तस्य] कुल्यवा(वा)प-द्वयं महासेनदत्तस्य
कुल्यवा(वा) [प-द्वयं]
- 27 कु' २ (१०) एषां लयाणां पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नव-कुल्यवा(वा)पानि प्रदत्तानि^१ (॥०)
तद्युष्माकं • • • [निवेश]-
- 28 ति(ते) लिख्यते च (१०) समुपस्थित-का[लं] [ये(९०)प्यन्ये] विषयपतयः आयुक्तकाः
कुटुम्बिनो(९०)धिकरणिका वा [सम्य संव्य]व-
- 29 हारिणो भविष्यन्ति तैरपि [भूमिदानफल]मवेक्ष्य अक्षयनीव्यनुपालनीया (॥०) उक्तञ्च
महाभारते भगव-
- 30 ता व्यासेन (१०)
स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो [हरेत्] वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
[स] विष्टायां किमिभंत्वा पि[तृभिः सह पच्यते] (॥०) 1
[पट्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि]
- 31 स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (१०)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता [च] तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥०) 2
कृशाय कृश[वृत्ताय] वृत्ति-क्षीणाय सीदते
- 32 [भूमिं] वृत्तिकरीन्दत्वा(त्वा) [सुखी] भवति कामदः (॥०) 3
[बहुभिर्वसुधा] भुक्ता भुज्यते च पुनः पुनः (१०)
यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य] तस्य
- 33 तदा फलं(लम् ॥) 4
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्य(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर (१०)
महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयो(९०)नु[पालनं(नम् ॥) 5
- 34 संवत् १०० (+०) २० वैशाख-दि १ (॥०)

No. 41—Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (= 448 A.D.)

BAIGRĀM, Bogra (Bagurā) District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 81f.

1 Ku is a contraction of Kulyavāpa.

2 Better read कुल्यवापाः प्रदत्ताः.

3 I.e., संवत् There is an era sūtra between सं and व्य. The year does not appear to be 121.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (चनुटम्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पञ्चनगर्या² भट्टारक³-पादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्य-कुलवृद्धिरेत-
द्विपयाधिकरणञ्च
- 2 वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत(१*)-श्रीगोहाल्योः⁴ ब्राह्मगोत्तरान्सम्बवहारि⁵-प्रमुखान्ग्राम-
कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनु-
- 3 वष्यं बोधयन्ति⁶ (१*) विज्ञापयतोरसैव⁷ वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि-भोजिल-भास्करावावयोः
पित्ता शिवनन्दि-
- 4 ना कारि[त]क(१*) भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनः देवकुलस्तदसावल्पवृत्तिकः⁸ (१*) इह-
विषये समुदय-
- 5 बाह्याद्यस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां शश्वदाचन्द्रावकं-तारक-भोज्यानां⁹
मक्षय-नीव्या

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Cf. the text with that of the Nandapur copper-plate inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 54f.

² Pañchanagarī was apparently the chief town of the district, where Kulaviddhi's court was situated. It may be the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. Pāñchbibi may have come through Prakrit *Pañchanagarī* modified to *Pañchanārī*.

³ The word evidently refers to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), as the date of the record (Gupta 123=448 A.D.) falls in his reign.

⁴ Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī were localities connected with Vāyigrāma which is also mentioned in *supra*, No. 34, line 9, and is the same as modern Baigrām.

⁵ Read *संव्य०, संव्यवहारिन्=officers in charge of administration; apparently the members of the अष्टकुलाधिकरण, i.e. the village jury consisting of 8 [or more] members.

⁶ Read *अप्यतः, since the order was issued by Kulaviddhi and the administrative board of the viśhaya. Cf. No. 40-A p. 352, note 4.

⁷ Read *पयतोऽसैव.

⁸ Read देवकुलम् । तददोऽल्पवृत्तिकम्.

⁹ Read भोज्यानामक्षय०, समुदयवाद्य=not yielding income in crops. आद्य-स्तम्ब=covered with original shrub, i.e. fallow. अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर (line 12); cf. शुभप्रतिकर (*infra*, No. 37, line 39, etc.). प्रतिकर=कर, taxes. अप्रतिकर=for which no tax is realised by the State. कुटुम्बिन्=agriculturist householder. See pp. 333, 345, 360.

- 6 द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(५*)नुवृत्तस्रदहंथावयोस्सकाशात्पद्दीनारानष्ट च रूप-
कानायी-¹
- 7 [कृ]त्य भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनो देवकुले [ख]ण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्क(1*)र-करणाय²
गन्ध-भूप दीप
- 8 सुमनसा(•) प्रवर्त्तनाय च त्रिवृतायां भोगिलस्य³ खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-स्य⁴
श्रीगोहात्याश्चापि⁴
- 9 तल-वाटकार्य(•)⁵ स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापमेकं भास्करस्यापि स्थलवास्तुनो द्रोण-
वापञ्च दानु-
- 10 मि[ति] (1*) यतो युष्मान्वोधयाम(ः•) पुस्तपाल-पुग्गंदत्ताक्कंदासयोरवधारणया⁶
अवधृत-
- 11 मस्तीह-विषये समुदय-बाह्यायस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणा(•) शश्वदाचन्द्राक्कं-तारक-
भोज्यानां द्विदी-
- 12 नारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(५*)नुवृत्तः (1*) एवंविधाप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-विक्रये च
न कश्चिद्राजार्थ-

¹ I.e., Six *dināras* (gold coins) and eight *rūpakas* (silver coins). These apparently indicate the Gupta gold and silver issues. The price of 3 *kulyavāpas* and 2 *droṇavāpas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavāpa* of the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *dināra*) was 6 *dināras* and 8 *rūpakas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *dināra*); see line 17. One gold coin was therefore equal to 16 silver coins. The rate of 2 *dināras* per *kulyavāpa*, as against 3 *dināras* elsewhere in the area, may indicate inferior quality of the land. See above, No. 34, line 8.

² फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

³ Same as भोगिलस्य, भोगिल may be another form of the name, or a mistake for भोगिल.

⁴ Read °व्याञ्च°.

⁵ तलवाटक is the same as तलभूमि, तलहत्ति, etc., which was the land granted in favour of a religious establishment at the time of its consecration; स्थलवास्तु=homestead land. In some cases तलवाटक has been explained as a class of persons serving in temples; see *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 216-17. Cf. pp. 355, 360.

⁶ Basak : दुर्गा°. Note the nature of the work the *pustapālas* (record-keepers) did. They tried to determine whether, near about the donee's place, there was unproductive waste land belonging to the State, which could be sold rent-free without any loss to the State. In such cases, there was no loss of revenue; the king, as the lord of the land, was supposed to gain $\frac{1}{2}$ of the religious merit arising from the pious dead, for which the land was being purchased by the donee. But the reclamation of the waste land was a gain to the State since it led to the expansion of habitation, increase in the population, establishment of markets, etc., in the area.

- 13 विरोध उपचय एव भट्टारक-पादानां धर्मफल पङ्क्त्यागावाप्तिश्च तद्दीयतामिति (1*) एतयोः
 14 भोयिल-भास्करयोस्सका(शा*)त्पट्टीनारानष्ट च रूपकानाथीकृत्य भगवतो गोविन्द-
 स्वामिनो
 15 देवकुलस्यार्थे भोयिलस्य त्रिवृतायां खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं तलवाटकाद्यर्थम्¹

Second Side

- 16 श्रीगोहाल्या(*) स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापं भास्करास्याप्यत्रैव स्थले-वस्तुनो²
 द्रोणवाप-
 17 मेव(*) कुल्यवाप-त्रयं स्थल-द्रोणवाप-द्वयञ्च अक्षयनीन्यास्तान्न-पट्टेन³ दत्तम् (1*)
 निन्न-⁴
 18 कु ३ स्थल-द्रो २ (1*) ते यूयं स्वकर्पणाविरोधि-स्थाने⁵ दूर्वाकर्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-
 नवक-नलाभ्या-
 19 मपविच्छ्रित चिरकाल-स्थ(1*)यि-तुपाङ्गारादिना⁷ चिह्नेश्चातुर्दिशो नियम्य दास्यथाक्षय-
 20 नीवी-धर्मेन⁸ च शङ्खकालमनुपालयिष्यथ (1*) वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहार्यादि-
 भिरेत-

¹ Read °त्य°.

² Read भास्कर° and स्थल-वास्तु°.

³ Read °गौल्या ताम°.

⁴ निन्न is the ordinary Prakrit form for Sanskrit निन्न. Thus we have निन्न(=निन्नभूमि)-कुल्यवापाः १, स्थल-द्रोणवापी २। कुल्यवाप and द्रोणवाप are used in masculine and neuter.

⁵ The Pāṭharpur plate has तद् which is better. यूयं refers to the villagers.

⁶ स्वकर्पणाविरोधिस्थाने=in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, i.e., in places which do not belong to any of the villagers. दूर्वाकर्म (cf. also the Nandapur inscription, line 14) may have been the technical designation of the person who measured the area; cf. दूतकर्म=दूतक. Or, दूर्वाकर्महस्त indicates a cubit of special length. *Infra*, Nos. 43-45 have a proper name in this place. हस्त thus may not indicate the fact that the measuring was done by the person. Even in records of the 19th century, reference is found to the hand of a person as a cubit of unspecified length. अपविच्छ्रित=having measured out.

⁷ Better °रादीनां. Cf. Yājñavalkya : सीमां विवादे चेतस्य सामन्ताः स्वविरादयः । गोपाः सीमा-
 छपाणाय सर्वे च वनगोचराः ॥ नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाद्भारतुषट्पदमैः । सेतुवन्धोकिनिखास्त्रिचैत्यादिरुपलक्षिताम् ॥
 (व्यवहाराध्यायः, १५०-५१); also Manu : अश्मनोऽस्थीनि गोवालांस्तुषान् भक्षकपालिकाः । करौषमिष्ट-
 काङ्गाराञ्चकैरा बालुकास्तथा ॥ यानि चैवमकाराणि कालाङ्गमिर्न भक्षयेत् । तानि सन्धिषु सीमायाम-
 प्रकाशानि कारयेत् ॥ (VIII, 250-51). According to Brihaspati, प्रक्षिप्य कुम्भेऽथेतानि सीमानेषु
 निधापयेत् । Nārada speaks of the ध्वजिनी (trees), मत्स्यिनी (waters), नैधानी (interred coal, etc.),
 भयवर्जिता (settled by the parties) and राजशासननीता (fixed by the government) kinds of सीमा.
 See Kullūka and Vijñāneśvara on Manu and yājñavalkya respectively.

⁸ Read धर्मैण.

- 21 दम्मापेक्षयानुपालयितव्यमिति (॥*) उक्तञ्च भगव(ता*)¹ वेदव्यास-महात्मना (1*)
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां
- 22 इवा² यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां (राम्) ।
स विष्टायां किमिभंत्वा पितृभिस्सह पश्यते (॥*) 1
पष्टिं वर्ष-सह-
- 23 साणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
पूर्व-
- 24 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
मही(॥*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(॥*)नुपाल-
- 25 नमिति³ (॥*) 3
सं १००(+*)२०(+*)८ माघ-दि⁴ १०(+*)९ (॥*)

No. 42—Paharpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (= 479 A.D.)

PĀHĀRPUR, Rajshāhī District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 61ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पुण्ड्र[वर्द्ध]नादायुक्तका⁶ आर्य्यनगरश्रेष्ठि-पुरोगञ्चाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम्⁷
दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-नागिरह-

¹ Basak : भगवद्देव.

² Read वा. Note the *sandhi* rule वा पदान्तस्य ; cf. संवत्सर⁷ and सव्यत्सरः.

³ Better पालनम् ॥ इति ॥

⁴ सं = संवत्सरे ; दि = दिवसे.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX.

⁶ Dikshit : 'युक्तक'. There were more Ayuktakas than one at Pundravardhana, the headquarters of the province.

⁷ Read 'ग'. The *adhikarāṇa* or administrative board of the city was headed by the *nagaraśreshṭhin* and others who are known from *supra*, Nos. 18, etc. See above, p 291, note 8. The order was jointly issued in the present case by the Ayuktakas and this body.

- 2 माण्डलिक-पलाशाट्टपाश्विक - वटगोहाली-जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तक-गोघाट-
पुञ्जक-मूळनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-
- 3 नित्वगोहालीषु¹ ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्महत्तरादि-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनुवर्ण्यानुबोधयन्ति (1*)
विज्ञापयत्यस्मान्ब्राह्मण-नाथ-
- 4 शर्मा एतज्जाट्या रामी च (1*) युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्य-
वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्याक्षयनीवी-समुदयवाद्या-²
- 5 प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो (5*) नुवृत्तस्तदर्थधानेनैव क्रमेणावयोस्सकाशाहीनार-
त्रयमुपसङ्गृह्यावयोः (3*) स्व-पुण्याप्या-
- 6 यनाय वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्काशिक³-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थध्रमणाचार्य-गुह-⁴
नन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे
- 7 भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यर्थन्तलवाटक⁵-निमित्तञ्च अतः (3*) एव वट-
गोहालीतो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धज-
- 8 म्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके त्से(क्षे)सं द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं गोघाटपुञ्जाद्रोणवाप-

¹ *I e.*, in Vata-gobālī, in Nitva-gobālī attached to Māla-Nāgiraṭṭa, and in Priṣṭhima-pottaka attached to Jambudevas and Goṣāṭṭapauṣāka—all situated in the Palāsāṭṭa pāśva within the Nāgiraṭṭa maṇḍala in the Dakṣiṇāmpśaka vithi. The word *gobālī* (Sanskrit *gobālā*; Bengali *goālī*) suggests that either Vata-gobālī or Nitva-gobālī (possibly the former which was a more important place owing to the situation of the Jain Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of Goālbbhīṭā near Pāhāpur. For *प्रावेश* and *प्रावेश्य*, see above, p. 345, note 1; p. 354, note 5. It seems that Māla-Nāgiraṭṭa was the headquarters of the Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala, and Jambudeva was named after a person. *Vithi*=district on the banks of a river, according to some.

² Read वाद्या°. अप्रतिकर=यन्प्रतिकर=not yielding any revenue (above, p. 345, note 1); समुदयवाद्या=not yielding any income in crops, etc. The State's waste land requiring reclamation was sold in this case at the cheaper rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*.

³ Read °क्यामिवा°. H. Sastri connects the name with Navyāvakaśāsikā and Dikṣhit with Kāśī. Guhanandin and the Pañchastūpa sect appear to have belonged to Vārāṇasī.

⁴ नियत्य=निर्यत्य=Jain. नियत्य-यमण=a Jain monk. पञ्चस्तूप is suggested to have been the name of a locality. Cf. the modern name Pāñchsthupī. पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक=belonging to the sect called पञ्चस्तूपनिकाय or पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकाय.

⁵ तलवाटक=attached to or land granted for the maintenance of a religious establishment usually at the time of its consecration. See p. 345, note 1; p. 357, note 5.

चतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरह-

- 9 प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतः अर्द्धत्रिक-द्रोणवापानित्येवमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-¹
नीत्या दातुमि[ति] (1*) यतः प्रथम-
- 10 पुस्तपालदिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालधृतिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि-
[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण-²
- 11 यावधृतम् अस्त्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्यवापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-
क्षयनीवी-समु[दय]वाह्याप्रतिकर-³
- 12 [खिल*]क्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(5*)नुवृत्तस्तद्युष्माग्राहण-⁴-नाथशर्मा एतद्भाष्या रामी
च पलाशाट्टपाश्विक-वटगोहाली-स्थ[ायि]-

Second Side

- 13 [काशि*]क - पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकायिक⁵ - आचार्य-निग्रन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिव्यप्रशिव्याधि-
ष्ठित-सद्विहारे अरहतां⁶ गन्ध-[धूप]द्युपयोगाय
- 14 [तल-वा*]टक-निमित्तञ्च तत्रैव वटगोहाल्यां वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्रजम्बुदेव-
प्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं
- 15 गोषाटपुञ्जाद्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरह-प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतो द्रोणवाप-द्वय-
माडवा[प-द्व]याधिकमित्येवम-⁷

¹ कुल्य was engraved upon द्रोण which had been originally incised. अर्द्धर्द्ध = $1\frac{1}{2}$ and अर्द्धविक = $2\frac{1}{2}$. So the lands were: $1\frac{1}{2}$ vāstu-droṇavāpas at Vāṭagohālī + 4 droṇavāpas at Pṛisatbimapottaka + 4 droṇavāpas at Goshāṭapūñja[ka] + $2\frac{1}{2}$ droṇavāpas at Nītvagohālī = in all $1\frac{1}{2}$ kulyavāpas = 12 droṇavāpas (1 kulyavāpa being = 8 droṇavāpas). For 4 āḍhavāpas = 1 droṇavāpa, see note 7 below. Dikshīt: दातुमि[त्येव].

² Or मनुदासा? Dikshīt: शशिनन्दिषु प्रथम-नु...नामव°.

³ Read °वाह्या°.

⁴ Read °भान्वाहण.

⁵ Read °यिकाचार्य.

⁶ Read अर्हतां.

⁷ षाटवाप here follows the formula चतुरादको भवेद्द्रोणः. Āṇhā is even now a land measure in some parts of Bengal. The Āṇhā in the Mymensingh District is said to be 100×100 square yards (Journ. Dept. Let., XVI: E, Hist. Beng., p. 45), the scheme being 4 kākas = gaṇḍā; 20 gaṇḍās = kāṭhā; 20 kāṭhās = kānī; 4 kānīs = āṇhā; 16 āṇhās = droṇ. See p. 342, note 4. But, as regards Mymensingh, Hunter (op. cit., V, pp. 447f.) speaks of āṇhā (a little above $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres) as $\frac{1}{16}$ of purā (= 25 acres 3 roods 12 poles) in some Parganās, or of droṇ which is equal to 5 acres 2 roods 12 poles in some Parganās but to 16 acres 3 roods 1 pole in others.

- 16 ध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापम्प्रार्थयते(९*)त्र^१ न कश्चिद्विरोधः गुणस्तु यत्परमभट्टारक-
पादानामर्थोपचयो^२ धर्म-पडागाप्याय-
भ
- 17 नञ् भवति (१*) तदेवद्विषयतामित्यनेनावधारणा-कमेणास्माद्वाङ्मणनाथशर्मन्त
पुत्रज्ञार्यारामियाश्च^३ दीनार-त्र-
- 18 यमायीकृत्यैताभ्यां विज्ञापितक-क्रमोपयोगायोपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम-गोहालिकेषु तल-
वाटक(कं) वास्तुना सह^४ क्षेत्रं
- 19 कुल्यवापः(९*) अध्यर्द्धो(९*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण दत्तः (१*) कु १ द्रो ४^५ (१*)
तद्युग्माभिः स्व-कर्पणाविरोधि-स्थाने^६ षट्-नडैरप-
- 20 विच्छ्र^७ दातव्यो(९*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण च शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क^८ तारक-कालमनुपाल-
यितव्य इति (॥*) सम् १००(+*) ५०(+*) ८
- 21 माघ-दि^९ ७ (१*) उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन (१*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् (१*)
- 22 स विष्टायां क्रिमिभू^{१०}त्वा^{११} पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) १
षष्टि-वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः (१*)
- 23 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) २
राजभिर्व्वहुभिर्दत्ता^{१०} दीयते च पुनः पुनः (१*)
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमि^{११} तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥*) ३
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (१*)
महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ

१ Read प्रार्थयते.

२ The emperor referred to is no doubt Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.).

३ Read राम्याय.

४ Or तलवाटक-वास्तुना सह=together with the homestead land which was to be the principal source of maintenance.

कु=कुल्यवाप; द्रो=द्रोणवाप.

५ Dikshit reads स्वकर्पणा; but see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 82, note 4. षट्क-नल=measuring rod 6 cubits long, and not possibly a unit of land measuring 6×6 reeds. नड=नल.

७ N. P. Chakravarti connects the word with Bengali वाङ्म, to select, to choose.

८ सम्=संवत्सर; दि=दिवस.

९ Usually कृमि.

१० Read ०५५ ५०.

११ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

- 25 दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपादनं(नम्) (॥*) ४
विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्सु^१ शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः(ः*) (१*)
कृष्णाहिनो^२ हि जायन्ते देव-दायं हरन्ति ये (॥*) ५

No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of
Dharmaditya^३—Regnal Year 3

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, pp. 195f.; *J. F. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 710ff.; R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol.*, III, Part ii, pp. 475ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1722 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: V. 1 श्लोक (अनुष्टम्).

TEXT^४

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)^५

First Side

- 1 १^६ स्वस्त्यस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे(थ)-ययात्यम्बरिष-सम-धृतौ(ति)-म-

^१ Dikshit reads ०म्बुपु० and suggests the correction ०म्बुपु०.

^२ Read कृष्णाहिनो, दाय=gift, donation; or, share.

^३ It is difficult to determine whether Dharmāditya was a scion of the Gupta family or a local prince who assumed independence during the decline of the Imperial Guptas. His name ending in *āditya* seems to connect him with the Guptas. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 844-46) appears to refer to the rule of a king called व and of his successor (or, younger brother) called ष. It is tempting to suggest that व=वेत्यगुप्त and ष=धर्मादित्य. But the text of the work is corrupt and the statements are often confused; it is therefore not easy to rely on them.

^४ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record is spurious; but he was later convinced of its genuineness (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, I, 2nd ed., p. 94).

^५ वारक was originally the name of a मण्डल (subdivision); but वारक-मण्डल afterwards became the name of a विषय (district); cf. खेटक, खेटकाहार and खेटकाहार-विषय. Pargiter's translation 'a district in the province of Vāraka' is wrong. The seal apparently belonged to the board of administration of the *viśaya* called Vāraka-maṇḍala which seems to have included parts of the Goalundo Subdivision and the Koṭālipāra region in the Gopalganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. See line 16, note (p. 366, note 7).

^६ Symbol for सिद्धम्. Better स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां.

^७ Read ०म्बरीष.

- 2 हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मादित्य-राज्ये तत्प्रसाद-लब्धास्पद-महाराज-स्था-
- 3 शुद्धतस्याध्यासन-काले स्तद्विनियुक्तक-वारकामण्डले¹ विषयपति-ज-
- 4 जावस्यायोगो(ऽ*)धिकरणं विषयमहत्तरेदित-कुलचन्द्र-गरुड-बृहच्च²
- 5 द्वालुकानाचार-भाशेत्य-शुभदेव-घोषचन्द्रानिमित्त³-गुणचन्द्र-कालस(सु?)-
- 6 स्व-कुलस्वामि-दुर्लभ-सत्यचन्द्राज्जुन-वप्प⁴-कुण्डलिस-पुरोगा(:*) प्रकृतयश्च
- 7 साधनिक-वातभौगेन⁵ विज्ञाप्ताः⁶(।*) इच्छाम्यहं भवतान्सकाशा(त*)⁷ क्षेत्र-स्वण्डमुप-
- 8 क्रीय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिपादयितुं(तुम् ।) तदर्हं मत्तो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विषये विभ-⁸
- 9 ज्य दातुमिति (।*) यतः एतदभ्यर्थनमधिकृत्य(।*)स्माभिरकात्ये⁹ भूत्वा पुस्तपाल-
वि[न]-¹⁰
- 10 यसेनावधारणया अवष्टतमस्तीह-विषये प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा च(चा)तुर्दै-

¹ Read तद्वि० and ०मण्डल-विषय०. Note that Jajāva was appointed governor of the Vārakamaṇḍala not by Dharmāditya, but by Sthāpudatta (cf. तत् in तद्विनियुक्तक), apparently the viceroy of Navyāvakaśikā. आस्पद=authority, office. अध्यासन=occupation=government. आयोग=appointment. Read आयोगे.

² Read बृह०. As suggested by Pargiter, Chatta is apparently the same as modern Chattopādhyāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to tradition, however, the ancestors of the Kulīnas were brought to Bengal from Kānyakubja or Kolāṅcha by a king named Ādiśūra sometime after the seventh century A. D. For the unreliability of the tradition, see *J. A. S.*, Letters, XVIII, pp. 176-78; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIX, pp. 52ff.

³ Pargiter suggested अनमित्त.

⁴ Pargiter took अर्जुनवप्प (father of Arjuna) as one name. Evidently however there are two names अर्जुन and वप्प. वप्प is used as a personal name in many inscriptions; cf., e.g., the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman (Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, p. 37, No. 88).

⁵ साधनिक (derived from साधन, an army) was a commander of forces. दौःसाधिक, दौःसाधनिक or दौःसाधसाधनिक of later Bengal grants was a police officer dealing with dangerous criminals or difficult jobs, though, according to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *dauḥsādhika*=*drārapāla*, 'door-keeper'. *Sādhnika* (Hindi *Sāhnī*, army comrade) is mentioned as an official in many records; cf. also Harishepa's *Bṛīhatkathākośa* (331-32 A. D.); see *J. U. P. H. S.*, XIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 78-79.

⁶ Read विज्ञापिताः.

⁷ Read भवतां सका०.

⁸ I.e. 'making it a distinctly demarcated unit in the *Vishaya*'. Cf. वीथ्यां संविभज्य in No. 46, line 12.

⁹ Read ०रैकात्ये. Pargiter : भूत्वा.

¹⁰ Or, वि[न]० ?

- 11 नारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयमाणकानि (1*)¹ तथा वाप-क्षेत्रखण्डल(1:*)
 12 कृत-कलना दृष्टि-मात्त-प्रबन्धेन² ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा³ विक्रीयमाणका(1:*)⁴ (1*) तच्च
 13 परमभट्टारक-पादानामत्त⁵ धम्म-पट्टाग-लाभः⁶ (1*) तदेतां प्रवृत्तिमधिगम्य न्यासा-

¹ Pargiter's view that the *kulyavāpa* was 8×9 reeds [of 16 cubits], in area, i. e., a little more than an acre, is apparently wrong (cf. the high rate of price). It is interesting that the Faridpur District is connected with the Eastern Sea. In the Sāhitya Parishat plate, line 47, a village in the Nāvya (literally, navigable) district is said to have had the sea to its east. This Nāvya may be connected with Navya (Nāvya?)-Avalāśikā mentioned in No. 44. Samudra in some cases may indicate a *bil* (lake) like the Dhol-samudra (near Faridpur). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 157. But Prāk-samudra no doubt refers to the Bay of Bengal which touches the Faridpur District through several estuaries and was probably nearer that District in the Gupta age. As the Madaripur region (Faridpur) is called South Vikrampur and apparently formed a part of the Vikramapura-bhāga (Dacca) in ancient times, the main course of the Padmā must then have reached the sea through a mouth many miles to the west of the present Goalundo-Chandpur course. प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा=custom in [the countries bordering] the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal).

² Read दृष्टि and प्रबन्धेन. वाप-क्षेत्र=cultivated field (as opposed to अप्रवृत्त or खिल-क्षेत्र), खण्डल=खण्ड, a plot. कृतकलन=कृतचिह्नक=whose boundary marks are fixed. दृष्टिमात्तप्रबन्धेन=by a plan that can be settled in a moment. Note the different rates for the cultivated land. The word कलन is used in the Sāhitya Parishat plate in the sense of a plantation or a betel-nut plantation (*J.A.S.*, XX, p. 205). Thus कृतकलना may also mean 'land bearing a plantation.'

³ Read धर्मोण. I.e., according to the custom of a ताम्रपट्ट meaning 'rent-free' land granted by copper-plate charters.'

⁴ Read विक्रीयमाणः. Pargiter suggested °मानिका.

⁵ Pargiter : °मंत.

⁶ Following Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 197), Basak suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 488, 487) that the State was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions and that the remaining five-sixths of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies. The text (cf. also *supra*, No. 34, line 7; Nos. 39, 41, 42, etc.) however shows that the land was sold rent-free in view of the religious motive of the purchase. धर्मवर्भाग thus apparently refers to the king's share of $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the merit in lieu of the customary share of grain. As to the Brāhmaṇas' theoretical exemption from taxes, Vasishṭha quotes three Vedic texts to the effect that the king shares $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Brāhmaṇas' spiritual merit acquired by the performance of sacrifices and charitable works. The *Vishṇu-saṃhitā* (III, 13-14) also says, ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् ; ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकरदाः । राजा प्रजाभ्यः सुकृत-दुकृत-वर्णाय भाक् । See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 186.

- 14 धा¹ स्व-पुण्य-कीर्ति-संस्थापन-कृताभिलाषस्य यथा संकल्पाभि तथा² कृत्य[याष्ट]-³
- 15 त्य साधनिक-वतभोगन⁴ द्वादश-दीनारानग्रतो दत्त्वा⁵ (I*) शिवचन्द्र-ह[स्तेनाष्ट]-
- 16 क-नवक-नलेनामपविच्छ⁶ वातभोग-सकाशे (S*) स्माभि ध्रु⁷ विलाट्या⁸ धेत्त-[कुल्य]-
- 17 वाप त्वयं ताम्रपट्ट धम्मणा⁹ विक्कीत(म्*) (I*) अनेन(I*)पि वातभोगेन
- 18 चन्द्रतारावर्क-स्थितिकाल-संभोग्यं य(I*) वत्परत्त्वानुग्रह-कांक्षिणा भ(I*) रद्वाज-सगो-⁹
- 19 त्त-वाजसनेय-पलङ्गाध्यायिनस्य चन्द्रस्वामिनस्य¹⁰ मातापितोरनुग्रहा-
- 20 य¹¹ मुदक-पूर्वेण¹² प्रतिपादितमिति (I*) तदुपरिलिखितकागाम-सामन्त-¹³
- राजभि(:*) सम-
- 21 धिगतशास्त्रभि¹⁴ भूमि-दानानुपालन-क्षेपानुमोदनेषु सम्य(ग्*)-दत्तान्यपि दानानि
- 22 राजभिरनै¹⁵ प्रतिपादनीयानिति¹⁶ प्रत्यवगम्य भूमिदानं सुतरामेव प्रतिपालनी-
- 23 यमिति (II*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्त पूर्व्वेण हिमसेन-पाटके¹⁷ दक्षिणेण¹⁸
- त्तिघटिका¹⁹
- 24 अपर-ताम्रपट्टश्च पश्चिमेण²⁰ त्तिघटिकायाः शीलकुण्डश्च उत्तरेण [ना]वाता²¹

1 Pargiter read न्यासाधो and suggested न्यासाधेः. Possibly न्यासबः or न्यसनात् is intended.

2 Read *कल्पितं तथा. Pargiter suggested *कल्पाभिस्तथा.

3 Read क्रिययाष्ट्य in which आष्ट्य=supporting. The intended reading may really be क्रियतामित्यवष्टे.

4 Read वातभोगेन.

5 Pargiter : *नायती. Read दीनारा अयती दत्ताः.

6 Read नलेनापविच्छ ; or possibly नलाभ्यामप.

7 Dhruvilāṭī is identified with modern Dhulāt (near Pangsha in the Goalundo Subdivision) about 28 miles to the north-west of the Faridpur town.

8 Read ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण.

9 Pargiter : सगो.

10 Read *षडङ्गाध्यायिने चन्द्रस्वामिने.

11 I.e., ब्राह्मणात् पारिविकानुग्रहाभाय.

12 Read उदक. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद्दानीति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दद्यात्ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ अग्निपुराण, २०.८।४८-५०.

13 Pargiter suggested *कागम. The intended reading seems to be लिखितकम् आगामि. *लिखितकं qualifies भूमिदानं in line 22.

14 Read सामन्तराजैः समधिगत-शास्त्रैर्भूमि. क्षेप=transgressing.

15 Read *रन्ते. Pargiter suggested एभिः or एतैः.

16 Read *नीति.

17 Read पाटको (land measuring a pāṭaka).

18 Read *खेन.

19 Read विघटिका which was possibly a locality having three ghāṭs (landing places) of a river. ताम्रपट्ट=पट्टप्राप्त-भूमि.

20 Read *मेन. Śilakūṇḍa was a small hamlet (No. 45, line 25).

21 ना may also be read भा. नौ + वाता (=door-frame) + क्षेणी (क्षयण, harbour)=ship-building harbour, according to Hoernle and Pargiter. Nāvātā and Kaheṇī may however be geographical names.

- 25 क्षेत्री हिमसेन-पाटकश्च (॥*) भवति चात्त शोकः¹ (॥*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्ताम्वा² यो ह-
- 26 रेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (॥*)
श्व-विष्टाया (॥*) क्रिमिभत्वा पच्यते पितृभस्सह³ ॥ 1
- 27 सम्यत्⁴ ३ वेशा दि ५ (॥*)

No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmaditya.

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, pp. 200 f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1723 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 स्वस्त्यस्यामृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे⁶ नृग-नधुष-ययात्य-⁷
2 म्वरीष-सम-धृतौ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मादित्यभट्टारक-रा
3 ज्यै⁸ तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्पदो⁹ नव्यावकाशिकायां¹⁰ महाप्रति-

¹ Read श्लोकः.

² Read दत्तां वा.

³ Read पितृभिः.

⁴ Read संवत्, *I. e.*, संवत्सरः; तृतीयः; वेशाखमास-दिवसः; पञ्चमः.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record (also Nos. 48 and 49) is spurious; but later he was convinced about its genuineness. The mistakes are due to the carelessness and incompetence of the engraver and to the fact that he could not follow the draft of the scribe.

⁶ Better read स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां पृथिव्यां.

⁷ Read नधुष. These are the names of some famous kings of Brahmanical tradition.

⁸ Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति.

⁹ Read लब्धास्पदस्य.

¹⁰ अवकाश=opening. The district had its headquarters at Navyāvakaśikā which may have derived its name from a canal. Nāgadeva seems to have originally been a Mahā-pratihāra; but later he was appointed *Uparika* (viceroy) of the Navyāvakaśikā district. The name of this city reminds one of Kāsiyānī in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. Bhattasali (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 85) suggests its identification with Sābhār (Dacca District).

- 4 हारोपरिक-नागदेवस्याद्वयसन-काले(५*)नेनापि वारकमण्डल-
- 5 विषयाधिनियुक्तक-व्यापारकारण्डय-गोपालस्वामी' (1*)
- 6 यतो(५*)स्य सम्भवहरतो' वसुदावस्वामिना' सादरमभिगम्य
- 7 ज्येष्ठाकायस्थ'-नयसेन-प्रमुखमधिकरणम्महत्तार-⁵
- 8 सोमघोष-पुरस्तराश्च विषयान(1*)' महत्तरा विज्ञाप्ताः⁶ (1*)
- 9 इच्छेयम्भवतान्प्रसादाद्यथार्धेण' भवद्गोरेव⁸ श्रेष्ठा-खण्डलकै-
- 10 कर्त्तृत्वा⁹ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुणा(७या)भिवृद्धये गुणवत्काण्व-द्वा-
- 11 जिसिनेय-लौहित्यसगोत्राय¹⁰ ब्राह्मणे¹¹ सोमस्वामिने प्रति-
- 12 पादितु¹² (1*) तदहंन्यस्सद्विज्ञाप¹³-वसान्यामांसम्विकुम्बि¹⁴ (1*) एतदावा-¹⁵
- 13 भ्यर्थानमधिकृत्यास्त्येतत्प्राक्क्रियमानक-मर्यादा¹⁶ चतुर्द्दीनारिक¹⁷
- 14 कल्यवापेन श्रेष्ठागि विक्रीयन्तानीत्यस्माद्वसु(देव*)स्वामिनः¹⁸

1 व्यापारकारण्डय=one who has to regulate trade, according to Pargiter. But possibly
कारण्डय, 'one in charge of the boxes of documents relating to administration.'

2 Read संव्यवहरतो.

3 Read वसुदेव°. See lines 19-20.

4 Read ज्येष्ठ°. ज्येष्ठाकायस्थ is the same as प्रथमकायस्थ of other records.

5 Read °हत्तर°.

6 Read विज्ञापिताः.

7 Read °वतां प्र°.

8 Read भवद्गो एव.

9 Read चेत-खण्डलकं (or, °कान्) कृत्वा.

10 Read वाजसनेयि, I.e., belonging to the Kāṇva-śākhā, Vājasaneyi-charaṇa and Lauhitya-gotra.

11 Read ब्राह्मणाय, or ब्राह्मण-सोम°.

12 Read °पादयितुम्.

13 Read तदहंन्यस्सदि°.

14 Pargiter suggested अस्सद्विज्ञाप-वसान्यामांसं विभक्तुमिति. May be °दस्सद्विज्ञाप्य-वसान्यामांसायैव
प्रसादं कर्त्तुमिति.

15 Read एतदेवाभ्यर्चन°.

16 Read प्राक्क्रियमाणक° or प्राग्विक्रयमर्या°.

17 Better read चातुर्द्दीनारिक.

18 Pargiter suggested विक्रीयन्त इति. Read विक्रीयमाणानोति । अस्मा°.

Second Side

- 15 खिल[सत्वात्प्रप्यर्धं ?]कुल्यवापस्य [प्रवर्त्त]वापाधिकस्य दीनार-
 16 द्वयमादाय¹ यथाहञ्च [षष्ठगण्डयवाप्ययुरस्मानि ?]
 17 शास्त्रलानि² श्रीमा(म)न्महत्तर-थोड-सम्बद्ध³-क्षेत्र-खण्डलका तसनी (?)
 18 पुस्तपाळ-जंमभूतेरवधारणयावष्टय [पूर्तेदुनिवद]⁴ [प्रतीत ?]-
 19 धम्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविष्ट्य [व*]सुदे-
 20 व-ब्राह्मणा(य*) विवक्रीतमतेनापि⁵ क्रीत(म्*) । सीमालिङ्गानि चात्त
 21 पूर्वस्यां [सो]ग-तान्नपट्ट⁶-सीमा । (दक्षिणस्यां*) वृद्ध-स्थपट्टु कि-पक्कंटी⁷-वृक्ष-सो
 22 मा (।*) पश्चिमस्यां गोरध्य-सकृत्परभास्ताटकस्थद्वन्द्वेरस्यापि-
 23 षडेतिद्वय-नौदण्डक-सीमा⁸ । उत्तरस्यां गग्गंस्वामि-तान्नपट्ट सीमा (॥*)
 24 भवन्ति चात्त धर्मा-शास्त्र-श्लोकानि⁹ ॥
 पट्टि¹⁰ वर्ष-सहस्राणि
 25 स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद(ः*) (।*)
 आक्षेप्त(।*) चानुमन्ता च त्यान्येव¹⁰
 26 नरके वसेत् । (।*) 1
 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा¹¹ यो हरेत् वसु-
 27 न्धरा(म्*) (।*)
 श्व-[वि]ष्टाया(ः*) कृमिभत्वा पितृभि(ः*) सह पच्य[ते] (॥*) 2

¹ Read द्वय०. खिलक्षेत्रस्य अर्धकुल्यवापस्य ? If the price of alkulyavāpa was 4 dināras, only, 1 kulyavāpa could be purchased at 2 dināras. The additional area called pravartavāpa may therefore have been small. In that case, pravarta cannot be the same as pracarti (5 khāris or 10 kulyas) or the Oriya paufi (10 maunds). Cf. I.H.Q., XXXI, pp. 255-56. The price of the additional area seems to be indicated in a corrupt passage in lines 16-19.

² षष्ठगण्डकाधिकतिरूपकान्यपि गृहीतानि ?

³ Read संबद्ध (belonging to). खण्डलकान्दीयतामिति, or *कालासशासनौक्य ?

⁴ पट्टेषु निबद्धं, or तामपट्टधर्मेण ?

⁵ Read *मनेनापि.

⁶ तामपट्ट is the same as शासन found in other records. The word here means 'land enjoyed or owned on the strength of a charter'.

⁷ Read पक्कंटी. Vṛddha-Sthapattuki may be a proper name.

⁸ Read पश्चिमायां. गोरध्य-सकृत्परभा-तटाकस्थ-द्वन्द्वोऽस्मिन्द्वये तिर्यग्गौ० ? नौदण्ड=नौपद्य (I.H.Q., XXIII, pp. 236-37).

⁹ Read भवतः चात्त धर्म-शास्त्र-श्लोकौ.

¹⁰ Read तान्येव.

¹¹ Read *त्ता वा.

No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 18¹

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 204; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1724 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)³

First Side

- 1 स्वस्त्यस्यामृषिब्यामप्रतिर[थे] [य]या[त्यम्बरी][प-सम-घृतौ म*]हा-
- 2 राजाधिराज-श्रीगोपचन्द्रभट्टारक-राज्ये⁴ [तदनुमोदना-वब्धास्प*]-
- 3 [द*]स्य नव्यावकाशिकायां महाप्रति[हार-व्या]पार⁵व्य-ष्ट[तमूल-कु-⁵
- 4 [मारा?]मात्य-उपरिक-नाग[देवस्या*]स्त्रासन-[का*]पे⁶ वारुक[मण्ड*]लविषय-
- 5 व्यापाराय विनियुक्त-वत्सपाल[स्वामी]⁷ (।*) [यतो*](ऽ*)[स्य] [सं*]व्यवहर-
- 6 [तो] ज्येष्ठकायस्थ-नयसेन-प्र[मुखम*][धिक[रण-मह?]-

¹ Gopachandra apparently belonged to a local family which assumed independence on the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. See *infra*, No. 46 and notes. Gopachandra's dominions extended over a wide area including the Faridpur District in Central Bengal and the Burdwan District in South West Bengal. The king of the East called Gopa in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. R. Sankrityasana, v. 760) may be the same as Gopachandra. From a consideration of the developed form of य in this record, Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 207) rightly suggested that Gopachandra was later than Dharmāditya. He read the date as 19.

² From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX.

³ I.e., [This is the seal] of the administrative office of the district called Vārakamaṇḍala.

⁴ Pargiter suggested क्रियामात्य. Read °मात्योपरिक. व्यापारव्य=the business of managing trade, according to Pargiter. But read व्यापारकारस्य=व्यापारकारणीय (cf. p. 368, note 1).

⁵ Read कालि वारक°.

⁷ Pargiter read स्वामि[ना]...ष्ट(स्य ?) and suggested स्वामिना तस्य.

- 7 त्तर-विष(न)यकुण्ड-प.....ह.....घो-
 8 पचन्द्रानाचार-रा[ज्य].....ल.....व[ह]...मह-
 9 त्तरा(ः*) प्रधान-व्याप[रिणः ?].....[य].....र.....मन-
 10 सा यथाह[' विज्ञाप्ता*:] (1*) [इ*] [च्छेयं] भवत[ि*] [प्रस*] [दाद]...[महाको?]-
 11 ट्टिक-[ना*]म[प].....[त्त].. ज्ञो^१ क्षेत्र-कुल्य-
 12 वापैकं यथा[र्वे*] जो[पक्की] य मा[तापि*] [त्तो[रा][त्मनश्च*]] पुण्याभिवृद्धये [गु]-
 13 णवन्त-कण्व-[वज]सिनय-[लौहस्य-[भट्ट-गो[मि]दत्तस्वामि प्र-
 14 [ति]पा[दितु*] (1*) त[द*]हंथ [भा]रद्वाज-सगोत्त्रेभ्यो [भ]वन्तो(ऽ*)स्मत्तो
 मूल्यमादा-
 15 य.....धैनमस.....इतमत^२ (1*) [यत एतद][भ्य*]र्थनमधि[क्कु]-

Second Side

- 16 [त्य]ागम्यमाना प्राक्प्रवृ[त्ति*]-मर्यादा च(चा)तु[र्होना*]रि[क्क्य*]-[कुल्य]वा[पे]न
 [क्षत्ता]-
 17 णि विक्रीयमाना(णा)नीति पुस्तपाल-[न]य[भू*]तिस्त्र^३ स्थलावधारण-
 18 यावद्वृत्त्य विषयाधिकरणेनाधिकरणकज्ञन कुलवारान्प्रकल्प्य^४ प्र-
 19 तीत-धर्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविष्ट्य वत्सपाल-
 20 स्वामि(ने*) क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापैकम्विक्रीतं^५ (1*) अनेनापि क्रीत्वा भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामि-
 21 ने पुत्र-पौत्र क्रमेण विधिना प्रतिपादितं तम्(1*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र
 22 पूर्वस्यां ध्रुविलाद्याग्रहार-सीमा दक्षिणस्यां करङ्कः^६
 23 पश्चिमस्यां शीलकुण्डग्राम-सीमा उत्तरस्यां करङ्क-सी-

1 Read भवद्वाः. Lines 7-9 contained the list of persons who were approached by Vatsapālasvāmin. The names Ghoshachandra and Anāchāra are the same as in *supra*, No. 43. The name of Śivachandra is also found in Nos. 44-45. There could not therefore have been a long interval between Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

2 Read गुणवते काण्व-वाजसनेयि-लौहस्य-भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामिने प्रतिपादयितुम्.

3 Pargiter suggested चंशमदितुमिति. Possibly प्रसादइर्तुमिति.

4 Possibly नयभूतिस्तु स्थलावधारणया or नयभूति-सुस्थलावधारणया.

5 Pargiter : वचनं of गुण. Read °करणिकजनान्कु°. N. G. Majumdar read °करणिकज्ञान्कु° (those who are acquainted with administrative affairs) in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 156, note. कुलवार possibly means an arbitrator.

6 Read °कं विक्रीतम्.

7 Read पश्चिमायां. Karañka seems to be the name of a village. For Dhruvilāṭī, see *supra*, p. 367, note 10.

24 मा (।*)

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा¹ यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)

25 सम्बत्² १०(।*) ८³ (॥*)

श्व-विष्टाया(।*) कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः(।*) सह पच्यते (॥*) 1

No. 46—Mallasarūl Copper-plate Inscription
[of Vijayasena] of the time of Gopa-
chandra—Regnal Year 33⁴

MALLASARUL, Burdwan District, West Bengal.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 159ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या ; V. 2 उपगीति; Vv. 3-10 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

Seal

[महा।]राज-विजय[से]नस्य (॥।)*

First Side

1 [१ स्वस्ति ।।]*

¹ Read दत्तां वा.

² Read संवत्.

³ Pargiter takes the figure to be ८. The date portion should be read after the second half of the stanza in अनुष्टुप्.

⁴ Majumdar reads 3 in line 25. See below, p. 377, note 6.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

⁶ This Vijayasena has been identified with the person of the same name mentioned in *supra*, No. 37. This would place Gopachandra shortly after the time of Vainyagupta (507 A.D.). The seal bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed god with a *chakra* in the background. Some scholars regard the deity as the Buddhist Lokanātha and others as the Vaishnavite Chakrapurusha. But, in this age, the identification of the Buddha and Viṣṇu was becoming gradually popular and the conception of Chakrapurusha seems to indicate a rapprochement between the Sudarśana-chakra of Viṣṇu and the Buddhist Dharma-chakra. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 226.

⁷ The restorations are conjectural but probable.

[जयति श्री-लो०] कनायः^१ यः पुंसां सुकृत-कर्मफल-हेतुः (१०)

सत्य-तपो-मय-मूर्तिर्लोक-द्वय-साधनो धर्मः (॥०) १

तदनु जितदम्त^२-लोभा जय-

२

[न्ति चिरा०] य^३ [पर]हितार्थाः (१०)

नि[र्म]त्सराः सुचरितैः पर-लोक-जिगीषवः सन्तः (॥०) २

पृथिवीं पृथुरिव^४ प्रथित-प्रताप-नय-शौ[र्व्ये] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-गोप-

३ [चन्द्रे०]^५ प्रशासति तदनुज्ञप्तायां पुण्योत्तर-जनपदाध्यासिताया['] सतत-धर्म-

क्रिया-वर्द्धमानायां वर्द्धमानभुक्तौ^६ पूज्यान्वर्त्तमानोपस्थित^७-कार्त्ताकृतिक-कु-

४ मारामात्य- [चौरो]द्वरणिकोपरिकौद्रङ्गिकाग्रहारिकौर्णस्थानिक-भोगपतिक-विषयपति-

तदा (१०) युक्तक-हिरण्यसामुदायिक-पत्तलकावसथिक-देवद्रोणीसम्ब(म्ब)-^८

५ द्वादीन्विधिवत्सम्पूज्य^९ वक्त्रक-वीथी-सम्ब(म्ब)द्वार्द्धकरकाग्रहारीण-महत्तरः हिमदत्तः

^१ Read ०नाथो. Some suggest तिलोकनाथो, i.e. the god Vishnu. But, as to सन्तः in verse 2, cf. जयन्ति सन्तः कुशलं प्रजानां नमो मुनीन्द्राय सुराः श्रुताः स्य, etc., at the beginning of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* by the Buddhist Puruṣottama. The reference may therefore be to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

^२ Read दम्त०.

^३ The restoration is conjectural but probable.

^४ Read पृथिवि.

^५ This probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

^६ Vardhamānabhukti was the province round modern Burdwan.

^७ Read वर्त्तमानोपस्थित (those who are serving at the present time and are expected to be present on the spot).

^८ With the single exception of the actual व sign in ब्राह्मण्य in line 16, in all other cases, व has been indicated by the sign for व. This shows the gradual dying out of the old sign for व. Read सम्बद्ध, बाह्य, etc.

^९ कार्त्ताकृतिक (from कृताकृत, business done and to be done), possibly reporter of the progress made by officers in special undertakings entrusted to them; cf. कृताकृतज्ञो भव्यानां (*Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXV. 17). कुमारामात्य, executive officer of the same status as the *Kumāra*. चौरोद्वरणिक, recoverer of stolen goods or collector of fines for theft. उपरिक, a superior officer; sometimes, viceroy. औद्रङ्गिक (from उद्रङ्ग, possibly a tax on permanent tenants), collector of the tax called उद्रङ्ग or the principal or fixed tax. आग्रहारिक, owner of an *agrahāra* (gift-village belonging to a Brāhmaṇa [or a god]) or, officer superintending the *agrahāras*. और्णस्थानिक (from ऊर्ण, wool), owner of a wool market or a factory producing wool; or, officer superintending the *ūṇasthānas*. भोगपतिक, possibly the same as भोगिक or भोगपाल, either a superintendent of rent-free holdings or a *Jāgirdār*. According to a commentary on the *Gāthāśaptasatī* (VI. 56). *bhogin* means *grāma-bhoktā adbhikārī*. विषयपति, ruler of a district. तदायुक्तक, possibly an आयुक्त (a magistrate or administrative officer) appointed by particular officers like the *Vishayapati*. हिरण्यसामुदायिक, collector of taxes payable in cash probably in lieu of the king's grain share.

- निर्वृतवाटकीय-महत्तर-सु[व*]र्ण-यशाः(*) कपिस्थवाटकाग्रह[र]ीण-
- 6 महत्तर-धनस्वामि¹ वटवल्लकाग्रहारीण-महत्तर-पष्ठिदत्त-श्रीदत्तौ कोडडवीराग्रहारीण-
भट्ट-वामनस्वामि¹ गोधग्रामाग्रहारीण-महिदत्त-राज्य-
- 7 दत्तौ शाल्मलिवाटकीय-जीवस्वामि¹ वक्तकीय-खाड्गि-हरिः² मधुवाटकीय-
खाड्गि-गोइकः(*) खरुडजोटिकेय-खाड्गि-भद्रनन्दि³ विन्ध्यापुरेय-वाहनायक-
- 8 हरि-प्रभुतयो⁴ वीथ्यधिकरणञ्च⁵ विज्ञापयन्ति (।*) पूज्यं-महाराज-विजयसेनेन⁶
वयमभ्यर्थिता इच्छे(ऽ*)हमेत(दु*)-वीथी-सम्बद्ध-वेत्तगर्ताग्रामे युष्मभ्यो य-
- 9 था-न्यायनोपक्रीयाष्टौ⁷ कुल्यवापान् मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कल्पान्तर-
स्थायिन्या प्रवृत्त्या पुस्त-पौस्तान्वय-भोग्यत्वेन कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय
- 10 वा(वा)हृच-वत्सस्वामिनो⁸ पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्तनाय प्रतिपावयितुमिति⁹ (।*) यतो-
(ऽ*)स्माभिरस्याभ्यर्थ(न*)यावद्वृत्तमस्त्योपो(ऽ*)नुक्रमः¹⁰ उभयलोक-विजिगीषुभिः(*)

पत्तलक, possibly ruler of a territorial division called पत्तला, आवश्यक, one who keeps the *arasathya* or domestic fire burning with daily offerings, or possibly superintendent of the *arasathas* or Dharamasālas. देवद्रोणी-संबद्ध, officer superintending the processions of the idols of temples or, probably, of temple-property (cf. line 12 of the Veraval inscription where देवद्रोणी seems to mean temple-property; see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 144). These are all technical terms, the actual meanings of some of which are uncertain. The suggested interpretations are in some cases no better than conjectures. It is better to take them all as officers' designations.

¹ Read स्वामी.

² खाड्गि० is possibly the same as खड्गिन्, swordman. वाहनायक = superintendent of the

plough, probably related to the cultivation of the Khas Mahal lands. आग्रहारीण = अग्रहारिन्.

³ Read नन्दो, *Jofika* is apparently the same as *jor* (from *jofa*) meaning 'a small stream' in the East Indian dialects.

⁴ Read प्रभुतयो.

⁵ I.e., the administrative board of the territorial division known as *Vithi*. विज्ञापयन्ति = declare. Note that the *mahattaras* and others as well as the *Vithi* board were approached by Vijayasena. The charter was issued by the elders and the *Vithi* board.

⁶ Read पूज्य० and इच्छये (or इच्छामि).

⁷ Read न्यायेन०.

⁸ Read स्वामिने, प्रवृत्ति = continuance, or maintenance (*vritti*).

⁹ Read पादयितु०. The word पञ्चमहायज्ञ actually refers to a Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. They are अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञश्च तर्पणम् । होमी दैवी (or देवयज्ञी) बलिर्भौती (or भूतयज्ञी) नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥ मनु । ३।७०-७१. They are sometimes enumerated as बलि, चरु, वेददेव, अग्निहोत्र and अतिथि.

¹⁰ Read मस्त्ये०.

- 11 [सा]धुभिः क्रियमाण-पुण्य-स्कन्धेषु श्री-परमा¹भट्टारक-प(1*)दानां धर्म-पडांगो-
(प*)चयो(5*)स्माकमपि प्रतिपालयतां कीर्त्ति-श्रेयोभ्यां योगः (1*) उक्तञ्च (1*)
यः क्रियां धर्म-सं-
- 12 युक्तां मनसाप्यभिनन्दति (1*)
(व*)द्वंते स यधेष्टे² च शुक्ल-पक्ष इवोदुराट् (11*) 3
तत्सम्पद्यतामस्याभिप्राय इत्यस्मन्वारकृतैरनेन³ दत्तक-दीनारा(न*) (संगृह्य*) वीथ्यां
सम्बिभज्यास्मद्वेत्त-⁴
- 13 गृत्ता-ग्रामे(5*)ष्टाभ्यः क्लृपवापेभ्यो यथोचितं दानं त[द्वी]थी-समुदय एव प्रनाय⁵
बोढव्यमित्यवचूर्याष्टौ कुल्यवापा महाराज-विजयसेनस्य दत्तोः⁶ (1*)
- 14 [अनेना*]पि⁷ राजास्मे कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्त्राय वा(वा)हूच-वत्सस्वामिने पञ्चमहायश-
प्रवर्त्तनाय तान्न-प्रद्वेन⁸ प्रतिपादिताः(1*) (1*) अथ च चैषां चतुर्षु⁹ दिक्षु सीमा
भवन्ति (11*) ५-
- 15 [स्वस्यां दि*]शि गोधग्राम-सीमा(1*) दक्षिण्यां¹⁰ गोधग्रामा¹¹ [ए]व(1*) उत्तरस्यां
वटवल्गकाप्रहार-सीमा (1*) पश्चिमस्यां¹² दिशि अर्द्धेन आम्नगत्तिका-सीमा (11*)¹³
कीलकाश्वाल कम[ला]-

¹ Read परम०.

² Read यधेष्ट.

³ Read इत्यस्मद्वार०. वारकृत=persons appointed for the occasion (the same as वारनियुक्त in the Chamvak plates, line 45), seems to refer to some official duty, and is possibly connected with the word कुलवार=arbitrator. वारकृतेः may not be related to सम्बिभज्य. For *anona dattaka*^o, better read *anona dattān*. The *Vithi* was a territorial division (on the banks of a river according to Majumdar).

⁴ Read सम्बिभज्या०. Cf. विपदे विभज्य of No. 43, lines 8-9, which is usually but wrongly taken to indicate a division of the land.

⁵ Read प्राणायं=honestly. वीथी-समुदये=in the revenue, i.e. revenue account, of the *Vithi*. बोढव्य=to be borne. दान=देय=dues. अवचूर्यं=अपविच्छर.

⁶ Read दत्ताः. ०सेनस्य=०सेनाय. The sixth case-ending has been used because *Vijaya-sena* was the purchaser of the land (cf. the Kailas plate of Śrīdhāraṇārāta in *I.H.Q.*, XXIII, pp. 221-41).

⁷ This very probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

⁸ Read ०पट्टेन.

⁹ Read अथ चैषां चतुर्षु.

¹⁰ Read दक्षिण्यां.

¹¹ Read ०ग्राम.

¹² Read पश्चिमायां.

¹³ The identifications suggested are the following : *Godhagrāma*=*Gobagrām* on the *Dāmodar* to the south-east of *Mallasārul*. *Āmrāgartikā*=*Āmbahulā* to the south of

Second Side

- 16 क्ष-मालाङ्किताः(*) चतुर्षु¹ दिक्षु न्यस्ता भवन्त्येवमेषां कृत-सीमाङ्गानामस्य ब्राह्मणस्य²
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनेनोपभुञ्जानस्य न
- 17 केनचिदेतद्दन्शजेनान्यतमेन³ वा स्वल्प(1*)प्यावाधा⁴ हस्तक्षेपो वा क[1]य्यः (1*)
एवमवष्टेते योऽ(*)थ करोति स वध्यः पञ्चभिर्मम-
- 18 हापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादपि⁵ च (1*)
नास्य देवा न पितरो हविः-पिण्डं समाप्नुयुः (1*)
[छि]न्न-मस्तक-वेत्तालः⁶ अप्र-
- 19 तिष्ठः पतिष्यति (॥*) 4
भूमि-दानापहरण-प्रतिपालन-गुण-दोष⁷-व्यञ्जकाः आर्षाः श्लोका भवन्ति (1*)
षष्टिं वर्षं-सहस्राणि
- 20 स्वर्गं नन्दति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 5
आस्कोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः (1*)
भूमिदो-
- 21 (५*)सन्कुले⁸ जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति (॥*) 6
यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते⁹ पापं नरो लोभ-समान्वितः¹⁰ (1*)
अपि गो-चर्म-मास्त्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुध्यति (॥*) 7
प-
- 22 र्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
भूमिं भूमि(म*)तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे योऽ(*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 8
इयं राजशतैर्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः

Mallasārul. Kharḍajajotikā = Kharḍajoli between Gohagrām and Mallasārul. Vakattaka = Baktā to the east of Gohagrām. Sālmali = Mallasārul, also called Sārul.

¹ Read चतुर्षु. Better भवन्ति। एव०.

² Here is the only instance in the inscription of the use of the real sign for व.

³ Read ०दंश०.

⁴ Usually ०वाधा.

⁵ Better स्वात्। अपि.

⁶ Better वेतालो छप्रतिष्ठः. Majumdar : ०वेत्तालः.

⁷ Read ०दोष०.

⁸ Read ०सन्कुले.

⁹ Read ०यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते.

¹⁰ Read ०समान्वितः.

23

पुनः (१०)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) (॥*) 9

तद्वित्तरत्न-व(व)हुलां श्रियं मत्वा च मर्यानां नाम् (१०)

न धर्म-स्थितय-

24

स्सन्निः^१ युक्ता लोके विलोपितुम् [॥] 10^२

कुल्य^३ ८ (१०) दूतकः शुभदत्तो लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिक-भोगचन्द्रेण^४ (१०)

25

तापितं^५ पुस्तपाल-जयदासेन (॥*) संख^६ ३० (+*)^७ श्राव-दि २० (+*) ४^७ (॥*)

^१ Read ०स्सन्निर्युक्ता.

^२ According to the general rules of metre, the sixth and seventh syllables of the first foot of this stanza should have been long and the seventh syllable of the second foot short. The defects of the first foot are however often noticed in the standard *Kāvya*s. See *Raghuramān*, I, 16, 23, 30, 34, 53, 60 and 61; cf. also I, 71 and 81.

^३ I.e., कुल्यवापाः.

^४ Cf. सन्धिविग्रहिकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लिखकः । स्वयं राजा समादिष्टः स लिखितराजशासनम् ॥ quoted in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, *Achārādhyāya*, v. 320.

^५ तापित=heated. This seems to be a technical expression indicating that this officer was responsible for the final examination of the charter, especially for soldering the seal, which required heating. The *pustapāla* may have supervised the actual engraving which however hardly required heating.

^६ I.e., संवत् (=संवत्सर); Majumdar reads संखद ३; for the reduplication in ख, see *supra*, No. 41, line 22, note. श्राव-दि=श्रावण-दिवासे.

^७ Majumdar reads 4; but the symbol seems to be the same as the one noticed, e.g., in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 153, text line 46.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF NEPĀL, BIHAR, ASSAM AND UTTAR PRADESH

No. 48—Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription of Manadeva—[Śaka]¹ Year 386 (= 464 A.D.)

Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa² temple, near KĀTHMANDU, Nepāl.

Bhagawānlāl INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 1880, pp. 163 ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Intro., p. 95; S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 10-14; R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, I, pp. 1ff. (No. I).

¹ There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of the era to which the date of this record is to be referred. Bhagwānlāl Indrājī referred it to the Vikrama era starting in 58 B.C. and assigned it to 329 A.D., while Fleet referred it to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. and ascribed it to the 28th April, 705 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 210; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Intro., p. 95). Fleet depended on the Golmādhītāl inscription of the year 316 or 318 (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 97; also IX, p. 168) which mentions Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman of the Thākuri dynasty as a contemporary of the Licchavi or Śāryavarmā king Śivadeva I. As Amśuvarman has been mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as a recently dead ruler and was therefore an early contemporary of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.), the epoch of the era to which year 316 of the Golmādhītāl inscription is to be referred was ascribed by Fleet to 319 A.D. Sylvain Lévi points out that the astronomical data in the Kisipidi inscription of the year 449, which had an intercalary Āshāḍha, agree only with Śaka 482 current. According to this scholar therefore the Licchavi era of Nepāl started in (482-449=) Śaka 83=110 A.D. That is also supposed to be supported by the details of the date of the present record. The year of the Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa record would then be (386+110=) 495-96 A.D. The date of the Golmādhītāl inscription has been read by Lévi as 518. He reads 519 and 520 in two other records mentioning both Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman (*Le Népal*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 61-64; 70-81). Indrājī's theory, though palaeographically tenable, is improbable, as the early use of the Vikrama era in Nepāl is unlikely. Fleet's theory seems to be wrong, as the alphabet of the present record is earlier than the 7th-8th century script (e.g., in the records of Amśuvarman); cf. ॐ (initial and medial), ख, च, ट, घ, ञ, ल, व, the numerical symbols, etc. We prefer Kanishka's, i.e. the Śaka, era (p. 163, note 1). From an examination of the many dated records in Gnoli's book, it appears that the records of Manadeva and his successors are dated in the Śaka era, while the later records of Amśuvarman as also the epigraphs of his descendants bear dates in the Śaka era minus 500 (i.e. Śaka 501=year 1).

² चङ्गु (literally, 'one with a beak' in the Nepālī language) means Garuḍa. The name therefore means Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, or Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. The temple contains an old image of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th-5th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-17 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 संवत् ३०० (+.) ८० (+.) ६ ज्यैष्ठ-मासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १ (१*)
- 2 [रो.]हिणी-नक्षत्र-युक्ते^२ चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्ते प्रशस्ते (५ भिजिति^३ (१*))
- 3 [श्री.]वत्साङ्कित-दीप्त-चारु-विपुल^४]-प्रोद्वत्त-व[क्षः]स्थलः
- 4 [श्री.]वक्षःस्तन-पद्म-बाहु — — स्म[त्तृ^५]-प्रवृद्धोत्सवः (१*)
- 5 [सै.]लोक्य-भ्रमयन्त्ववर्त्ति — — व्यासङ्ग-नित्यो (५)व्ययः(यो)
- 6 [दो*]लाद्रो^६ निवसज्जयत्यनि[मि०]पेरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः (॥*) [१*]
- 7 [मन्त्रो*]त्सा[ह-न*]य-प्रताप-विभ[वैवर्ष्या]याम-संक्षेपकृत् कृद्
- 8 [राजाभू*]दृषदेव इत्यनुपमः [स]त्य-प्रतिज्ञोदयः (१*)
- 9 [संवृद्ध*]-सवितेव दीप्त-किर[णैः*] सम्यग्[तैः*] स्वैः सुतैः तैर
- 10 [विद्व*]न्निव्यहु-गर्विर्तैरच[पलेः*] [ख्याते*][विं]^६नीतात्मभिः (॥*) २
- 11 [त*]स्याभूत्तनयः समृद्ध-[विप*]यः सङ्केतव्रजेयो (५)रिभिः भी
- 12 [राजा*] शङ्करदेव इत्यपर-संभी*]तिप्रदः सत्यधीः (१*)
- 13 [विद्या*]-विक्रम-दान-मान-विभवै^७हर्लब्धा यशः पुष्कलम् लं
- 14 — — — ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ^८]त्यै[मृ^९गे*]न्द्रोपमः (॥*) ३
- 15 [तस्या*]प्युत्तम-धर्म-कर्म-य[शसः*] [पुलोऽर्थ*]विद्वार्म्मिकः(को)
- 16 [ध*]र्मा[त्मा*] विनयेऽसुहृत्त[मगुणः] [श्री-ध*]र्मादेवो नृपः (१*)
- 17 [ध*]र्मेणैव कुलक्रमागत — — — राज्यं महत्

¹ From the facsimile in *Le Népal*, III, and Gnoli, *op. cit.*, I.

² Cf. अपराह्णं तु संप्राप्ते अभिजिटीहिणीदये ।
यदत्र दीयते जन्तोस्तदस्यमुदाहृतम् ॥

quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.

³ The eighth of the 15 *muhūrtas* of a day is called अभिजित्.

⁴ According to Lévi, traces on the estampage do not suggest च^१.

⁵ Dolādrī or Dolaparvata is the hill on which the temple stands.

⁶ Lévi is not satisfied with this reading as there is no reduplication of व. But cf. *व^२दास (line 70), etc.

- 18 [स्फी]तीकृत्य नयेन्नुपपि-चरि[तेर्वि*]भाष्य चेतो नृणाम् (॥*) ४
 19 [रे]जे स — शुभिः सुरानु — — [भि*]: सम्पन्नमन्तर्द्धिभिः
 20 — मावा — विशुद्ध-देह-हृदयश्चन्द्र-सुतिः पार्थिवः (॥*)
 21 [प]त्नी तस्य विशुद्ध-वंश-विभवा श्री-राज्यवत्युत्तमा
 22 [प्रा]णा[नाम*]भव[त्प्रि][या*] [कु]ल[गु][णै*]लक्ष्मीरि[वा]ग्रया हरेः (॥*) ५
 23 — — — — रतेर्यशोशुभिरिदं व्याभास्य कृत्स्नजगत्(गद्)
 24 याति स खिदिवालयन्नरपतावुद्यान-यात्रामिव (॥*)
 25 प्रम्लाना ज्वरविह्वला कुलज — — नेकमन्दा तदा
 26 देवाहार-विधि-क्रियास्वभिरता तद्विप्रयोगात्पुरा (॥*) ६

Second Face

- 27 देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्भाष्याभिधाना¹ सती
 28 श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी (॥*)
 29 यस्याज्ञात इहानवद्य-चरितः श्री-मानदेवो नृपः
 30 कान्त्या शारद-चन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्वदा (॥*) ७
 31 प्रत्यागत्य स-गद्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्चस्य च
 32 प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रु-वदना यातः पिता ते दिवम् (॥*)
 33 हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्बुधा किम्मम
 34 राज्यम्पुलक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्तुर्गतिम् (॥*) [८*]
 35 किम्मे भोग-विधान विस्तर-कृतैराशामयैर्व्वन्धनैः(नैर)
 36 माया-स्वप्न-निभे समागम-विधौ भर्ता विना जीवितुम् (॥*)
 37 यामीत्येवमवस्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सुनुना
 38 पादौ भक्तिवशान्निपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः (॥*) ८
 39 किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवित-सुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
 40 प्राणान्पूर्व्वमहज्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् (॥*)
 41 इत्येवमुत्पन्नजान्तर-गतैर्नर्त्तकाम्बु-मिश्रैर्दम्भं
 42 वाक्पाशैर्व्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुपी (॥*) १०
 43 सत्पुत्रेण सहौदं देहिक-विधिं भर्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मना
 44 शील-त्याग-दमोपवास-नियमैरेकान्त-शुद्धाशया (॥*)

¹ Indrāji suggests *धानात्.

² This is another early reference to the prevalence of the Suttee. See above, p. 346 and note 5. For कारय better read धारय.

- 45 [वि]प्रेम्यो(ऽ*)पि च सर्वदा प्रददती तत्पुण्यवृद्धेय धनम्(नं)
 46 तस्यौ तद्धृदया सती व्रतविधौ साक्षादिवारुन्धती (॥*) १० (+*) १
 47 पुत्रो(ऽ*)प्युज्जित-सर्व-विक्रम-धृतिः क्षान्तः प्रजावत्सलः
 48 कर्त्ता नैव विकथनः स्मितकथः पूर्वोभिभाषी सदा (१*)
 49 तेजस्वी न च गर्विता न च परां लोकजताञ्जाश्रितः
 50 दीनानाथ-सुहृत्प्रियातिथिजनः प्रत्यर्थिनाम्माननुत् (॥*) १० (+*) २

Third Face

- 51 अस्त्रापास्त्र-विधान-कौशल-गुणैः प्रज्ञात-सत्पौरुषः
 52 श्रीमच्चारुभुजः प्रमृष्ट-कनक-श्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः (१*)
 53 पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पल दल-प्रस्पन्दमानेक्षणः
 54 साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवाञ्छरपतिः कान्ता-विलासोत्सवः (॥*) १० (+*) ३
 55 यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छितैर्व्वसुमती पिला ममालङ्कृता
 56 क्षात्लेणाजिमस्त्राश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितो(ऽ*)हं स्थितः (१*)
 57 याताम्प्रत्यरि-सङ्क्रयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्वान्दिशम्(शं)
 58 ये चाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् (॥*) [१० (+*) ४]
 59 इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्
 60 नाम्बानृण्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः (१*)
 61 किन्त्वाप्तेन यथावदस्त्र-विधिना तत्पाद-संसेवया
 62 यास्यामीति ततो(ऽ*)म्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः (॥*) १० (+*) ५
 63 प्रायात्पूर्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्वदेशाश्रयाः
 64 सामन्ताः प्रणिपात-बन्धुर-शिरः-प्रभ्रष्ट-मौलिस्त्रजः (१*)
 65 तानाज्ञा-वशवर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः(नरं)
 66 निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कट-सटः पश्चाद्भवजग्मिवान् (॥*) १० (+*) ६
 67 सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्ट-चरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
 68 बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाववीद्विष्वितम् (१*)
 69 आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेव्यत्यसौ मे वशं
 70 किं वाक्यैर्व्वहुभिर्वृथा गदितैः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते (॥*) [१० (+*) ७]
 71 अथैव प्रियमातुलोरु-विषम-क्षोभाण्णव-स्पर्द्धिनोम्
 72 भीमावर्त्त-तरङ्ग-चञ्चल-जलान्तङ्गण्डकीमुत्तर (१*)
 73 सन्नद्धैर्व्वरवाजि-कुञ्जर-शतैरन्वेमि तीर्त्वा नदोम्(दीं)

- 74 त्वत्सेनामिति निश्चयाच्चरपतिस्तीर्ण-प्रतिज्ञस्तदा (॥७॥ १० (+*) ८
75 जित्वा मल्लपुरीन्ततस्तु शनवैरभ्याजगाम स्वकम् (कं)
76 देशम्प्रीतमनास्तदा खलु धनम्प्रादाद्दिजेभ्यो ५* क्षयम् (१*)
77 राज्ञी राज्यवती च साधुमतिना प्रोक्ता एवं सूनु[ना]
78 भक्त्याम् त्वमपि प्रसन्नहृदया दानम्प्रयच्छस्व त[त्] (॥७॥ १० (+*) ८

No. 48A—Nandapur Copper-plate Inscription of the [Gupta] Year 169 (=488 A.D.)

Nandapur, near Surajgarha, Monghyr District, Bihar.

N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 52ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT¹

Obverse

- 1 स्वस्त्य[म्बि]लश्यामाग्रहारात्मविश्वासमधिकरणाम् (णं) जङ्गनीयिका-ग्रामे ब्राह्मणी-
त्तरान्संव्यवहा-
- 2 यांदिकुटुम्बि (म्बि)नः कुशलमनुवर्णय बोधयन्ति लिखन्ति² च (१*) विज्ञापयति नः
विषयपति कुत्तमहः
- 3 इच्छाम्यहं स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये नन्दवैद्य³-खटापूरणाग्रहारिक-छान्दोग-काश्यप-
सगोत्र-ब्राह्मणा-
- 4 • • स्वामिने पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्तनाय क्षिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं क्रीत्वादिस्त्रष्टुम् (१७)
- 5 युष्मद्विषये च समुदयवा(वा)ह्याद्यस्तम्ब(म्ब)⁴ क्षिल-क्षेत्राणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्धतारक-
भोज्या[ना७]-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

² Read बोधयति लिखति. Plural number was used through confusion apparently because the *adhikaraga* or board of administration consisted of several members; cf. विज्ञापयति नः below.

³ Nandapur, the findspot of the plate, was probably the headquarters of the territorial unit called Nanda-vithi.

⁴ समुदयवाह्य=not yielding any crop or revenue; चन्द्रार्ध=covered with original shrubs.

- 6 मक्षय-नीव्या द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप विक्रयो (५*) नुवृत्तस्तदर्थं मत्तो (५) ष्टी दीनारानुप-
- 7 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयमक्षय-नीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन दातु-
मिति (१*)
- 8 यतः पुस्तपाल प्रद्योतमिह (मिह) च (व) न्धुदासयोरव'धारणयावष्टतमस्तीह-विषये समु-
दय-
- 9 वा (वा) ष्ठाद्यस्तम्ब (म्ब)-खिलक्षेत्रागामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां'द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्र-
यो (५*) नुवृत्तः (१*)
- 10 एवम्वि (वं) वि धोत्प्रतिकर'-खिल क्षेत्र-विक्रये च न कश्चिद्राजात्यं विरोधः दीयमाने तु
परमभट्टारक-
- 11 पादानां धर्म-पट्टागावासिस्तदीयतामित्येतस्माद्विषयपति-उत्तमहादष्टौ दीनारानुप-
- 12 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे गोरक्षित-ताम्रपट्ट-दक्षिणेन गोपालिभोगायाः (१*)
पश्चिमेन खिल-
- 13 क्षेत्र कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं दत्तम् (१*) कु ४ (१*) ते यूयमेवं विदित्वा कुटुम्बि (म्बि) नां
कर्पणाविरोधि-स्थाने
- 14 दर्शकर्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविष्टं चिरकाल-स्थायि-तुषाङ्गारादिचिह्ने-
श्रुतिं-
- 15 द्विप्रमित-रमानं कृत्वा दास्यथ (१*) दत्त्वा (त्वा) चाक्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण शशवत्काल-
मनुपालयिष्यथ (१*)

Reverse

- 16 वत्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहारिभिरेतद्धर्मापेक्षयानुपालयितव्यमिति (१*) वत्तज्ञ
भग-
- 17 [वता] [स्या] से [न] (१*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां (राम्) ।
स विष्टायां कृमिभृत्वा पितृभिः सह
- 18 पश्यते (॥*) १
[पट्टि] वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (१*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव न-

1 व had been at first omitted and was later incised below the line.

2 अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर = not yielding any revenue.

3 उत्प्रतिकर = अप्रतिकर = अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर, Cf. उदल्लिख in Bk. I, No. 31.

सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ८ वै-शुदि ८ (॥*)²

No. 48B—Bargaṅga Stone Inscription of Bhutivarman³ (c. 518-42 A.D.)

Bargaṅgā, Nowgong District, Assam.

N. K. Bhattasali, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 18-23; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XXX, pp. 62ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th century A.D.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) श्रीपरमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महारा[जा]-
- 2 धिराजाश्वमेधयाजिन⁶ श्रीभूतिवर्धनस्य(णः) पादान[ि]⁷

¹ I.e., वैशाख-शुद्ध-दिवस.

² Majumdar compares the style of this record with that of the Baigram and other plates from North Bengal and suggests that the document was drafted and the land was situated in the said area, even though the Brāhmaṇa donee hailed from the Monghyr District.

³ The name of this king, who was the great-great-grandfather of king Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.), is also found as Mahābhūti-varman or Mahābhūta-varman.

⁴ Bhattasali read the date of the inscription as the Gupta year 231 (553 A.D.), though the reading is wrong, and really the epigraph is not dated. See below, p. 385, note 1.

⁵ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

⁶ Read «याजिनः». It is interesting to note that not Bhūti-varman but his father Nārāyaṇavarman and grandson Sthiravarman are credited in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals with the performance of the Aśvamedha, twice in both the cases. The second Aśvamedha of Nārāyaṇavarman may have been performed when he was too old and his son Bhūti-varman was the *de facto* king. The epithet परमदैवत was imitated from the Guptas (cf. Nos. 16, 18, 19, 31, 36). It means 'highly devoted to the gods (or one of the great gods)', although it is often wrongly taken to mean 'the supreme divinity' and also sometimes erroneously regarded as an imperial title. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 470; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 116; my paper contributed to XXVI Int. Cong. Or., New Delhi, 1961.

⁷ Read पादानाम्.

3 आयुष्कामं¹ विषयामात्य²-अवगुणस्य³

4 इदं आश्रमं⁴ (॥*

No. 48C—Harāhā Stone Inscription of Īsānavarman—
[Vikrama] Year 611 (=553-54 A.D.)

Harāhā, Bara Banki District, U. P.,

H. Sāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 115ff.; D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, XI, 1945, p.67, note 4.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 3 गद्या; V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित;
V. 5 उपजाति; V. 6 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 7 मालिनो; V. 8 शार्दूलविक्रीडित;
V. 9 सगंधत; Vv. 10-14 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित;
Vv. 16-19 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 20 वसन्ततिलक; Vv. 21-28
श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT⁵

1 १ लोकाविष्कृति-संक्षय-स्थितिकृतां यः कारणं वेधसाम्(सां)
ध्वस्त-ध्वान्त-चयाः परास्त-रजसा ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः ।
यस्यार्द्ध-स्थित-योषितो (ऽ*)पि हृदये ना स्थायि चेतोभुवा
भूतात्मा त्रिपुरान्तकः स

2 जयति श्रेयः-प्रसूतिर्भवः ॥ 1
आशोणां फगिनः फगोपल-रुचा सैह्वी(सैर्ह्वी) वसानं त्वचं
शुभ्रां लोचन-जन्मना कपिशयज्जासा कपालावलीम् (।७)
तर्ह्वी ध्वान्त-नुदं मृगाकृतिभृतो वि (वि)भ्रत्कळां मौलिना
दिश्यादन्ध-

1 Bhattasali read here २००(+*)२०(+*)४ ना and regarded the year 234 of the Gupta era as the date of the record. See above, p. 334, note 4.

2 *Sandhi* has not been observed here. विषयामात्य=administrator of a district; cf. विषयपति.

3 The name literally means 'one having little good quality'. For the custom of giving names with derogatory sense to children, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 64, note 2.

4 Read इदम् आश्रमम्. The *śārama* was probably a hermit's dwelling.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

- 3 क-विद्विषः स्फुरदहि स्थेयः पदं वो वपुः ॥ 2
सुत-शतं लेभे नृपो(ऽ*)श्वपतिर्वैवस्वतायतु णोदितम् ।
तत्प्रसूता दुरित-वृत्ति-रुधो मुखराः क्षितीशाः क्षतारयः ॥ 3'
तेष्वादौ हरिवर्मणो(ऽ*)वनिभुजो भूतिभू-

- 4 वो भूतये ।'
रुद्राशेषदिगन्तराल-यशसा रुगणारि-सम्पत्स्विषा ।
सङ्ग्रामे हुतभुक्प्रभा-कपिशितं वक्तुं समीक्ष्यारिभि-
र्यो भीतेः(तैः) प्रणतस्ततश्च भुवने ज्वालामुखारूपां गतः ॥ 4
लोक-स्थितीनां स्थितये स्थि-

- 5 तस्य
मनोरिवाचार-विवेक-मार्गो ।
जगाहिरे यस्य जगन्ति रम्याः
सत्कीर्त्तयः कीर्त्तयितव्य-नाम्नः ॥ 5
तस्मात्पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मि-
रादित्यवर्मा नृपतिर्व्यभूव ।
वर्णाश्रमाचार-विधि-प्रणोते-
यं प्राप्य

- 6 साकल्यमियाय धाता ॥ 6
हुतभुजि मखमध्यासङ्गिनि ध्वान्त-नीलम्(लं)
वियति पवन-जन्म-भ्रान्ति-विक्षेप-भूयः ।
मुखरयति समन्तादुत्पतद्भूम-जालम्(लं)
शिखिकुल-मरुमेघाशङ्कि

1. This verse shows that the Mukhara or Maukhari family claimed descent from Sāvitrī's father, the Madra king Aśvapati who obtained a hundred sons through the grace of Vāivasvata (Yama, son of the Sun-god). The *Mahābhārata* represents these sons of Aśvapati and his queen Mālavi as the Mālavas; cf. पितुश्च ते पुत्रयतं भविता सव मातरि । मालव्या मालवा नाम शासताः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥ (III. 298. 59; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 298 ff.). The Maukharis were thus a branch of the Mālava people who were themselves a branch of the Madras according to the traditions.

2 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

7

यस्य प्रसक्तम् ॥ 7

तेनापीश्वरवर्त्मणः क्षितिपतेः क्षत्र-प्रभावाप्तये ।¹
जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः वक्रतु-गणेष्वाहूत-वृत्त्रद्विषः ।
यस्योत्खात-कलि-स्वभाव-चरितस्याचार-मार्गं नृपा
यत्नेनापि ययाति-

8

तुल्य-यशसो नान्ये (ऽ०) नुगन्तुं क्षमाः ॥ 8

नीत्या शौर्यं विशालं सुहृदमकुठिने² नो[त्त०] मेच्छाङ्कुलेन ।¹
त्यागं पालेण वित्तप्रभवमपि ह्या³ यौवनं संयमेन (।०)
वाचं सत्येन चेष्टां श्रुति-पथ-विधिना प्रश्रये-

9

णोत्तमर्द्धिम् दिं³

यो बध्ननै(धनन्ने)व खदं व्रजति कलिमये ध्वान्त-मग्ने (ऽ०) पि लोके ॥ 9
यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलजन्मना ।¹
भूमेनाञ्जनभङ्ग-मेचक-रुचा दिक्चक्रवाले तते ।
आयाता नव-

10

वारि-भार-विनमन्मेघावली प्रावृडि-

त्युन्मादोद्धत-चेतसः शिखिगणा वाचाळतामाययुः ॥ 10
तस्मात्सूर्यं इवोदयाद्रिशिरसो धातुर्मूर्खवानिव
क्षीरोदादिव तजि³ तेन्दुकिरणः कान्तप्रभः कौस्तुभः ।

11

भूतानामुदपद्यत स्थितिकरः स्थेष्टं महिम्नः पदम्(दं)
राजनाजक-मण्डलाम्बर-शशी श्रीशानवर्मा नृपः ॥ 11
लोकानामुपकारिणारि-कुमुद-व्यालुप्त-कान्ति-श्रिया ।¹
मितास्याम्बुरुहाग(क)र-पुतिकृता भूरि-

12

प्रताप-त्विषा ।

येनाच्छादित-सत्पथं कलियुग-ध्वान्तावमग्नजग-
त्सूर्येणैव समुद्यता कृतमिदं भूयः प्रवृत्त-विक्रयम् ॥ 12
जित्वान्भ्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणित-तेधा-क्षरद्वारणम्(णं)
व्यवत्प्राप्तिपुताति-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

² Read 'मकुटिले'. Śāstri suggests 'मकुटिलेनीतमुर्वी'.

³ Read 'त्रिया' and note that the syllable before प्र, प, ब्र and क was optionally regarded

13 संख्य-तुरगान्भङ्गा रणे सुलिकाम्(कान्) ।

कृत्वा चायति-मौ(मो)चित-स्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया-
नध्यासिष्ट नत-क्षितीश-चरणः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥¹ 13
प्रस्थानेषु बलाष्ट² वाभिगमन-क्षोभ-स्फुटद्रुतल-

14 प्रोद्भूत-स्थगिताङ्क³-मण्डल-रुचा दिग्वापिना रेणुना ।
पस्यामूढदिनादिमध्य-विरतौ लोके(ऽ*)न्धकारीकृते ।⁴
व्यक्तिं नाडिकयैव⁵ यान्ति जयिनो यामास्त्रियामास्त्रिव ॥ 14
प्रविशती कलि-मारुत-घट्टिता

15 क्षितिरलक्ष्य-रसातल-वारिधौ ।
गुगशतेरवबध्य समन्ततः
स्फुटित-नौरिव येन बलाद्धि⁶ (द्ध)ता ॥ 15
ज्याघात-व्रग-रुडि-कन⁷ श-भुजा-व्याकृष्ट-शार्ङ्ग-च्युता-
न्यस्यावाप्य पतस्त्रिणो रणमुखे⁸ प्राणानमुञ्च-

16 न्द्विषः ।
यस्मिन्शासति च क्षितिं क्षितिपतौ जातेव भूयस्त्रयी ।⁹
तेन ध्वस्त-कलि प्रवृत्ति-तिमिरः श्री-सूर्यवर्माजनि ॥ 16
यो बालेन्दु सकान्ति कृत्स्न-भुवन-प्रेयो दधयौवनम्(नं)
शान्तः शास्त्र-विचारणा-

17 हित-मनाः पारङ्गलानाङ्गतः ।
लक्ष्मी कीर्त्ति-सरस्वती-प्रभृतयो यं स्वधयेवाश्रिता
लोके कामित-कानि-भाव-रसिकः कान्ता-जनो भूयसा ॥ 17
सद्वत्तेन दलात्कलेरवनति(तं) तावत्प्रवृद्धात्मनो
वाणै-

¹ Išānavarman claims to have driven the Gaudas out of land for all time to come and to have compelled them to take shelter in the waters of the sea. Here is an old convention according to which the national characteristics of a people were represented as the result of their defeat at the hands of a particular hero. The Gaudas were a sea-faring mercantile people and this characteristic has been regarded as effected by Išānavarman's victory. The Maukhari victory over the Andhra king is also referred to in a passage in the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription which seems to be a record of Išānavarman and not of his father Išānavarman as supposed by Fleet (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 228ff.).

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ नाडिका = घटिका = water-clock.

⁴ Śāstri has रणमुखे.

- 18 स्तावदवस्थितं स्मृतिभुवः कान्ता-शरीर-क्षतो ।
 लक्ष्मणा तावदकाण्ड-भङ्गज-भयं त्यक्तम्परापाश्रयम्¹ ।
 यावन्नाविरकारि यस्य जनता-कान्तं वपुर्व्वेधसा ॥ 18
 लक्ष्मणः शलुभुवः कुच-ग्रह-भयावेश-भ्रम-
- 19 होचना ।¹
 येनाकृष्य भुजेन विस्फुरदसि-ज्योतिः-कलासङ्गिना ।
 कान्ता मन्मथिनेव कामित-विदा गाढं निपीड्योरसा ।¹
 प्रायेगान्यमनुन्य-संश्रय-कृतं भावं परित्याजिता ॥ 19
 तेनानतोन्नतिकृता
- 20 मृगया-गतेन
 इष्टाद्यमन्थकभिदो भवनं विशोर्णम् (1*)
 स्वेच्छा-समुन्नतमकारि छलाम भूमेः
 क्षेमेश्वर प्रथित-नाम शशाङ्क-शुभ्रम् ।(1*) 20
 एकादशातिरिक्तेषु षट् शतित-विद्विषि ।
 शतेषु शरदां
- 21 पत्न्यौ भुवः श्रौशानवर्म्माणि ॥ 21²
 यस्मिन्काले(5*) म्बुवाहा नव-गवळ-रुचः प्रान्त-लग्नेन्द्रचापा-
 स्तन्वन्त्याशा-वितानं स्फुरदुरु-तडितः सान्द्र-धीरं ववगन्तः ।
 वाताश्च वान्ति नीपान्नव-कुसुम-चयानम्र-मूर्ध्ना
- 22 धुनाना-
 स्तस्मिन्मुक्ताम्बुमेव-युति भवनमदो निर्मितं शूलपाणेः ॥ 22
 कुमारशान्तेः पुत्रेण गर्गाराकट-वासिना ।
 नृगानुरागात्स्वयमकारि रविशान्तिना ॥ 23³
 उत्कीर्णा मिहिरवर्म्मणा (॥*)

¹ The *danḍa* is redundant.

² The date is given as the year 611 falling in the reign of Isānavarman. The year has to be referred to the Vikrama era, the use of which the Maukharis appear to have carried from Rajasthan to U.P. (cf. Bk. II, Nos. 4-6).

³ The word *nripa* here refers to Śaṅkavarman apparently because he was the ruler of the Harāhā area under his father. He is also mentioned as a *nripa* of the family of the Varmans who were great owing to their lordship over Magadha (निषङ्गे मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां...श्रीमूर्ध्ववर्म्मा नृपः) in the Sirpur Lakshmana temple inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 190ff.) of the Pāṇḍuvamśis. पूर्वा = the above [eulogy = *prafasti*].

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF MADHYA PRADESH

(i) Northern Area

(a) Uchchakalpa Family

No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—[Gupta] Year 193 (= 512 A.D.)¹

КНОН, former Nāgaudh State, now in the Satna District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 126 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (पद्यम्).

TEXT²

First Plate³

1 १५ स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पात्महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य पुस्तस्तत्पादानुदगतो महादेव्या (१०)

¹ Some scholars refer the date to the Kalachuri era, the first year of which corresponds to 243-49 A.D. The Bhumara inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1661), the date of which is possibly 508 A.D., rather than 484 or 520 A.D., shows that Hastin of the Parivrajaka family with dates between 156 and 191 and Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa with dates between 191 and 214 were contemporaries. The dates should be referred to the Gupta era as the region in question formed a part of the Gupta empire (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 267-68). There is no evidence of the Kalachuri era being used in that area in early times. See also Mirasbi in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

³ Fleet says, "The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible, and only detached words can be read here and there.....And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words तमसा-नद्या उत्तरपारे, between महाराज-शर्वनाथः कुशली and ब्राह्मणा-दीन्कुटुम्बिनः, in line 7."

⁴ सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read 'उच्छकल्पा'. The place may be the same as mod. Uchchhabhrā or Unchhabhrā in the former Nāgaudh State. Khoh means 'a cave.'

- 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-
- 3 द्वातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामो तस्य
- 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-व्याघ्रस्तस्य¹
- 5 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वातो महादेव्यामजितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जय-
- 6 नाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वातो महादेव्यां मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
- 7 शर्वनाथः² कुशली तमसा-नद्या उत्तर-पारे आश्रमके ब्राह्मणा-
- 8 दीन्कुटुम्बिनस्तस्यैव-कारुण्यं समाज्ञापयति (1*) विदितम्बास्तु³ यथैष
- 9 ग्रामो मयाचन्द्रावर्क-समकालिकस्तद्रङ्गस्तोपरिकरः⁴ अ-चाट-
- 10 भट-प्रावेद्यधोर-दण्ड-वर्जितः चतुभिरन्द्रो⁵ प्रतिपादितः (1*) अतो-

¹ This Vyāghra is identified by Bhandarkar with Vyāghraśāja of *supra*, No. 2, and with the feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prthivīshepa mentioned in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. But the dates 174 and 177 (=493 and 496, or even 421 and 424 A.D.) of his son Jayanātha (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1194-95) are too late for Vyāghra to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta. The form of the letter *tha* in the records of the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghra is not earlier than the sixth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 248, note 4).

² Fleet: शर्वं.

³ Read कारुण्यं, Tamasā=Tons, tributary of the Ganges. Muraṇḍadevi is also called Muraṇḍasvāminī. The queen possibly belonged to the Muraṇḍa clan, related to the Sakas. There is a tradition about Muraṇḍa influence in East India before the rise of the Guptas; cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 460.

⁴ Read विदितं वोऽस्तु.

⁵ Read *सोडङ्गः, उदङ्ग=उडार, उडुय (Śāśvata)=fixed tax or tax on permanent tenants; cf. Marāṭhī *udhār-jamābandī*, assessing the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions. उपरिकर (cf. Marāṭhī *upri*) =tax paid by temporary tenants, or occasional taxes.

⁶ Read *भिरंशैः, चाट=swindler (cf. चाटतत्करदुष्टं समहासाहसिकादिभिः । पीयमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विमेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य । आचाराध्याय । ३३४) ; भट=soldier. Cf. चाट-भाट, चड-भड, चड-भड, etc., of latter records. Fleet translates अ-चाट-भट-प्रावेद्य as "not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops" while Indrajī points out (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, pp. 81f.) that, according to the *Kumārapālaśarita*, Siddharāja despatched Chāṭas and Bhāṭas to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla and refers to the Bhāṭ community of Western India. Passages like अभटप्रावेद्य, अभटच्छावप्रावेद्य (छाव=छतवाह), प्रतिनिविहचाटभटप्रावेद्य, समस्त राज-कोयानाम् अप्रावेद्य, राजसेवकादीनां वसतिदण्डप्रयाणदण्डौ न स्तः (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 93 note), सर्वसपदराजपुरष-प्रावेद्यविवर्जित, etc., suggest that by चाट-भट royal officers are intended. This appears to be supported by *infra*, No. 58, line 2. भट seems to be a Paik or Barkandāz, and चाट the leader of a group of Bhāṭas. The fines to be imposed on thieves were not granted in favour of the donee. Ghoṣal takes चोरदण्ड in the sense of police tax (*Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 211). Mirasbi (*Nagpur Un. Journ.*, Dec. 1937, p. 28) thinks that this refers to immunity from the entry of royal soldiers and policemen when they had to punish thieves, etc. Vogel regards Chāṭa as the modern Chāṭ (head of a Pargana) of Chamba.

- 11 (५*)'न्श-द्वयं' विष्णुनन्दिनः (१*) अपरो (५*)'प्यन्शः' स्वामिनाग-पुत्र-वणिज-
- 12 शक्तिनागस्य (१*) अपरो(५*)'प्यन्शः' कुमारनाग-स्कन्दनागयोः (॥*) एतत्पु-
- 13 त्त-(पौत्त*)-प्रपौत्त-तत्पुत्राद्यनुक्रमेण' ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टम्] (१*) एभिरप(पि)
मया(*)-
- 14 नुमोदितकं यथोपरिलिखितक-क्रमेणैव स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्धये स्व-प्रति-
- 15 ष्ठापितक-भगवत्पादानामादित्सा'-भट्टारकपादानाञ्च खण्ड-फट्ट'-प्रतिसं-
- 16 स्कार-करगाय वलि' - चरु-सत्त - गन्ध - धूप - माल्य - दीप - [प्र]वर्त्तनाय च(१*)ति-
सृष्टम्]' (१*)

Second Plate.

- 17 तै' यूयमेषां समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि-प्रत्यायोप-^१
- 18 नय'*) करिष्यथाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयाश्च भविष्यथ (१*) ये चास्मद्वन्शोत्पद्य-^{१०}
- 19 मानक-राजानस्तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया यथोकाळञ्च^{११}
- 20 [प्रति]पालनीया समुचित-राजाभाव्य-कर-प्रत्यायाश्च न प्राद्याः (१*) यः
- 21 इमान्दत्तिन्लोपयेत्स^{१२} = पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च^{१३} संयुक्तः*)
- 22 स्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन (१*)
स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता-

^१ Read चतोऽंशः.

^२ Read 'प्यन्शः, वणिज = trader.

^३ Fleet is inclined to supply a word like उपभोग्यः after it.

^४ Evidently 'दित्त, The subscript y, owing to the engraver's carelessness, has got the shape of a subscribed s. Supply मन्दिरयोः. The Bhagavat is possibly Vishnu.

^५ This is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit स्फुटित, Cf. वराहदिष्ट (for वराहदत्त) in-line 80.

^६ Read वलि.

^७ टम् is engraved below च for want of space at the end of the line.

^८ Read तै as in other records, or better तद्.

^९ भाग = royal share of the produce. भोग = periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king. कर = tax to be paid besides the grain share. हिरण्य = money paid in lieu of the king's share of crops. प्रत्याय = revenue. आज्ञाश्रवणविधेय = obedient to commands.

^{१०} Read 'दंशो, दत्ति = gift. Cf. दत्त्वा भूमिं निषत्सं वा कृत्वा लिख्यन्तु कारयेत् । आगामि-भद्र-रूपति-परिचानाय पार्थिवः ॥ पट्टे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा खम्बुद्वीपरिचिह्नितम् । अभिलिख्यात्मनो यंश्यानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः ॥ प्रतिवृद्धपरिमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम् । खड्गस्तकालहम्पत्रं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, Aśhārādhyaśya, vv. 318-20.*

^{११} Read यथा, आभाव्य = भाव्य = accruing in future; sometimes = tax.

^{१२} Read इमान्दत्तिं लो.

^{१३} Read 'स्त पञ्च, Better स्यात् । अज्ञ.

- 23 म्वा' यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
महीम्महीमताच्छेष्ट दानाच्छेष्टोऽनुपाकनं(नम्) (॥*) 1
- 24 प्रायेन' हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते न शुभा' गतिः (1*)
पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्र-
- 25 यच्छन्तो वसुन्धरा(म्) (॥*) 2
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)
यस्य
- 26 यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य' तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 3
पष्टिं वर्षं-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोद-
- 27 ति भूमिदः (1*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-° 4
त्सर्व-सत्य-समृ-
- 28 द्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (1*)
श्वविष्टायां कृमिभृत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जते (॥*) 5
- 29 लिखितं सम्बत्सर-शते° त्वनवत्युत्तरे' चैत्र-मास-दिवसे दशमे
- 30 भोगिक-फाल्गुदत्तामात्य-नप्ला' भोगिक-वराहदत्त-पुत्रे[ण] महा-
- 31 सान्धिविग्रहिक-सनोरथेन (1*) दूतकर्म-(स*)हावलाधिकृत-क्षत्रिय-°
- 32 शिव[गु]प्त[:] (॥*)

1 Read दत्ता वा,

2 Read प्रायेण,

3 नायुभा is usually found in inscriptions for न शुभा.

4 Read भूमि°.

5 Properly °वसेत् ॥ स°.

6 Read संवत्सर°.

7 Read वि°.

8 Properly फाल्गु° and वराहदत्त.

9 भोगिक=Jāgirdār; bhoga=jāgīr. दूतकर्म=दूतक or it may be a case of wrong Sandhi of दूतकः+महा°. For the other offices, see *supra*, p. 360, note. The specific mention of क्षत्रिय may indicate that the Kshatri caste is meant.

No. 50—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Samkshobha—Gupta Year 209 (= 529 A.D.)

KHOB, former Nāgaudh State, now in the Satna District.
FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 114 f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्); V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवजा + उपेन्द्रवजा).

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 १^२ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति (॥*) नवोत्तरे(९*)वर्-शत-द्वये
गुप्तनृप-र(१*)ज्य-भुक्तौ
- 2 श्रीमति प्रवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्ये महाश्वयुज-स(१*)वत्सरे^३ चैत्र-मास-शुक्ल-
- 3 पक्ष-तयोदश्य(१*)मस्यां संवत्सर^४-मास-दिवस-पूर्वाया[^५] (१*) चतुर्दशविद्यास्थान-
विदि-
- 4 त-परमार्थस्य कपिलस्यव^६ महर्षेः सर्व-तत्त्वज्ञस्य^७ भरद्वाज-सगोलस्य नृप-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

³ Read व. The record generally does not distinguish between व and व. The true form of व is however used in संवत्सर (line 3).

⁴ Here is a reference to the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years being named after the lunar months in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. According to this system, there are 11 Jupiterian years in 12 solar years, one year being altogether omitted.

⁵ Read संवत्सर.

⁶ Read पूर्व्यायाम् = during the above [date].

⁷ Read कपिलस्यैव. For the 14 sections of the sciences, cf. षडङ्गमिश्रिता वेदा धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणकम् । मीमांसा तर्कमपि च एता विद्यास्तदुदय ॥

⁸ Read तरव.

- 5 पि¹-परिव्राजक-सुशस्त्रैः कुलोत्पन्नेन महाराज-श्रीदेवाय्य-पुत्रप्रनप्ता महारा-
 6 ज-श्रीप्रभञ्जन-प्रनप्ता महाराज श्रीदामोदर-नप्ता गोसहस्र-हस्त्यश्च-हिरण्यानेक-
 7 भूमि-प्रदस्य गुरुपितृमातृ-पूजा-तत्परस्यात्यन्त-देव-ब्राह्मण²-भक्त्यानेक-समर-
 8 शत-विजयिनः साष्टादशाष्टवो-राज्याभ्यन्तरं उभाला³-राज्यमन्वयागतं समधि-
 9 पालयिन्नोरनेक⁴-गुण-विख्यात-यशसो महाराज-श्री⁵-हस्तिनः सुतेन
 10 वर्णाश्रम-धर्म-स्थापना-निरतेन परमभागवतेनात्यन्त-पितृ-भक्तेन स्व-वं-
 11 शामोदकरेण महाराज-श्रीसंचोमेन⁶ माता-पितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभि-
 12 विर्द्धये⁷ छोड्गोमि-विज्ञाप्या तमेव च स्वर्ग⁸-सोपान-पंक्तिमारोपय-

Second Plate

- 13 ता भगवत्याः पिष्टपुर्याः⁹ कारितक-देवकुले व(व)दि-चह-ससोपयो-
 14 गार्थः¹⁰ खण्ड-स्फुटित-संस्कारार्थञ्च मणिनाग-पेठे¹¹ ओपाणिग्राम-
 15 स्याद्¹² चोर-द्रोहक-वर्जः¹³ तान्न-शासनेनातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) (10)
 तदसत्कुलोत्थैः¹³ म-

1 Read नृपति.

2 Read ब्राह्मण.

3 Fleet suggests that उभाला may also be the reading. In that case however we have to ignore the lower stroke of भ in the second akshara. The 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Dihala or the Jabalpur region. Of the āṭavika kingdoms mentioned in *supra*, No. 2, and तीसल्यां साष्टादशाष्टवोराज्यायां in the Kanak plate of Lokavigraha (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, p. 331).

4 Read समधिपालयिषी०.

5 Read श्री.

6 Read ०मेण.

7 Read ०वृद्धये ; विज्ञापि = विज्ञप्ति.

8 Read स्वर्गं. तम् possibly refers to Chhoḍgomin who may have been the priest of the temple.

9 Pishṭapurī was the name of a local goddess (possibly an aspect of Annapūrnā) established in a temple made by the king. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 29 calls her Pishṭapurikādevī.

10 Read ०योगार्थे.

11 Peṭha is a territorial term; cf. Marāṭhī peṭā.

12 Read ०वर्जः, द्रोहक = evil-doer. चोर-द्रोहक-वर्जः (cf. चोरवर्ज = चोरदण्ड-वर्ज) = with the exception of the right to fines from thieves and mischief-doers.

13 Read ०लोत्थैः.

- 16 त्वादपिण्डोपजीविभिर्वा कालान्तरेष्वपि न व्याघातः कार्यः (1*) एवमाज्ञा-
- 17 स' यो (ऽ*) न्यथा कुर्वात्तमहं देहान्तर-गतो (ऽ*) पि महतावधानेन निर्दहेयं (यम्) (11*)
- 18 उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनः² (1*)
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
- 19 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः³ (1*)
महीम्महिमता('*) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनः⁴ (11*) 1
बहुभिः⁵
- 20 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
- 21 फलं(लम्) (11*) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 22 व नरके वसेत् (11*) 3
भूमि-प्रदानाज्ञा⁶ परं प्रदानं
दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनम्⁷ (1*)
- 23 सर्वे(ऽ*)तिष्ठता('*) परिपाल्य भूमि('*)
नृपा नृगाद्यास्त्रिदिवं प्रपन्ताः ॥ 4
लिखितं⁸
- 24 जीवित-नप्ता भुजंगदास-पुलेश्वरौदासेनेति (1*) स्व-मुखाज्ञा⁹ (1*) चैत-दि २०
(+*) ८ (11*)

¹ Read °ज्ञते. अवधान=contempt.

² Read °व्यासेन. The *visarga* like sign may also be regarded as a mark of punctuation.

³ Read युधिष्ठिर. For the *visarga* sign, cf. above, note 2.

⁴ Read पालनम्.

⁵ Read बहुभिर्वसुधा.

⁶ Read प्रदानाज्ञ.

⁷ Read पालनञ्.

⁸ Read लिखितञ्.

⁹ आज्ञा stands for आज्ञप्ति or दूतक in some records. Here the king appears to have given the order of execution personally. स्वमुखाज्ञा is apparently the same as अवधिनेन आश्रितं of the Prakrit records. Fleet: पुलेश्वरदा० and २० (+*) ८.

(ii) THE AULIKARAS OF DASAPURA
(MANDASOR = MANDSAUR)

No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time
of Naravarman—Mālava (=Vikrama) Year 461
(= A.D. 404)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.
H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 320 f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-13 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् (1*)
सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने (1*)
चतुस्समुद्र-पर्यङ्क-तोय-निद्रालवे नमः (॥*) 1
श्रीमालव-गणाम्नाते² प्रशस्ते कृत-संज्ञिते (1*)
- 2 एकपष्टधिके प्राप्ते समा-ग्रत-चतुष्टय³ (॥*) 2
प्राचूटाले⁴ शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् (1*)
मघे(हे) प्रनृ(वृ)त्ते शक्यस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा (॥*) 3
- 3 निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवसा काश-पुष्पैरलंकृता (1*)
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी तस्य-मालिनी (॥*) 4
दिने आश्वोज-शुक्लस्य⁵ पंचम्यामथ सस्कृते (1*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. The record begins with an adoration to the thousand-headed Purusha identified with Vishnu. Naravarman was the father of Viśavavarman (No. 52) and grandfather of Bandhavarman (No. 21).

² Read श्रीमालव° and चतुष्टये. आघात= handed down. Kṛita or Kṛita was an early name of the Vikrama era. See Bk. II, Nos. 4-6.

³ Shastri : प्राचूटाले.

⁴ आश्वोज in Prakrit for Sanskrit आश्वयुज or अश्वयुज = आश्विन. Better read आश्विन°
निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवस = with standing paddy crop and grass.

- 4 ईदकालवरे रम्ये प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् (॥*) 5
 प्राक्पुण्योपचयाभ्यासात्संवर्द्धित-मनोरथे (॥*)
 जयवर्म्म-नरेन्द्रस्य पौत्रे देवेन्द्र-विक्रमे (॥*) 6
- 5 क्षितीशे सिद्धवर्म्मणस्सिद्धविक्रान्त-गामिनि¹ (॥*)
 सत्पुत्रे श्रीर्म्महाराज²-नरवर्म्मणि पार्थिवे (॥*) 7
 तत्पालन-गुणोद्देशाद्धर्म्म-प्राप्त्यर्थ-विस्तरः (॥*)
- 6 पूर्व[ज]³न्मान्तराभ्यासाद्वलादाक्षित-मानसः⁴ (॥*) 8
 स्व-यशः-पुण्य-संभार-विवर्द्धित-कृतोद्यमः (॥*)
 मृगतृष्णाजल-स्वप्न-विद्वद्दीपशिखा⁵-चलम् (॥*) 9
- 7 जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणङ्गतः (॥*)
 त्रिदशोदार-फलदं स्वर्गंस्त्री-चारु-पल्लवम् (॥*) 10
 विमानानेक-विटपं तोयदांबु-मधु-स्रवम्⁶ (॥*)
- 8 वासुदेवं जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं विभुम् (॥*) 11
 मित-भृत्यात्त-सत्कर्त्ता स्व-कुलस्य (॥*)⁷ चन्द्रमाः (॥*)
 यस्य चित्तं च प्राणाश्च देव-ब्राह्मण-सागता[:]⁷ (॥*) 12
- 9 महाकारुणिकः सत्यो धर्म्मार्जित-महाधनः (॥*)
 सत्पुत्रो वर्ष्णवृद्धेस्तु सत्पौत्रो (॥*)⁵ जयस्य वै (॥*) 13
 दुहितुर्व्वलशूराया[:]⁵ सत्पुत्रो जयमित्त (॥*)⁵ या[:]⁵ (॥*)
- 10

¹ Read सिंह°. The identification of this king with the father of Chandravarman of the Soguniyā inscription (*supra*, No. 40) is impossible. According to some scholars सिंहविक्रान्त-गामिन् indicates that Naravarman was a feudatory of Siphavikrānta (i.e. Siphavikrama or Chandragupta II).

² Read श्रीमहा°.

³ ज was written with an unnecessary curve below; but that seems to have been cancelled. Shastri read ज्ञ.

⁴ सं: seems to have been originally engraved.

⁵ Read विद्यु°.

⁶ Shastri: सावम्. धुं was originally engraved; but the sign for the superscript r seems to have been afterwards cancelled. Note that Vāsudeva is here represented as a tree with the gods (not heaven, as suggested by Shastri) as its fruits, with the *apsarases* as its shoots, and similar branches, etc. फलद=वृक्ष; त्रिदशोदार-फलदः=सुररूपफलानां महावृक्षः. The reference seems to be to the Viśvarūpa conception.

⁷ Better read °सात्कृता; or सत्कृता.

No. 51 A—Bihar-kotra Stone Inscription of the
time of Naravarman—[Mālava = Vikrama]
Year 474 (417 A.D.)

Bihar-kotra, Rajgarh District.

S. N. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 130ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सि*]द्धम् (I*) श्रीर्मम(म)हाराज-नरवर्म्मणः [औ]क्तिकरस्य
- 2 राज्य-संवत्सरे चतुर्षु वर्ष-शतेषु चतु[:*]-
- 3 [स*]प्ततेषु² श्रावण-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम् भट्टिमह-
- 4 र-सत्पुत्रेण वीरसेनेनायमुदपानः खानि-
- 5 तश्चातुर्दिशं भिक्षु-संघमुद्दिश्य (I*) सर्व-सत्त्वा(स्वा)नां
- 6 तृष्णा-क्षयायास्तु [॥]

No. 52—Gangdhār Stone Inscription of Viśva-
varman—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 480 (= 423 A.D.)

GAṄGDHĀR, Jhālāwār District, Rajasthan.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 ff; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 4

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-18 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 19-20 शार्दूलविक्रीडित;
V. 21 वसन्ततिलका; V. 22 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 23
मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 24 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता.

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² Read चतुःसप्तत्यधिकेषु.

- 1 — — — — — मस्य
विष्णोर्भुजस्सुरपति-द्विप-हस्त-[स]र्प[ः*] (1*)
— — — — —
— — —
- 2 — — — — — (11*) 1
प्रख्यात-वीर्य-यशस[ः] [क्षिति]पाधिपानां
वंशोद्भवो [ज*]गति वि[श्रुत-कीर्ति]-भाजाम्* (1*)
— — — — —
- 3 — — — कान्त-
इक्षीमान्वभूव नरवर्ध-नृपः प्रकाशः² ॥ 2
यज्ञैस्सुरान्मुनि-गणा[न्निव]मैरुदारैः[ः]
— — — — — (1*)
- 4 [माने]न भृत्य-जनमप्रतिमेन लोके
यो(ऽ*)तोषयत्सुचरितैश्च जगत्समग्रं(ग्रम्) ॥ 3
हस्त्यश्व-साधन — — — — —
— — — — —
- 5 — खड्ग मरीचमस्तु ॥⁴
ग
सङ्ग्राम-मूर्धसु मुखं समुदीक्ष्य यस्य
नाशम्प्रयान्स्वरि-गणा भय-न[ष्ट-चेष्टाः] (11*) 4
[तस्यात्मजः*]⁴ — — — — —
- 6 — शै महात्मा
बुद्ध्या बृहस्पति-समस्तकलेन्दु-वक्तुः ॥²
औपम्य-भूत इव राम-भगीरथाभ्यां
रा — — — — —

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Viśvavarman was the son of Naravarman (No. 51-51A) and father of Bandhavarman (No. 21).

² प्रकाश = famous.

³ Read मरीचिः. Only one *daṇḍa* is required here for proper punctuation. See also verses 5, 7, etc., below.

⁴ तस्यानुजः is also possible.

- 7 — — [भु^१]वि विश्ववर्मा ॥ 5
 धैर्येण मेरुमभिजाति-गुणेन वैभ्य-
 मिन्दुं प्रभा-समुदयेन बलेन विष्णुं (ः) (१^१)
 [सं^२]-
- 8 [व]त्त^३कानलमसह्यतमञ्च दीप्त्या
 यो विवक्रमेण च सुराधिपतिं विजिग्ये ॥ 6
 व्यावृत्त-मार्गा इव भा-
- 9 [नुरस^४]द्य-मूर्ति-
 व्योम्नोदयाधिकतरोज्ज्वल^१-घोर-दीप्तिः ॥^२
 यश्शक्यते न रिपुभिर्भय-विह्वलाक्षे-
 रुद्री-
- 10 [क्षितुं क्ष^३]गमपि अगृहीत-शस्त्रः ॥ 7
 निवर्भणैरविगतास्त्र-जलाद्र^३-गण्डै-
 विच्छिन्न-मण्डनतयोज्ज्वल-नष्ट-
- 11 [शोभे^४]: ॥^२.
 यस्यारि-कामिनि^३-मुखाम्बुहर्षिर्ज्वलस्य
 पूर्वं प्रताप-चकितै × क्रियते प्रणामः ॥ 8
 रत्नोद्गम-द्युति-
- 12 [विर^४]जित-कूल-तालै-
 रुत्तस्त नवक्र-मकर-क्षत-[फे]न-मालैः ॥^२
 चण्डानिलोद्धत-तरङ्ग-समस्त-हस्तै-
- 13 र्यस्या[ण्णवै^४]रपि बलानि नम × क्रियन्ते ॥ 9
 भूरुद्धि दृ^३त-द्रुम-विकम्पित-शैल-कील-
 विस्तस्त-विद्रुत-मृग-द्विज-शूष्य-गु^४-

¹ Read °ज्ज्वल. व्यभ = free from clouds. व्योदय = rise that is unshadowed by clouds.

² Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

³ नौ has been made नि for the metre's sake. This reminds one of the saying मायमपि मयं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं विवर्जयेत्. बल = prowess, army.

⁴ Read शूष्य, कील = lance; मृग-द्विज = beasts and birds.

14

[लमा*] (1*)

यस्योन्नत-प्रविष[मी]कृत¹-राजमार्गा
स्तेष्य-प्रयाण-समये² विनिमज्जतीव ॥ 10
प्रत्यस्त मौलि-

15

[म*]णि-रश्मि-नख-प्रभान्धै-

रभ्युद्यताञ्जलितया शबलाग्र-गण्डैः ॥³
विद्याधरैः प्रियतमा-भुज-पाश-व-

16

[दे*]-

[र्य*]स्यादरादिवि यश[ि]सि नम × क्रियन्ते ॥ 11
अग्रे (ऽ)पि या⁴ वयसि सम्परिवर्त्तमान-
इशास्त्रानुसार-परि-

17

[वर्द्धित*]-शुद्ध-बुद्धिः ॥⁵

सद्धर्म-मार्गमिव राजसु दर्शयिष्य-
नक्षा-विधिं भरतवज्रगत × करोति ॥ 12
तस्मिन्प्र-

18

[शास*]ति महीन्नुपति-प्रवीरे

स्वर्गं यथा सुरपतावमित-प्रभावे ॥⁶
नाभूदधर्म-निरतो व्यसनान्वितो

19

[वा*]

[लोके*] कदा च न जनस्तुख-वर्जितो वा ॥ 13
यातेषु चतु[र्ष] कृतेषु शतेषु सौस्त्यै-
ष्वाशीत-सोत्तरपदेष्विह वत्स-

20

[रेष*] ॥

शुक्ले त्रयोदश-दिने भुवि कात्तिकस्य
मासस्य सर्वजन-चित्त-सुखावहस्य ॥ 14
नीलोत्पल-प्र-

¹ Read प्रविषमौलित (made uneven).

² Read स्तेष्य, प्रत्यस्त = directed towards. शबल = variegated.

³ Only one danda is required for correct punctuation.

⁴ Read यो, अग्रे वयसि संप० = when he was still in early youth.

⁵ The reading चतुर्ष appears to be correct; but the first of the syllables ought to have been long. Read जनेषु and सीधेष्वाशी०.

- 21 [सृत-रे०] षवरुणाम्बु-कीर्णं
बन्धूक-बाण-कुसुमोज्ज्वल-काननान्ते ॥¹
निद्रा-व्यपाय-समये मधुसूदनस्य
का-
- 22 [ले प्रबु०] द्रकुमुदागर-शुद्ध-तारे² ॥ 15
वापी-तडाग-सुरसङ्घ-सभोदुपान-³
नानाविधोपवन-सङ्क्रम-दीर्घिक[1]-
- 23 [भिः०] ॥⁴
शिष्टामिवाभरण-जातिभिरङ्गनां⁵ स्वां
यो गर्गा रा-तट-पुरं सकलद्वकारं⁶ ॥ 16
राजस्त्रितीयमिव⁷ चक्षुरुदा-
- 24 [र-वृत्ति०]-
हैव-द्विजाति-गुरु-व[1] न्धव-साधु-भक्तः ॥⁸
शास्त्रे स्तुते च विनये⁹ व्यवहार-हीने
यो(ऽ०)पक्षपात-रहितो निद[धौ]
- 25 [स्व-चिन्त०] ॥ 17
सर्वस्य जीवितमनित्यमसारवच्च
दोष्ठा-चलामनुविचिन्त्य तथा विभूतिम् ॥¹
न्यायाग[ते०]-

¹ Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

² काल=शरत्काल. Note that Viṣṇu sleeps during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha śukla 11 to Kārttika śukla 11. आगर=अमावास्या; Fleet takes it in the sense of आगर. प्रबुद्धकुमुदागर-शुद्धतार=adorned with blossomed lilies and shining stars of the new moon.

³ Read ०भोदुपान. उदुपान is Prakrit from Sanskrit उदपान (=well or cistern). सुरसङ्घ=temple. सभा=shelter, hall. सङ्क्रम=bridge.

⁴ Fleet सेष्ट०.

⁵ Read समल०. Gargarā has been supposed to be the ancient name of the modern Kālī-sindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The city referred to (Gaṅgadhār?) seems to have been a provincial capital of Viśvavarman. The main capital was Daśapura=Mandasor (Mandsaur).

⁶ Read ०सूतीय०.

⁷ Read विनये. For the omission of *visarga* in शास्त्रे, see p. 404, note 7. व्यवहार=litigation, dispute.

- 26 [न वि*]भवेन पराञ्च भक्तिं
विष्ण्यापयन्नुपरि चक्र-गदा-धरस्य¹ ॥ 18
पीन-व्यायत-वृत्त-लम्बि-सुभुज × खड्ग-म[णै]-
- 27 [रङ्गि*]तः ॥²
कर्णान्त-प्रतिसर्पमान ण)-नयनः*) ग्यामावदातच्छविः³ ॥⁴
दर्पाविक्रितसोर-शत्रु-मथनो⁵ दुष्टाश्व-⁶
- 28 [यन्ता*] बली ॥⁷
भक्त्या चासुहृदाञ्च बान्धव-समो धर्मार्थ-कामोदितः ॥ 19
प्रज्ञा-शौर्य-कुलोद्गतो दिशि
- 29 [दिशि*] प्रख्यात-वीर्यो वशी ।⁸
पुत्रे विष्णुभटे तथा हरिभटे सम्बद्ध-वङ्ग(वंश)-क्रियः ॥⁹
एत-
- 30 [स्वाप*]-पथावरोधि विपुलश्री-बलभेरात्मजैः⁷ ॥²
विष्णो स्थानमकारयद्भगव-
- 31 [तदश्री*]मान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 20
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमस्य यस्य
दृष्टाकृतिं⁹ प्र-
- 32 [मुदितै*]वन्दनारविन्दिः⁹ ॥⁴
विद्याधराः प्रियतमा-सहिताः सु-शोभ-
मादर्शि-विम्ब-¹⁰

¹ Vishnu is the wielder of both the discus and the club. उपरि = on.

² The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ Read ग्यामा°.

⁴ Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

⁵ Read °धृत-सार°.

⁶ Read दुष्टाश्व (=दुष्टजनरूपाश्वा).

⁷ Read बलभै°. Note that the omission of *visarga* after विष्णो; (as also after शास्त्रे: in line 24) is supported by the *vārttika* खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः; on Pāṇini's *sandhi* rule वा शरि (८.१.३६).

⁸ Read °कृतिं.

⁹ Read °विन्दे:

¹⁰ Read °दर्श.

- 33 [मिव*] यान्त्यवलोकयन्तः ॥ 21
यान्दृष्टा सुर सुन्दरी-कर-तल-व्याघृष्ट-पृष्ठ-क्षणम् ॥¹
प्रत्या-
- 34 [वर्त्त*] न-शङ्कितो रथ-हयानाक्रि(कु)प्य चञ्चत्सटान् ॥²
पुण्योदक-मति-प्रभाव-मुनिभिस्सं-
- 35 [स्तू*] यमानो (ऽ*) म्वरे ॥³
संरज्याञ्जलि-कूटलन्नत-शिरा⁴ भीतः प्रयात्त्यङ्गु र्यंशु)मान् ॥ 22
मातृणाञ्च⁴
- 36 [प्रमु*] दित घनात्यर्थं निहादिनीनाम् ॥¹
तन्त्रोद्भूत-प्रवल-पवनोद्भूतिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ॥²
- 37 — — — — गतमिदं डाकिनी-संप्रकीर्णम् ॥¹
वेश्मात्युग्रं नृपति-सचिवो (ऽ*) कारयत्पुण्य-हेतोः ॥ 23
पाताले — — —
- 38 — — — रतिभिर्गुप्तं भुजङ्गो (प*) मैः ॥¹
शीत-स्वाद्-विशुद्ध-भूरि-सलिलं सोपानि-मालोज्ज्वलम्⁵ ॥²
द — — —
- 39 — — — गहनं क्षीरोदधि-स्पद्भिन्नम् ॥¹
कूपञ्चै नमकारयद्गुण-निधिः श्रीमान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 24
यावच्च — — —
- 40 — — — सागरा रत्नवन्तो
नाना-गुल्म-द्रुम-वनवती यावदुर्वी स[शै]ला ॥²
यावच्चेन्दुग्रह-गण-चितं व्योम भा[सीक*]-
- 41 [रोति*]
[ता*] वकीर्त्तिर्भवतु विपुला श्रीमयूराक्षकस्येदिति⁶ (॥*) 25
सिद्धिरस्तु (॥*)

1 The punctuation mark is unnecessary. यां = चाकृतिं. Possibly °पृष्ठेषणान्.

2 Only one *daṇḍa* is necessary for proper punctuation. चञ्चत्सट = with tossing manes.
उदकं = result.

3 Read संकुच्यञ्जलिकुट्मलप्र°.

4 Read मातृ°. तल = spell. वेश्मन् = abode. The temple for the Mothers indicates the influence of the Tantra cult. For another early temple of the Divine Mothers, see the Deogarh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 126f.). Cf. also the Chhoti Sadri inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 120ff.

5 Read सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्.

6 Read °कस्य ॥ इति ॥. चित = full of.

No. 52A—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Prabhakara¹—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 524 (467 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.
M. B. GARDE, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 12-18.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 वसन्ततिलक; Vv. 2-16 उपजाति; V. 17 पद्यी; V. 18
श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*)
ये[ने]दमुद्भव-निरोध-परंपरायां
मग्नं जगद्विविध-दुःख-निरन्तरायाम् (।*)
तिस्त्वासुना लिपदिरो(को)² निरदेशि धर्म-
स्तस्मै नमो(ऽ*)स्तु सुगताय [ग]ताय शान्तिम् (॥*) 1
- 2 गुप्तान्वय-व्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः
श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-प्रथिताभिधानः (।*)
भासीन्नृपो लोक-विद्योचनानां
नवोदितश्चन्द्र इवापहर्ता (॥*) 2
भुवः पती[नां] भुवि भूपतित्व-
माच्छिद्य
- 3 धी-विक्रम-साधनेन (।*)
नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन
स्व-वंश्य-पाशैरवपाशिता भूः (॥*) 3
गोविन्दवत्ख्यात-गुप्त-प्रभावो
गोविन्दगुप्तोज्जित(त³)-ना[मधे]यम् (।*)
वसुन्धरेश-

¹ There is little doubt that Prabhākara belonged to the Aulikara family of Daśapura and was a successor of Bandhuvarman (No. 21 above) who ruled in the Mālava year 493 (436 A. D.) and was the son and successor of Viśvavarman (No. 52 above, dated in the Mālava year 480=423 A. D.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

³ Dharma has been called *tri-padika* because the Buddhist faith stands on the trinity, viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

4 स्तनयं प्रजज्ञे¹
स दिव्यदि[त्यो]स्तनयैस्सरूपम् (॥*) 4
यस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमित-प्रतापै-
दिशरोभिरालिङ्गित-पादपद्मे ।
विचार-दो[क्षां] विदुधाधिपो (५*) पि
शङ्कापरीतः

5 समुपा[रु]रोह (॥*)² 5
सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना
वायुादिना रक्षित-पश्चिमेन (१*)
यस्यारिसेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां
न कस्यचिद्धोचनमार्गमीयुः (॥*) 6

6 शौचानु-
राग-व्यं(व्य)वसाय-मेधा-
दाक्ष्य-क्षमादिङ्गणराशिमेकः (१*)
यशश्च यश्चन्द्र-मरीचि-गौरं
दधार धाराधर-धीर-घोषः (॥*) 7
उदीच्य भूभृत्कुल-चन्द्रिकायां
स रा[ज]पुत्रगां

¹ Correctly it should be जनयामास. For similar cases, cf. तेन जातः in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals and जज्ञि and जज्ञे in the causative sense in the Chāṭeśvara inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 122).

² The reference to Indra's fear for Govindagupta and to the latter's feudatories has been taken to suggest that Govindagupta was an imperial ruler. This is unwarranted. See No. 53, Vv. 6 and 13; *I. H. Q.*, XXIV, pp. 72-75. Govindagupta was apparently ruling as the viceroy over some areas (which included Malwa recently conquered from the Śakas) of the empire of his father Chandragupta II. His viceregal headquarters may have been at Ujjayinī.

³ General Vāyurakshita's wife was the daughter of a ruler of Udīchya or Uttarāpatha, i.e. the land between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus.

- 7 अं(ज)नयांवभूव¹ ।
नाम्नात्मजं दत्तभटं गुणानां
कीर्त्तेश्व यो(ऽ*)भूस्त्रिलयः पि[ते]व ।(1*) 8
दाने धनेशं धियि वाचि चेशं²
रतौ स्मरं संयति पाशपाणिम् ।(1*)
यमर्त्थि-
- 8 विद्वत्प्रमदारिवर्गा-
स्सम्भावयांचक्रु रनेकधैकम् ॥*) 9
गुप्तान्वयारि-द्रुम-भूमकेतुः³
प्रभाकरो भूमिपतिर्यमेनम् ।(1*)
स्वेयाम्बलानां बलदेववीर्यं
गुणा-
- 9 नुरागादधिपं चकार ॥
चिकीर्षुणा प्रत्युपकार-लेशं
तेनैष पितोः शुभयोग-सिद्धेय ।
स्तूप-प्रपारामवरैरुपेतः
कूपो(ऽ*)गर्णवागाधजलो [व्य]खानि ।(1*) 11
यस्मि-
- 10 न्सुहृत्सहस्र-शीतलञ्च
मनो मुनीनामिव निम्मलं च ।
वचो गुरुगामिव चाम्बु पत्थ्यं
पेपीयमानः सुखमेति लोकः ।(1*) 12
शरत्तिशानाथ-करामळायाः(या)

¹ Cf. note on प्रज्ञप्ते in line 4.

² This has been taken to mean "the lord of speech (i.e. Brihaspati) in talent", although the meaning actually is "Iśa (Śiva) in talent and speech".

³ This shows that Prabhākara was a feudatory of the Gupta emperors.

- 11 विख्यापके मानव-वङ्ग(वंश)-कीर्त्तः ।
 शरद्वर्षे पञ्चशते व्यतीते
 वि-धातिताष्टाभ्यधिके क्रमेण ।(1*) 13
 भृङ्गाङ्ग-भारालस-वाल-पद्मे
 काले प्रपञ्चे रमणीय-साले ।
- 12 गतासु देशान्तरित-प्रियासु
 प्रियासु काम-ज्वलनाहुतित्वम् ॥*) 14
 नात्युष्ण-शीतानिल-कम्पितेषु
 प्रवृत्त-मत्तान्यभृत-स्वते(ने)षु ।
 प्रियाधरोष्ठारुण-पल्लवेषु
- 13 नवां व[ह]त्सूपवनेषु कान्तिम् ॥¹ 15
 यो धातुमात्रे हत-धातु-दोषः
 सर्व-क्रिया-सिद्धिमुवाच तस्य² ।
 कुन्देन्दु-शुभ्रो(ऽ*)ध्वज-विष्ट-यष्टि-
 रयं कृतो धातुवरः³ स-कूपः ।(1*) 16
- 14 अनेक-सरिदङ्गनाङ्ग-परिभोग-नित्योत्सवो
 महावर्णव इवाम्बुतो(नो) निचय एष मा भू(त्*) क्षयी ।
 सुरासुर-नरोरगेन्द्र-महितो(ऽ*)प्ययं धातुष्ट-
 कपरैतु सम-
- 15 कालताममरभूभराकर्केन्दुभिः ।(1*) 17
 स्तूप-कूप-प्रपारामा ये चैते परिकीर्त्तिताः (1*)
 लोकोन्त(त्त)र-विहारस्य⁴ सीम्नि ते(ऽ*)भ्यन्तरीकृताः(*) ॥ 18
 रविलस्य कृतिः⁵ ।(1*)

¹ The reference is apparently to the spring season. शरद्वर्ष = years.

² The reference is to the Buddha.

³ *Dhātu-para* really means the relics of the Buddha; but here it means a *stūpa* built on the Buddha's relics. Such *stūpas* were usually called *dhātu-garbha*.

⁴ The Buddhist monastery, within which the *stūpa*, *kūpa* (well), *prapā* (shed for supplying free drinking water) and *ārāma* (garden) were made, was known as the Lokottara-vihāra.

⁵ The poem was the composition of a poet named Ravila.

No. 52B—Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription [of Gauri] of the time of Ādityavardhana (c. 490-500 A.D.)¹

Mandasor, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 127ff.; XXXIII, pp. 205ff.; *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 73ff.; XXXVI, pp. 191ff.; V. V. Mirashi, *I.H.Q.*, XXXIII, pp. 314ff.; XXXV, pp. 254ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

- 1 [जितं भग*][वता तेन] गरुडमर(द्र)ध-यायिना ।³
लैलोक्याम * * * *
- 2 [विष्णुना चक्र*]पाणिना ॥ 1
जित्वा रिपुबलं संखे(ख्ये) रम्यं पुर(रं) दशादि[कम् ।*]
- 3 [पाळयति*] [न रम्याग्रे नरेन्द्रादित्यवर्द्धने ॥ 2
आसीन्मान * * * *
- 4 * * * * * वर्द्धणः(नः ।)
राष्ट्रवर्द्धण(न)-सत्पुत्रः(खो) यशोगुप्तो नरा[धिपः ॥*] 3
- 5 [तस्यानेन त*][नू]जेन श्री-महाराज-गौरिणा ॥ 4⁵
यस्य मातामहः श्री[मान्*]
- 6 * * * * [प्रताप]वान् (।*)
हरिशूरेति विख्याता जननी च पतिव्रता ॥ 5

¹ Ādityavardhana's date is suggested by the Chhoti Sadri inscription (Vikrama year 547=491 A. D.) of his feudatory Gauri (*Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 120ff.). Another king of the Aulikara dynasty, who probably flourished earlier than Ādityavardhana, was the Āvantika nripa Dravyavardhana mentioned as the author of a work on the *śākuna-śāstra* in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (86. 2) of Varāhamihira who seems to have composed his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in Saka 427 (505 A. D.). Dravyavardhana was a *Mahārājādhirāja*, and Ādityavardhana had his capital at Daś-ādika-pura = Daśapura.

² See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

³ The punctuation is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. See also such marks in the other lines.

⁴ The name of Gauri's family is given as Mānavāyani in the Chhoti Sadri inscription.

⁵ This is a half verse to be read along with verse 7.

- 7 * * * * समासाद्य तर्ष्वा तममनुत्तमं(मम् ।)
दत्त्वा(त्वा) दानं द्विजेभ्य[श्च*]
8 [माता यस्य*] दिवङ्गता ॥ 6
येन कृपास्तटाकानि मण्डपाश्च मनो[हराः ।*]
9 [कारिताः पुण्य*]-वृद्धार्थं ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥ 7
तेनेदं नगराभ्या[से]
10 [मातुः पुण्याभि*]वृद्धये ।
खानितं(त)स्स[र्व-सत्त्वा(त्वा)नां] सुख-[पेयो ज]ला[शयः ॥*] 8
11 प्रद तेव मातापितो.....[॥*] 9

No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of
Yaśodharman alias Vishnuvardhana¹—
Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 589 (= 532 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandsaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 152ff. ; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 220; XX, pp. 118ff. ; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 9.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 पुष्पिताया; V. 2 शिखरिणी; V. 3 मालिनी; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 मालिनी; Vv. 6-7 वसन्ततिलका; V. 8 समधरा; V. 9 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 10 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 मालिनी; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 मालिनी; Vv. 14-16 लोभक (अनुष्टुप्); Vv. 17-18 मालिनी; V. 19 समधरा; Vv. 20-22 मालिनी; V. 23 शिखरिणी; V. 24 चार्या; V. 25 मन्दाकान्ता; V. 26 मालिनी; V. 27 समधरा; V. 28 शालिनी.

¹ In interpreting verses 5 and 6 of the record, Fleet suggests that Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana were not identical and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. He thinks that Yaśodharman was a जनैन्द्र = tribal ruler, and Vishnuvardhana a नराधिपति = king of men. But both the words mean 'a king' and the context shows that they were used for the sake of alliteration. It should further be noted that Yaśodharman is also called a *samrāt* (the same as *rājādhirāja-paramēśvara* of this record) in *infra*, No. 54. The passage स एव, Vishnuvardhana's title राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर, and the facts that Mandasor was apparently the capital of Yaśodharman and that the engraver was very probably an officer of Yaśodharman (cf. No. 54, line 9), go very strongly to suggest that Yaśodharman and Vishnu-

TEXT¹

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)

स जयति जगतां पतिः पिनाकी
स्मित-रव-गीतिषु यस्य दन्त-कान्तिः ।
द्युतिरिव तडितां निशि स्फुरन्ती
तिरयति च स्फुटयत्यदश्च विश्वम् ॥ 1
स्वयम्भूर्भूतानां स्थिति-लय-[समु*]-

2

त्यत्ति-विधिषु

प्रयुक्तो येनाज्ञां वहति भुवनानां विष्टतये ।
पितृत्वं चानीतो जगति गरिमाणं गमयता
स शम्भुर्भूयान्सि² प्रतिदिशतु भद्राणि भव[ताम्*] ॥ 2
फण-मणि-गुरुभार[ाक्क*]-

3

न्ति-दूरावनन्न³

स्थगयति रुचमिन्दोर्मण्डलं यस्य मूर्ध्नाम् (॥*)
स शिरसि विनिबध्नन्निधनीमस्थिमालां
सृजतु भव-सृजो⁴ वः क्लेश-भङ्गं भुजङ्गः ॥ 3
पट्या सहस्रैः सगरात्मजानां
स्नात[ः*]

4

ख-तुल्यां रुचमादधानः ।

अस्योदपानाधिपतेश्विराय
यशान्सि⁴ पायात्पयसां विधाता ॥ 4

vardhana were names of one and the same king. पुनश्च = "further more" does not introduce a new person but only new details about the king. राज्ञी जितो विजयते अगर्तो पुनश्च = 'besides, having been victorious in battle (referred to in verse 5), he acquired the earth [by conquest]. See also p. 413, note 4. Yashodharman's relationship with the earlier Aulikaras is not known. He was a Śaiva while the earlier members of the family were Vaiṣṇavas.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Read ०भूयान्सि. तिरयति च स्फुटयति = envelops and brings into full view.

3 Note that the Śaivas consider Śiva to be Creator, Preserver and Destroyer all in one. रुच् (fem.) = splendour. मण्डल = multitude.

4 Read यशान्सि. Note the epic story of the 60,000 sons of the Ikṣhvāku king Sagara, who dug out the earth and went to the nether world in search of the horses let loose in connection with their father's Aśvamedha. Thus they excavated the bed of the ocean, called sāgara after their father.

अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री-यशोधर्मा-नामा
प्रमद-वनमिवान्तः¹ शस्तु-सैन्यं विगाह्य (1*)
वण-

5 किललय-भङ्गैर्यो (5*) ऋभूपां विधत्ते
तरुण-तरु-लतावद्दीर-कीर्त्तीर्त्विनाम्य² ॥ 5
आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च
श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन-नराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकर-लाञ्छन आत्म-

6 वङ्गो³
येनोदितोदित-पदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ 6
प्राचो नृपान्सुबृहतश्च बहूनुदीचः
साम्ना युधा च वशगान्प्रविधाय येन (1*)
नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं
राजाधिराज-परमे-

7 श्वर इत्युदुडम् ॥ 7⁴
स्तिग्ध-श्यामाम्बुदामैः स्थगित-दिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्य-धूम्रै-
रम्भोमेध्यं मघोनावधिषु विदधता गाढ-सम्पन्न-सखाः ।
संहर्षाद्वाणिनीनां कर-रभस-हृतो-

¹ अन्तः=in the interior.

² विनाम्य for विनम्य is not grammatically happy.

³ Read वंशो. जितौ=conqueror. The meaning of औलिकर is unknown. Fleet suggests the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon. लाञ्छन=mark or token, is taken by that scholar to mean "the crest" which is the principal emblem impressed by kings on the seals attached to their charters and is different from the emblem on their *dheajā* or banners. The Rattas of Saundatti and Belgaum had सुवर्णगरुडध्वज and सिम्हुरलाञ्छन; the Kadambas of Banavasi and Goa had शाखाचरेन्द्रध्वज or वानरमहाध्वज and सिंहलाञ्छन. But Fleet's view may not be true in all cases; the Guptas, e.g., appear to have had the Garuda both on their seals and their banners. Yasodharman belonged to the same Aulikara family as Naravarman (cf. the Biharkotra inscription) and his successors.

⁴ The verse indirectly refers to Yasodharman-Vishnudevardhana's victory over the Guptas of the east and the Hūgas of the north, which afforded him the right to the title of a universal monarch. Cf. No. 54, verse 4. It is difficult to say whether No. 51 is earlier than No. 53. मघोना=by Indra; अभोमेध्यं=प्रचुरसज्जलमेघान्, वाणिनी=wanton woman.

8

द्यानचूताङ्कुराम्रा

राजन्वन्तो रमन्ते भुज-विजित-भुवा भूरयो येन देशाः ॥ 8

यस्योत्केतुभिरुन्मद-द्विप-कर-व्याविद्ध-लोध्र-द्रुमै-

रुद्धूतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनि-नदद्विन्याद्वि-रन्ध्रैर्वलैः (1*)

बाले-

9

य-च्छवि-धूमरेण रजसा मन्दाङ्कुरैः¹ संलक्ष्यते

पर्यावृत्त-शिखण्डि-चन्द्रक² इव ध्यामं रवेर्मण्डलम् ॥ 9

तस्य प्रभोर्वृद्धकृतां³ नृपाणां

पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत-पुण्यकीर्तिः ।

भृत्यः स्व-नैभृत्य-जिता-

10

रि-पट्ट⁴

आसीद्वसीयान्किल पष्टिदत्तः ॥ 10

हिमवत इव गाङ्गस्तुङ्ग-नम्रः प्रवाहः

शशभृत इव रेवा-वारि-राशिः प्रथीयान् (1*)

परमभिगमनीयः श्रुद्धिमानन्ववायो

यत उदित-गरि-

11

मगस्तायते नैगमानाम् ॥ 11

तस्यानुकूलः कुलजात्कलसा-

त्सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः ।

हरेरिवाङ्क⁵ वशिनं वराहं

वराहदासं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 12

सुकृति-विपयि-तुङ्गं⁶ रुद्धमूलं

¹ Read मन्दाङ्कुर, बालियच्छविधूमर=smoke-coloured like an ass. धूसर may also be intended. ध्याम=black.

² I.e., the eye on a peacock's tail reversed (=looked at from the wrong side).

³ Read ०वृंश, वंशकृत=ancestor; नैभृत्य=resoluteness; वसीयान्=excellent; नैगम 'inhabitant of a nigama, a merchant'. See Lüders' List, p. 217.

⁴ The six enemies hindering religious practices are कामक्रोधस्तथा लोभी मदमोही च मत्सरः.

⁵ Read ०वांशं

⁶ Read ०विपयं which is Kielhorn's reading. I.e. 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions' (mountain); 'eminent in containing men who perform good actions (family)'. अपगतभङ्ग=free from breaks.

- 12 धरायां
स्थितिमपगतभङ्गां स्थेयसीमादधानम् (1*)
गुरु-शिखरमिवाद्रेस्तकुलं स्वात्म-भूत्या
रविरिव रविकीर्त्तिः सुप्रकाशं व्यधत् ॥ 13
विभ्रता शुभ्रमभ्रङ्गि (भ्रंशि) स्मात्तं वत्सोचितं सताम् (1*)
न विसंवा-¹
- 13 दिता येन कलावपि कुलीनता ॥ 14
धुत-धीदीधिति-ध्वान्तान्हविर्भुज इवाध्वरान् (1*)
भानुगुप्ता ततः साध्वी तनयांस्त्रीनजीजनत् ॥ 15
भगवद्गोप इत्यासीत्प्रथमः कार्यवत्सु ।
आल-
- 14 म्यनं बान्धवानामन्धकानामिवोद्धवः ॥ 16
बहु-नय-विधि-वेधा गह्वरे (5*) प्यर्थ-मार्गो
विदुर इव विदूरं प्रेक्षया प्रेक्षमाणः ।
वचन-रचन-बन्धे संस्कृत-प्राकृते यः
कविभिरुदि-
- 15 त-रागं गीयते गीरभिज्ञः ॥ 17
प्रणिधि-द्वगनुगन्ता यस्य बौद्धेन चाक्षणा
न निशि तनु दवीयो वास्त्यदृष्टं धरित्याम्² (1*)
पदमुदयि दधानो (5*) नन्तरं तस्य चाभू-
त्स भयमभयदत्तो नाम
- 16 वि[प्र]न्प्रजानाम्³ ॥ 18
विन्ध्यस्यावन्ध्य-कम्मां शिखर-तट-पतत्पाण्डु-रेवाम्बुराशे-
र्गोलाङ्गलैः सहेल⁴-प्लुति-नमित-तरोः पारियात्रस्य चाद्रेः ।
आ सिन्धोरन्तरालं निज-शुचि-सचिवाद्धपा-

¹ Read विसंवादिता.

² धरित्याम् is to be taken with अदृष्ट and not with दधानः.

³ "Abhayadatta maintaining a high position and preventing any fear on the part of his subjects."

⁴ Fleet : सहेलं.

17

सितानेक-देशं

राजस्थानीय-वृत्त्या¹ सुरगुरुरिव यो वर्णिनां भूतये (५*) पात ॥ 19
विहित-सकल-वर्णासङ्गरं शान्त-डिम्बं
कृत इव कृतमेतद्येन राज्यं निराधि ।
स धुरमयमिदानीं

18

दोषकुम्भस्य सूनु-

गुरु वहति तदूदां धर्मतो धर्मदोषः ॥ 20²
स्व-सुखमनभिवाच्छन्दुर्गमे (५*) दून्यसङ्गां
धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो (५*) दधञ्चतुर्यं ।
वहति नृपति-वेपं केवलं लक्ष्म-मास्त³

19 वलिनमिव विलम्बं कम्पलं बाहुलेयः⁴ ॥ 21

उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जाति-रत्नै-⁵
भुञ्ज इव पृथुलांसस्तस्य दक्षः कनीयान् (1*)
महदिदमुदपानं खानयामास विभ्र-

20 च्छुति-हृदय-नितान्तानन्दि निर्होष-नामा ॥ 22

सुखाश्रेय-च्छायं परिणति-हित-स्वादु-फलदं
गजेन्द्रेणारुणं द्रुममिव कृतान्तेन बलिना ।
पितृव्यं प्रोद्दिश्य प्रियमभयदत्तं पृ-

¹ Read वृत्त्या, राजस्थानीय = a feudatory or viceroy; cf. तलवर = तुष्टभूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्ट-बन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 12); प्रजापालनार्थमुदहति रक्षयति च स राजस्थानीयः [in the *Lokoprakāśa* (C.I.I., III, p. 157, note). Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land lying between the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra (p. 204, note 1) and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea, as a viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Vishṇu-wardhana. Doṣhakumbha, father of Dharmadosha, was a younger brother of Abhayadatta.

² डिम्ब = hostility. तदूद = borne by him (Abhayadatta).

³ Fleet : ०मनति०. Read ०बान्धुन्दु०. असङ्ग = अप्रतिबन्ध. Fleet has यो दध०.

⁴ बाहुलेय = bull, from बहूला, a cow. बलिन् = weighty.

⁵ Read ज्ञाति which is Kielhorn's reading. The first line means "invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, by excellent relatives", and "with a beneficial protective ornament fastened by excellent relatives".

21

धु-धिया

प्रथीयस्तेनेदं कुशलमिह कम्मोपरचितं(तम्) ॥ 23

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेश्वेकान्ननवति-सहितेषु ।

मालव-गण-स्थिति-वशात्काल-ज्ञानाय लिखितेषु¹ ॥ 24

य-

22

स्मिन्काले कल-मृदु-गिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा

भिन्दन्तीव स्मर-शर-निभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ।

भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुवनं भार-मन्द्रश्च यस्मि-

न्नाधूत-ज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छूयते पुष्प-

23

केतोः ॥ 25

प्रियतम-कुपितानां कम्पयन्बद्धरागं²

किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां (1*)

उपनयति नभस्वान्मान-भङ्गाय यस्मि-

न्कुसुम-समय-मासे तत्त्व निम्मपितो(ऽ*)यम् ॥ 26

24

यावत्तुङ्गैरुदन्वान्किरण-समुदयं सङ्ग-कान्तं³ तरङ्गै-

राळिङ्गजिन्दु-बिम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुहृत्ताम् (1*)

विभ्रत्सौधान्त-लेखा-वलय-परिगतिं मुण्डमालामिवायं

सत्कूपस्तावदा-

25

स्ताममृत-सम-रस-स्वच्छ-विष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥ 27

धीमां⁴ दक्षिणः सत्यसन्धो

हीमाच्छू(छू)रो वृद्ध-सेवी कृतज्ञः ।

बद्धोत्साहः स्वामि-कार्येष्वखेदो

निर्दोषो(ऽ*)यं पातु धर्मं चिराय ॥ 28

उत्कीर्णा⁵ गोविन्देन ॥

¹ स्थिति=settled rule, ordinance, established custom. वशात्=owing to. Here स्थितिवशात् (owing to the custom) seems to mean "according to the custom [established by the republic of the Mālavas]" and to be the same as स्थित्या in *supra*, No. 21, line 19. एकात्र-नवति=एकीननवति.

² Fleet: रामयन्बद्ध°.

³ I.e., lovely owing to the contact with water. °दयासङ्गकान्तं may also be intended.

⁴ Read धीमान्. Fleet takes the name to be Daksha and Kielhorn to be Nirdosha. The occurrence of both of these words in verses 22 and 28 suggests that Daksha had the second name Nirdosha.

⁵ Better supply पूर्वा or प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा.

✓ No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription
of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.)¹

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandasaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 146f.; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 219f.; XX, p. 188; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1870.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-8 सप्तशत ; V. 9 श्लोक (चण्डभ).

TEXT²

- 1 वेपन्ते यस्य भीम-स्तनित-भय-समुद्भ्रान्त-दैत्या दिगन्ताः
शृङ्गाघातैः सुमेरोर्विघटित-दृषदः कन्दरा यः करोति ।
उक्षाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधर-तनया-दत्त-[पञ्चाङ्गुला]ङ्गं
द्राघिष्ठः शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रु-तेजाङ्गि³ केतुः ॥ 1
- 2 आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनय-पटुभिल्लङ्घिताचार-[मा]गै-
र्मोहादैर्दंयुगीनैरपशुभ-रतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्षमा शार्ङ्गपाणेर्विव कठिन-धनुर्ज्या-किणा[ङ्ग]-प्रकोष्ठ[⁴]
बाहु⁵ लोकोपकार-व्रत-सफल-परिस्पन्द⁶-धीरं प्रपन्ना ॥ 2
- 3 निन्द्याचारेषु यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्विनय-मुपि युगे कल्पना-मात्स-वृत्त्या(त्या)
राजस्वन्येषु पाङ्कटिव⁷ कुसुम-वलिर्ज्ञावभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
स श्रेयो धाम्नि सम्राडिति⁸ मनु-भरतालक्क⁹-[मान्धा¹⁰तृ-कल्पे
कल्याणे हेमिन् भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यत्न शब्दः¹¹ ॥ 3

¹ Yaśodharman's known date is the Vikrama year 539=532 A. D. (see *supra*, No. 53).

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

³ Read तेजाभि. The inscribed pillar is described as the banner of Śiva.

⁴ The original looks like परिस्पन्दि.

⁵ Read पांसु.

⁶ सप्तशत = a ruler of kings and performer of the Rā'asūya. Cf. verse 7 of No. 53 above.

⁷ "He, in whom possessed of a wealth of virtue and so falling but little short of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of 'Universal Sovereign',—which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a more imaginary meaning to other kings of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, being in their case like an offering of flowers placed in the dust,—shines even more than it ordinarily does, like a resplendent jewel set in good gold."

- 4 ये भुक्ता गुप्त-नाथैन्न सकल-वसुधावक्रान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापे-
 र्त्ताज्ञा ह्यणाधिपाना['] क्षितिपति-मुकुटादुपसिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
 देशास्तान्धन्व-शैल-द्रुम-श(ग)हन-सरिद्वीरबाहुपगूढा-
 न्वीर्यावस्कन्न-राजः स्व-गृह-परिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥ 4¹
- 5 आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवन-गह[नो]पत्यकादा महेन्द्रा-
 दा गङ्गाश्लिष्ट-सानोस्तुहिनशिखरिण-पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।
 सामन्तैर्यस्य² बाहु-द्रविण-हत-म[दै]ः पादयोरानमन्नि-
 श्रूडा-रत्नाङ्ग-राजि-व्यतिकर-शयला भूमि-भागाः क्रियन्ते ॥ 5³
- 6 (स्याणोरन्यत्स येन प्रणति-कृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाहं
 यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिदुर्गं-शब्दाभिमान[म्] ।)
 नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणति-भुजबलावज्जन-क्लिष्ट-मूर्द्धा
 [चू]डा-पुष्पोपहारेन्मिहिरकुल-नृपेणाचि[त] पाद-युग्मं(गमम्) ॥ 6⁴

¹ Note that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Gupta and Hūpa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in the Malwa region followed that of the Guptas and the Hūpas.

² सामन्त = originally, a neighbour; but here, a feudatory ruler. बाहुद्रविण = strength of arms. चूडा = the single tuft of hair left on the crown after the ceremony called Chūḍākaraṇa; here, top of head. रत्नाङ्गराजिव्यतिकरशयल = variegated owing to the intermingling of a multitude of the rays of jewels. तल = ताल = palmyra tree.

³ Read रत्नाङ्ग. The verse refers to *digvijaya*, which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravarttikshetra*. It is a conventional eulogy and never entirely historical in all its details. There is no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Mahendra and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the Arabian Sea (see above, p. 284, note 1). Lauhitya = the Brahmaputra; Tuhinaśikhariṇ = the Himalayas; Mahendra = the Eastern Ghāṭs; here, Mahendrāchala in the Tirunelveli District; Paścimapayodhi = the Arabian Sea.

⁴ He (i.e., Yaśodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula, whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arms the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was pained through being now for the first time bent low down by the strength of his (Yaśodharman's) arm in the act of compelling obeisance." The Hūpa Mihirakula was thus an emperor; he was a devotee of स्याव = शिव; his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it; he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhana mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kashmir. According to Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Sākala or Siālkoṭ in the W. Panjāb. But his empire appears to have extended at least from Kashmir to Mālwa from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman. For his record, see *infra*, No. 57; also p. 330, note 4.

- 7 [गा०]मेवोन्मातुमूढं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवाकं
 निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव [सु]कृतोपाज्जितायाः स्व-कीर्त्तेः ।
 तेनाकल्पान्त-कालावधिरवनिभुजा श्री-यशोधर्मणाय
 स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिराम-स्थिर-भुज-परिवेणोच्छ्रितं नायितो(ऽ०)स्त ॥ 7
- 8 [श्ला]ध्ये जन्मास्य वड्डे(वंशे) चरितमघहरं दृश्यते कान्तमस्मि-
 न्धर्मस्यायं निकेतश्चकति नियमितं नामुना लोकवृत्तम्¹ (1०)
 इत्युत्कर्षं गुणानां लिखितुमिव यशोधर्मणश्चन्द्र-विम्बे
 रागादुत्क्षिप्त उच्चैर्भुज इव रुचिमान्यः पृथिव्या विभाति ॥ 8
- 9 इति तुष्टूषया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्मणः ।
 वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः कक्षस्य सूनुना ॥ 9
उत्कीर्णार्त्तं गोविन्देन ॥

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HUNA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND THE PANJAB

No. 55—Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the time of
Toramāna (c. 500-15 A.D.)³—Regnal Year 1

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 159f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1269 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या ; V. 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) [Fleet takes it to be a sentence in prose] ; V. 3 चार्या.

¹ असुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति, "controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve [from the right course]". रुचिमान्=endowed with splendour.

² Supply प्रशस्तिः or पूर्वा after उत्कीर्णार्त्तं ; the word may refer to श्लोकाः also. No work of the poet Vāsula is known.

³ Toramāna, the Hūna king, was the father of Mihirakula. Note that Mātṛivishṇu was a feudatory of Budhagupta ; but, during the time of his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu,

TEXT¹

1 १^२ [॥*]

जयति धरण्युद्धरणे घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीद्वः (१*)

देवो वराहमूर्तिस्तैलोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः^३ (॥*) १

वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी[म्]^४

2

पृथु-कीर्त्तौ पृथु-द्युतौ (१*)

महाराजाधिराज-श्रीतोरमाणे प्रशासति ।(१*) 2

फाल्गुन-दिवसे दशमे ।^५ इत्येवं राज्य-वर्ष-मास-दिनेः (१*)

एतस्यां

3

पूर्वायाम् ।^६ स्व-लक्षणैयुक्त-पूर्वायाम् ।(१*) 3

स्वकर्माभिरतस्य क्रतुयाजिनो(५*)धीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रप्रेम्मेत्तायगीयवृषभस्येन्द्र-
विष्णोः प्रपौत्तस्य ।^७

4

पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुणविष्णोः पौत्तस्य पितरमनुजातस्य स्ववंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः
पुत्तस्यात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तस्य विधातुरिच्छया ।^८

5

स्वयंचरयेव राजलक्ष्म्याधिगतस्य चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथितयशसः अक्षीण-मान[ध]न-
स्यानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णोः महार(१*)ज-मातृविष्णोः

6

स्वर्गतस्य भ्रातानुजेन ।^९ तदनुविधायिना तत्प्रसाद-परिगृहीतेन^६ धन्यविष्णुना
तेनैव [स]हाविभक्त-पुण्यविक्रयेण मातापित्तोः

the country was under Toramāṇa. See *supra*, No. 54.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Cf. the text with that of *supra*, No. 35.

² सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

³ The verse refers to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu. घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीद्वः = who caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout.

⁴ It is generally supposed that the fifth syllable should be short, though there is similar use of a long fifth in many standard works.

⁵ The mark of punctuation is superfluous. Better read दशम, and पूर्वायां. Here पूर्वौ has been used practically as a synonym of तदि.

⁶ There is a sign following this word and resembling the dagger-mark of English typography which, as Fleet has suggested, indicates that the passage तेनैव सहाविभक्तपुण्यविक्रयेण should be read here, i.e., just before धन्यविष्णुना. Note that Dhanyaviṣṇu has no royal title, though Airikīṇa is referred to as his own vishaya. This may suggest that his position as vishayapati was not yet sanctioned by Toramāṇa who had recently occupied the country. This fact may also suggest that the year refers to Toramāṇa's occupation of Malwa and not to his actual regnal reckoning which was possibly not known to Dhanyaviṣṇu.

- 7 पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेव भगवतो वराहमूर्त्तर्जगत्परायणस्य नारायणस्य शिला-प्रा[सादः]
स्व-विष[ये] (५*)स्मिन्नेरिकिणि^१ कारितः ।।(१*)
- 8 स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-पुरोगाभ्यः सर्व-प्रजा[भ्य इ]ति ॥

No. 56—Kura Stone Inscription of the time
of Toramāna Shahi² (c. 500-15 A.D.)

KURĀ, Salt Range, the Pañjāb; now in West Pakistan.
BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 239f.

Language: Sanskrit strongly influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT³

- 1 [१*]^४ [राजाधि*]राज-महाराज-तोरमाण-या[हि]-जऊ[वलस्याभिवर्ध*][मान-^५
राज्ये] * * [संवत्सरे*]
- 2 * * * * मे^६ मार्गशिर-मास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम्(यां) चान्द्र[मग्रहण?] * * * * *
गग[न*]-

^१ ऐरिकिणि-विषय = district round modern Erap.

^२ He should probably be identified with the Hūga king Toramāna, see note 5 below.

^३ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. Some *aksharas* here and there and a few lines at the end of the record appear to have been erased.

^४ The restorations are probable in consideration of the space and traces before *राज*.

^५ Cf. line 10 below. Since this prince has been called a जऊ (which is supposed to have been a feudatory title or a tribal name), Bühler and Kielhorn were not inclined to identify him with the father of Mihirakula, though they agreed that the record belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D. I do not think that there is any improbability in the identification. There is evidence to show that a feudatory (and sometimes even his successors) continued to use the feudatory title even when he became actually independent. Note the title महादत्त used by the Śaka kings of Malwa, and the title सेनापति applied to Pushyamitra Śunga (p. 95) even after his celebration of two Aśvamedha sacrifices. It has been pointed out that the name तोरमाण is the same as the Turkish word *tōramān*, *tūramān* or *tōremān*, meaning a rebel or insurgent. जऊ has been connected with Turkish *jol*, 'a falcon'. For *shāhi*, see p. 142, note 2; p. 150, note 3.

^६ Possibly the gap between राज्ये and संवत्सरे contained 2 cancelled *aksharas*. It is difficult to say whether the last word is *prathame*.

- 3 [चरे च] वर * शुचि-शात-ध्यानाध्ययन-मोक्ष-चित्तानुकूले¹ प्र[दिष्ट] * * *
- * * * * * [न*]-
- 4 क्षले भगवतो बुद्धस्य देवातिदेवस्य² सर्वपापपरिक्षीण-सर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]
- 5 तीर्ण-स(*.)साराणव(स्य*) सत्त्वा(त्वा)नां तारयिता³ दशबल-वर्धन(:*)⁴ चतुर्वैशारद्य-⁵
चतस्रप्रतिसं[भिदा]-⁶
- 6 अष्टादशावेणीकान्द्रुत-धर्म-समन्वागतस्य⁷ सर्वसत्त्व(त्त्व)वत्सल-महाकारुणिकस्य बु-
7 द्धप्रमुख⁸ चातुर्दिशे भिक्षु-संघे देयधर्मो(ऽ*)य(*.) विहार(:*) प्रतिष्ठापन नद्यौर-
पति-प्रशस्ता-
- 8 दारित-नामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिः रोह-जयवृद्धि⁹ अनेक-विहार-स्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण (।*) यदस्य
पुण्यं तद्भवतु
- 9 [मा]तापितो(:*) आपायक-पोषक(योः*) चित्तस्य जम्बुद्वीपस्य दर्शयितारो¹⁰ अग्रे-
भावप्रत्यंशतायास्तु तथा विहार-स्वामिनो

1 Possibly शान्त and चित्ता are intended. We may read वर-युचि as the *akshara* between र and यु seems to be a cancelled यु.

2 There is a blank space between दे and वा.

3 Read *यितुः.

4 Ten kinds of knowledge were peculiar to the Buddha. See above, p. 233, note 4.

5 Read चतुर्वैशारद्य. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness, viz., the consciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles of religious life and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation.

6 Read चतुःप्रतिसंभिदाष्टा°. The four *Pratisambhidās* are the analytical sciences being divisions of the supernatural knowledge of the Arhat regarding the meaning, the text and the origin of the words, as also the discriminatory knowledge of them.

7 Read *वेणिकाद्रुत°. I e., attained the 4 *śaiśāradyas*, etc. आवेनिकाद्रुतधर्म = the marvellous *Dharmas* called *āveṇika* (see below, No. 72, note). The 18 *āveṇika* or independent states are said to be the distinguishing mark of a Buddha who is detached from the imperfections which attach to the majority of mankind.

8 Read बुद्धप्रमुख = [belonging to the congregation] of which the Buddha is the head.

9 Read प्रतिष्ठापितः नद्यौरपति-प्रशस्तादतनामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिना रोहजयवृद्धेः, etc.

10 Read आप्यायक and दर्शयितोः अयभागप्रत्यंशाय (or. *शतायै)। अस्तु तथा विहारस्वामिनः रोह-सिद्धवृद्धेः सर्वेषां भालुणा, etc. Note that my emendations and interpretations are different in some respects from those of Bühler. For अयप्रत्यंश and अयभागप्रत्यंश, see pp. 143, 159.

- 10 रोट-सिद्धबुद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितॄणां महाराज-
तोरमाण-घाह-जकुलः¹ स-
- 11 वेषां देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां² च सर्व-सत्त्वानां(स्वानाम्) अनुत्तर-ज्ञानावासये³
(1*) अयं पुनः(ः*) विहारस्यो-
- 12 पकरण⁴ चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परिग्रहे आचार्याणां(ः*)[म]हीश[सकानां(नाम्)] (1*)
[साङ्गकपु] * * लेण* [आचार्य]-
- 13

No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515-45 A.D.)—Regnal Year 15

GWALIOR (Gvālher), former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, pp. 391ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 162f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 2109.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 मालिनी; Vv. 3-12 आर्या; V. 13 शा दर्लविक्रीडित.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [१ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥*]⁶
[ज*][य]ति जलद-वल⁷-ध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः
किरण-निवह-जालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः (1*)

¹ Read *घाहजकुलस्य.

² Read दुहितॄणां.

³ Between च and नु, two *aksharas* appear to be struck out.

⁴ Read *स्योपकारः (benefaction in the shape of a monastery).

⁵ Lines 1-6 from the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, and lines, 7-9 from the facsimile in *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI.

⁶ The restorations are conjectural.

⁷ Fleet reads जाल and translates it as "banks of clouds"; जलदवेला (=rainy day) seems to have been intended. The upper part of the *aksharas* are lost. The first two verses are in adoration of the Sun-god.

उदय-[-गिरि]-तटाग्र[-] मण्डयन्¹ यस्तुरगैः²
चकित-गमन-खेद-भ्रान्त-चंचत्सटान्तैः ।। १० ।
उदय-[-गिरि]-³

2 — — — ग्रस्त-चक्रोऽ-त्ति-हर्त्ता
भुवन-भवन-दीपः शर्वरी-नाश-हेतुः ।। १० ।
तपित-कनक-वर्णैरंशुभि-पद्मान ।। १० ।
मभिनव-रमणीयं यो विधत्ते स वोऽ-व्यात् ।। १० । 2
श्रो-तोर[-माण इ-]ति यः प्रथितो

3 [भूचक्र-]पः प्रभूत-गुणः ।। १० ।
सत्य-प्रदान-शौर्याद्येन मही न्यायतः] शास्ता' ।। १० । 3
तस्योदित-कुल-कीर्त्तः पुलोऽ-तुल-विक्रमः पतिः पृथ्व्याः ।। १० ।
मिहिरकुलेतिख्यातोऽ-भङ्गो⁴ यः पशुपतिम * * * ।। १० । 4

4 [तस्मिन्]जनि शासति पृथ्वीं पृथु-विमल-लोचनेऽ-त्तिहरे ।। १० ।
अभिवर्द्धमान-राज्ये पंचदशाब्दे नृप-वृषस्य ।। १० । 5
शशिरश्मिहास-विकसित-कुमुदोत्पल-गन्ध-शीतलामोदे ।। १० ।
कार्तिक-मासे प्राप्त⁷ गगन-

5 [पतौ] [नि-]म्मेले भाति ।। १० । 6
द्विज-गण-मुख्यैरभिसंस्तुते च पुण्याह-नाद-धोषेण ।। १० ।
तिथि-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्त्तैः संप्राप्ते सुप्रशस्त-दिने ।। १० । 7
मातृतुल्य तु पौत्रः पुत्रश्च तथैव मातृदासस्य ।। १० ।
नाम्ना च मातृचेष्टः पर्व-

¹ न् had been omitted in its proper place, and was then engraved below the line.

² Read ०रङ्गैश्चकित०.

³ Possibly उदयगिरिवनान्तयन्त०. तपित = तप्त.

⁴ Fleet suggests the correction प्रधान for प्रदान. शास्ता for शासिता or शिष्टा is not grammatically happy.

⁵ Better मिहिरकुल इति ख्या०.

⁶ Possibly ०सर्वयति. Fleet and Kielhorn believed that Mihirakula broke the power of one Paśupati. Bhandarkar wants to read भेजे (which is however impossible in view of the clear traces on the facsimile) in the lacuna and suggests that the Hūga king was a worshipper of Paśupati = Śiva. अभङ्गः = पूजाव्यापारे विरामरहितः.

⁷ Read प्राप्ते. I.e., when the month of Kārttika arrived.

- 6 [त-डुग*][ानु]वास्तव्यः (॥*) 8
 नानाधातु-विचित्रे गोपाह्वय-नाम्नि¹ भूधरे रम्ये (1*)
 कारितवान्शैलमयं भानोः प्रासाद-वर-मुख्यम् (॥*) 9
 पुण्याभिवृद्धिहेतोर्मातापिलोस्तथात्मनश्चैव (1*)
 वसता² च गिरिवरे(ऽ*)स्मि(न्*) राज्ञः
- 7 • • • [सा१]देन³ (॥*) 10
 ये कारयन्ति भानोश्चन्द्रांशु-सम-प्रभं गृह-प्रवरं(रम्) (1*)
 तेषां वासः स्वर्गो यावत्कल्प-क्षयो भवति ॥ 11
 भक्तग रवेद्विर्वरचितं सद्धर्म-ख्यापनं सुकीर्तिमयं(यम्) (1*)
 नाम्ना च केशवेतिप्रथितेन च ।⁴
- 8 • • • [दि१]त्येन (॥*) 12
 यावच्छर्व्व-जटा-कलाप-गहने विद्योतते चन्द्रमा
 दिव्यस्त्री-चरणेद्विभूषित-तटो यावच्च मेरुर्नगः (1*)
 यावच्चोरसि नील-नीरद-निभे विष्णुर्विभक्त्युज्ज्वला⁴
 श्रीस्तावद्विरि-मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति
 [शिला-प्रा•]साद-मुख्यो रमे (॥*) 13

E—WESTERN INDIA : MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

No. 58—Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription of Dronasimha—Gupta-Valabhī Year 183 (= 502 A.D.)

BHAMODRA-MOHOTA, Bhaunagar District, Gujarat State.

A. M. T. Jackson, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, No. liv, pp. 1ff.; L. D. BARNETT, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 18f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टम् (श्लोक).

¹ गोपाह्वय is the same as गोपगिरि and गोपाद्रि = Gwalior, the immediate source of which form is possibly Gopālikera found in some records.

² The word may be प्रसादिन.

³ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Better केशव इति प्र. No work of the poet Keshava is known for certain. He seems to have had a second name which was Āditya or ended in āditya.

⁴ Read श्रीभक्त्युज्ज्वला श्री ताव. श्री has been used for श्रिय for the sake of the metre. Cf. the saying माधमपि मयं कुर्यात्, etc. (note on No. 52, verse 8).

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति (॥०) वलभौतः परमभट्टारक-पादानुव्यातो^३ महाराज द्रोणसिंह-
× कुशली स्व-विषय^४ सर्वानिवास्तत्सन्तकायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-मह-^५
- 2 चर-द्राङ्गिक-ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण^६ चाट-भटादी^७ (०) श्र^८ समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं
यथा मया^९ विजयायुद्ध(द्धं)म्मंकल-यशोविषय-विद्ध-^{१०}
- 3 ये नो वर्षसहस्राय सर्व-कल्याणाभिप्राय-संपत्तये च हस्तवप्राहरण्यां श्री-भगवत्या-
× पाण्डुराज्यायाः^{११} मातापितो-पुण्याप्यायन नि-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the Valabhi era, see *supra*, p. 277, note 1. It was actually the Gupta era introduced during the age of the Gupta occupation of Kāthiāwār, but was later continued by the Maitrakas who were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. There was a difference of six months between the commencement of the Valabhi era (Kārttika-sudi 1) and that of the Gupta era (Chaitra-sudi 1).

² सिंहम् expressed by a symbol.

³ Droṇasiṃha's father was Bhaṭārka whose name is not mentioned. Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi (modern Wala near Bhaunagar). The overlord of Droṇasiṃha referred to here appears to have been a Gupta emperor; but the power of the Guptas was by this time already on the decline specially owing to the Hūṇa occupation of Malwa.

⁴ Read विषये. Barnett suggests विषयकान्.

⁵ The function of the *drāṅgika* is not known. द्रं may be connected with the expression सोद्र (= with उद्र, cf. note on No. 49, line 9). The reading intended seems actually to be महत्तरोद्रिक०. *Drāṅga* is used in the *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII. 2010, in the sense of a watch station or a station for the collection of duties.

⁶ Barnett suggests ०करणिक-चाट० which is unnecessary. ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण was a station for collecting *dhruva* (the king's fixed grain share). *Dhruvādhikaraṇika* found in later Maitraka records has been explained as "one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*" by Bühler who points out that *dhruva* is still used in Kāthiāwār and Kachh to denote "a person who on the part of a *rājā*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue". सुलक is a Pāli word meaning 'belonging to'. विनियुक्तक was possibly the same as तदायुक्तक.

⁷ For चाट and भट, see note on No. 49, line 10.

⁸ Barnett : महा०.

⁹ Read ०हृदये.

¹⁰ Possibly ०राजायाः. This is apparently the name of the goddess of a temple in the Hastavapra *āharaṇī*, around Hāthab, 6 miles south of Goghā in the former Bhaunagar State. It is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Astakampura. The territorial division called *āharaṇī* is apparently related to *āhāra* (district) and both appear to have been derived from *ā + hrī*, as they were originally *jāgirs* for the maintenance of princes and high officers. Cf. *bhukti*, *bhoga*.

- 4 मित्तमात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये¹ आ-चन्द्रार्काणव-क्षितिस्थिति-सरित्पर्वत-समकालीनं
बलि-चरु-वैश्यदेवाद्यानां² क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थं[']
- 5 त्रिसंगमकप्रामो³ गन्ध धूप-दीप-तैल्य-माल्योपयोज्यं⁴ देवकुलस्य च पतित-
विशीर्ण-प्रतिसंस्कारणार्थं⁵ सलोपयोज्येस्सहिरण्या-
- 6 देयस्सहान्यैश्चादानै[र] चाट-भट-प्रावेश्यं⁶ ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या उदकातिसर्गेण निसृष्टः (1*)
यतो (ऽ*) स्योपचित-न्यायतः (ः*)⁷ भुजंतः⁸ कृशतः⁹ प्रदिशत-
- 7 × कर्षापयतो वा न केनचिस्त्वल्पा¹⁰ बाधा विचारणा वा कार्य्या (1*) यश्चाच्छिद्यमान-
मनुमोदोयुरसौ¹¹ महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च
- 8 संयुक्तास्मद्वंशागामि-राजभिरन्यैश्च¹² सामान्यं भूमिदायमवेत्य (ः*) सहायो (ऽ*) नुमन्त-
व्यो (ऽ*) पि चात्र व्यास-कृताः श्लोका भवन्ति (1*)
- 9 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ।¹³ तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁴ (॥*) 1
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां (ः*) वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां (राम्) (1*)

¹ Barnett : ब्रह्मदे,

² वैश्यदेव = an offering to the Viśvadevas or 'all-gods'. For बलि, चरु and सत्त, see *supra*, p. 348, note 5; note on No. 46, line 10. समुत्सर्पण = going; here, continuation. उपयोज्य = provision.

³ Identified with Tarsamā, near Hāthab.

⁴ Read धूप and तैल.

⁵ Read स्वरणार्थं and योज्यसः. पतित = fallen; विशीर्ण = broken to pieces; cf. खण्ड-स्फुटित (= फुट) of other records.

र is engraved below the line. सहिरण्यादिय = together with हिरण्य (= revenue in cash) to be paid to the State. हान्य and आदान appear to indicate "loss" and "gain". ब्रह्मदेयस्थिति = custom regarding rent-free property granted to Brāhmaṇas.

⁷ Read स्योचित.

⁸ Read भुजंतः.

⁹ Read कर्षंतः. प्रदिश = assign, grant. Read कर्षयतः.

¹⁰ Read केनचिस्त्वल्पा. विचारणा = doubt regarding the right.

¹¹ Read यश्चाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदितासौ. The mahāpātakaś are ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्त्रियं गुर्वङ्गनागमः । महान्ति पातकान्याहस्तसंसर्गय पञ्चमम् ॥ (सन् १२१५५). The upapātakaś are 49 in number. For these, see *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.

¹² Read संयुक्तः स्यात् । अस्मन्. See note on No. 49, line 18. सामान्य = belonging to all kings as sharers of the merit.

¹³ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

¹⁴ Read वसेत्.

- 10 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः^(*) प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं^(पम्) (॥*) 2
 बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता राज्ञिभिः^(*) शगरादिभिः^(*) (॥*)
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः^(*) तस्य तस्य तदा^(१*) फलं^(लम्) (॥*) 3
- 11 भिरुवकः^(*)^१ देवि-कर्मान्तिकः^(१*) सं १००^(+*) ८०^(+*) ३
 श्रावण-शुद्ध^२ १०^(+*) ५^(१*) स्वयमाज्ञा^३ (॥*) लिखितं षष्ठिदत्त-पुत्रेण
 कुम^(१*) रिल-क्षतिकेन^४ (॥*)

1 Read राजभिः सग^०.

2 Read भूमिस्य

3 Read देवी^०. The letter न had been engraved between ह and द, but was afterwards cancelled. कर्मान्तिक = an agent connected with कर्मान्त (execution of business; a store of grain; cultivated ground). Bhiruvaka possibly received the grant on behalf of the goddess.

4 सं = संवत्सरे; शुद्ध = शुद्धपक्षे = शुक्लपक्षे. See above, p. 427, note 1.

5 See note on No. 50, line 24.

6 Read क्षतिकेन possibly the same as क्षत्रिणा.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha¹

No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyasakti II—Regnal Year 37

BASIM, Akola District, Maharashtra.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, pp. 182ff. ; XVII, pp. 110ff. ;
Y. K. DESHPANDE and D. B. MAHAJAN, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*,
Calcutta, 1939, pp. 349ff. ; V. V. Mirashi and D. B. Mahajan, *Ep. Ind.*,
XXVI, pp. 137ff.

Language : Sanskrit and Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit².

Script : Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern
Class of the 4th century A. D.³

¹ For the history of the Vākāṭakas, see now Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*H.C.I.P.*, Vol. II), pp. 217 ff. ; *The Classical Age* (ibid., Vol. III), pp. 177ff. The Nachne and Ganjiescriptions ascribed there to the reign of Prithivishena I should be assigned to Prithivishena II.

² This record exemplifies the gradual advance of Sanskrit in South India. Sanskrit as the court language or the language of epigraphs appears to have been at first introduced in the North in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was favoured by the foreign rulers. It gradually encroached upon the field of Prakrit in all parts of North India and ultimately conquered South India about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. The mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit language used in some inscriptions shows an intermediate stage in the popularity of Sanskrit and the decline of Prakrit. Note that the language is nearer Sanskrit than in earlier Prakrit inscriptions (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 1-6). In earlier Prakrit records, reduplication of a consonant is practically absent and conjuncts are rare.

³ Some scholars believe that the record belongs to Vindyasakti (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.), founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Their mistake is due to the fact that they failed to note the *sāpeksha-samāsas* in प्रवरसेनपोत and सर्वसेनपुत्र in lines 3-4 and the importance of the epithet महाराजस्य used thrice with reference to the three kings mentioned. For such *samāsas*, see Bk. II, Nos. 68-70, 72, etc. ; Bk. III, No. 15, etc.

TEXT¹

First Plate

[दृष्टम्] (॥*)²

सिद्धम् (॥*)³

- 1 'वत्सगुल्मादधर्ममहाराजस्य[१]ग्निष्टोम[१]सोय्याम-वाजपेय-ज्यो[ति]-
- 2 [ष्टो]म-वृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनस्सम्राजः(*) वृ-
- 3 णिवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य⁴ हारिती-पुत्रस्य⁵ श्र[१]-प्रवरसेन-पौत्रस्य⁶
- 4 धर्ममहार(१*)जस्य⁷ श्री-सर्वसेन-पुत्रस्य धर्ममह[१]राजस्य
- 5 वाकाटकाना[म्](नां) श्री श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेर्वचनात्⁸ नान्दीकडस उत्तर-म[ग्ने]⁹

Second Plate: First Side

[२]¹¹

- 6 भाकालक्वाप्पाकाद्भासे आकाशपद्मे¹² अ[म्ह]-सन्तका साव्वायोग¹³-नि-

¹ From the photographic prints published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939. See now facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² In the left margin in the level of line 1.

³ In the left margin in the level of line 3.

⁴ Vatsagulma in modern Basim which was the capital of this collateral branch of the Vākāṭka family. For the sacrifices, see *infra*, note on No. 62, line 1.

⁵ Other Vākāṭka records read विश्ववृद्ध.

⁶ Or हारिती. हारितीपुत्र is found to be used by the Kadambas of Banavasi and their predecessors. Note that there हारितीपुत्र is a family-metronymic and not a personal one.

⁷ Properly प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य; similarly सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य in line 4. These are undoubtedly cases of the *sāpeksha-samāsa*. See p. 480, note 3.

⁸ The title is found in the records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas. It apparently refers to the kings' boast to have purified the Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism; cf. कलियुग-दोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धारण-नित्यसंनद्ध (*infra*, No. 67, line 13).

⁹ From here, the rest of the record is in Prakrit.

¹⁰ उ has been engraved on the *akshara* दा which was originally engraved. Nāndikāṭa is supposed to be the same as Nander in Maharashtra. The name suggests that the locality stood in the valley of the Nāndī river (modern Mānyad). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 111-12.

¹¹ In the margin a little above the level of line 8.

¹² *Abhyāsa* may be a territorial term like *pārāṭa* of *supra*, No. 42. *Padra*, 'a village', is traced to modern *pādar*. "common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated."

¹³ *Āyoga* is the same *niyoga*.

- 7 युत्ता आणत्ति-भडा सेसाय-साञ्जरन्त-रलपुत्ता¹ भाणितव्वा (1*) आम्हेहि
- 8 दागि आपुणो विजय-वेजयिके आयु-वळ-वद्धणिके [स्व]स्ति-
- 9 शान्ति-वाचने² इहामुत्तिके³ धम्मस्थाने एत्थङ्गामे आधिब्बणिक-चर-
- 10 णस्स आद्धक⁴ ।⁵ भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि⁶ [सि]तुज्जेसि कापिञ्जळ-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 सगोत्तेसि । रुद्धज्जेसि । श्राविष्टायण-सगोत्तेसि⁷ । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
- 12 कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि⁸ । देसुज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । वेव्हुज्जेसि ।
- 13 कोसीक-सगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादि-सगोत्तेसि पितु-
- 14 जेसि भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि जेद्धजे-
- 15 सि । पडेहि दोहि (1*) भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

Third Plate : First Side

[३]⁹

- 16 भाट्टिज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि
 - 17 हरिष्णजेसित्ति एताण बाम्हणाग भागा ति[णिग] ३(1*) कोसिक-सगोत्ते[सि]
 - 18 रेवतिजेसि । भागो । चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्च-कालको अपुब्ब-द-
 - 19 त्तिय दत्तो । (1*) पुब्ब-रायाणुमते यसे चातुब्बेज-ग्गाम मज्जात[1]-परिहारे वित-
 - 20 राम (1*) तजथा अरट्ट-संविणेरियक । अ-लवण-[कु]ण-खातक । अ-हिरण-
- धा[ण]-

¹ Read कुलपुत्ता ; cf. आञ्जासचारिकुलपुत्ता; of other Vākāṭaka records. सा looks like सा on the plate. कुलपुव = born of a noble family ; nobility. Prakrit सञ्जरन्तक = spy. सेसाय = Pāli सेसक = the remaining ones ; others. Pāli सन्तक (from अस् + शत + क) = belonging to.

² ति looks like ति on the plate.

³ ति looks like ति on the plate. च looks like ने in line 11.

⁴ These half-stops are sometimes superfluous. They look more or less like crescents generally put just below the level of the line.

⁵ Locative terminations appear to have been used in these cases for dative. Si is often found as a loc. sing. termination after words ending in a in Ardha-Māgadhī. But here it may also be a gen. plu. termination formed on the analogy of *tesī* = *teshām*. Sometimes locative is also used for accusative (see Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 61) ; but cf. एतेसि वरुणार्थ in line 27 of No. 65 below.

⁶ Traces of an erased i sign are noticed above सु.

⁷ In the left margin in the level of line 18.

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 पणय-पदेय । अ-पुष्क-स्त्रीर-गह्नि¹ । अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिबर्ह
22 अ-वार-सिद्धिक । अ-चम्महालक । अ-भट-प्पावेस । अ-खट्टा-चोलुक-वेणे-
23 सिक । अ-करद । अ-वह । स-निधि । सोपनिधि । स-कुतुप्पान्त ।
24 स-मञ्ज-महाकरण । साव्वजाति-परिहार-परिहितञ्च (1*) जतो उपरि-लि-
25 खित । शासन-वादम्पमाण करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेधय परिहरध

Fourth Plate

8²

- 26 परिहरापेधय (1*) जो बु³ [आ]वाधं करेज्ज कतव्व [अ]नुव(म⁴)ण[ति]
27 तिस्स [ए]तेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । वाम्हेणेहि । परिजपिते स-[द]ण्ड-
28 निग्रह करेज्जामेत्ति (1) साव्वच्छरं ३०(+७) हेमन्त-पक्खं एदम
29 [दि]व[स] ५ (1*) स-मुहाण्णत्थि⁵ (1*) लीखितमिमं शासनं सेणपतिणा
30 वणहुण⁶ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ [A four-petalled Lotus Symbol]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (- परीक्षितम् अनुमतं च इदं शासनं राजपुरुषैः) ॥

सिद्धं (- सिद्धिरस्तु) ॥

वत्सगुल्मात् धर्ममहाराजस्य अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्योतिष्टोम-बृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-
चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनः (- एतेषां यज्ञानाम् अनुष्ठानतः) सम्राजः (- राजाधिराजस्य) विष्णुवृद्ध-
सगोलस्य हारीतीपुत्रस्य (- हारीत-गोत्रायाः जनन्याः पुत्रस्य) श्री-प्रवरसेन[स्य]पौत्रस्य धर्म-महा-
राजस्य श्रीसर्वसेन[स्य]पुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकाटकानां (= तद्वंशीयस्य राज्ञः) श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेः
वचनात् (- आज्ञया) नान्दीकटस्य उत्तरमार्गं भाकालक्षोप्रकाभ्यासे आकाशपद्मे⁶ असत्सत्काः

¹ Possibly णं or णियं was intended. Note however that at pp. 250-51 above, *arogi* and *arogiya* for Sanskrit *ārogya* are both used in the same record (lines 2 and 5). Cf. also *karamṇi* for Sanskrit *karāṇi* (p. 255, line 7).

² In the left margin a little below the level of line 28.

³ Possibly वा or तु was intended.

⁴ The reading is not beyond doubt; for Sanskrit *समुखाग्र*, cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 100, note 3; *supra*, p. 396, note 9; *infra*, No. 67, line 32.

⁵ Read *वेणु* as in line 12.

⁶ *I.e.*, in the village-group called *Ākāśapadra* in the neighbourhood of *Bhākā*, *Lakṣhā* and *Uprakā* situated in the northern part of the district called *Nāndikāṭa*. "Situated on the northern road running to *Nāndikāṭa*" does not appear to be quite satisfactory. Cf. *गोवधनाहारे दक्षिणमने* and *गोवधनाहारे पुरमने* in *supra*, Bk. II, No. 87.

(= मत्संश्लिष्टाः - राज^१) सर्वायोग-नियुक्ताः (= सर्वे अधिकरणिकाः) आज्ञप्ति-भटाः (= राजपुरुषाः) शेषक-सञ्चरत्क-कुलपुत्राः भणितव्या (= वक्तव्याः) । — 'अस्माभिः इदानीम् आत्मनः विजय-वैजयिकं (= विजयलाभाय आयुर्वल-वाङ्मनिकं (= ० वृद्धये) स्वस्ति-शान्ति-वाचनं (= आशी-मङ्गलार्थम्) ऐहामुलिकम् (= ऐहि-क-पारलिक-मङ्गलाय) धर्मस्थाने अत्र ग्रामे आथर्वणिक-चरणस्य आर्द्धकम् (= आथर्वण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितः आकाशपट्टकग्रामस्य अर्द्धभागः) — भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय सीत्वार्याय कापिञ्जल-सगोत्राय रुद्रार्याय, श्राविष्ठायन-सगोत्राय भर्तृदेवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय देशार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विष्णवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विध्वार्याय, पप्पलादि-सगोत्राय पित्तार्याय, भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय चन्द्रार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय ज्येष्ठार्याय पटैः द्विभिः (= एकैकस्मै पटद्वयम् इति क्रमेण) : भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय बुद्धार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय भद्रिलार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय शिवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय हिरण्यार्याय [च एकैकस्मै पटमालम् इति क्रमेण] ; एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः भागाः त्रयः ३ (= ग्रामार्द्धस्य त्रिभागं दत्तम्) । कौशिक-सगोत्राय रेवत्यार्याय भागः चतुर्थः [ग्रामार्द्धस्य] इति आचन्द्रादित्यकालकम् अपूर्वदत्त्या (= अपूर्वदत्तस्य दानविधिना) दत्तम् । पूर्वराजानुमतम् अस्य चातुर्वेद्यग्राम-मर्यादा-परिहारं (= चतुर्वेदि-ब्राह्मणाधिष्ठित-ग्रामोचित-परिहारं) वितरामः । तद्यथा अ-राष्ट्रसां-विनयिकम्, अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-खातकम्, अ-हिरण्य-ध्यान्य-प्रणय-प्रदेयम्, अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-ग्रहणम्, अ-परम्परा-गोवल्लीवर्द्धम्, अ-वार-सिद्धिकम्, अ-चर्माङ्गारकम्, अ-भटप्रवेशम् अ-खट्वा-चोह्लक-वैनाशिकम्, अ-करदम्, अवहम्, स-निधि, सोपनिधि, स-कृतप्रान्तं^१), स-मञ्ज-महाकरणं सर्वजाति-परिहार-परिहृतं च । यतः उपरिलिखित-शासन-वाद् (= लेखं) प्रमाणं कृत्वा (= मत्वा) [एतद्दानं] रक्ष, रक्षय ; परिहर, परिहारय । यः तु आवाधां कुर्यात्, [आवाधा-करणं] कर्त्तव्यं [वा] अनुमन्यते, तस्य एतेः उपरिलिखितैः ब्राह्मणैः परिज्ञापिते [सति] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं (= दण्डेन शासनं) [वयं] कुर्याम" इति । संवत्सरः सप्तविंशः ३७,

1 "We grant for this land exemptions which are in accordance with customs followed in granting villages to Brāhmanas versed in the four Vedas, and which have been approved of by former kings. They are : not to be administered as other parts of the kingdom (p. 199, note 4; usually rendered as "no interference by the district police"); no boring of trees like the palmyra for salt and moist substances (liquor, sugar); no benevolence in the shape of money or corn to be paid to the royal treasury; no flower and milk to be taken on behalf of the king; no cow for milk and bullock for cart in succession are to be supplied to the royal officers on tour; no obligation to them regarding the completion of duty in turn; no obligation to them regarding the supply of hide-seat and charcoal; no entry for constables; no obligation regarding supply of cots, cooking pots and fuel(?) to touring officers; no tax to be paid to the king; no obligation regarding carrying loads free of charge; with the right of enjoying hidden treasures and deposits; with fences made for the demarcation of boundaries and with raised platforms for official use and official records; the grant is exempted by all kind of exemptions." For a discussion on the *parihāras*, see Sircar, *Sac. Sāt.*, pp. 186ff.; 192ff.; *infra*, No. 60, notes; *Mirāshi, Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, pp. 22ff.

हेमन्त-पक्षः प्रथमः, दिवसः [पञ्चमः] ५ (= मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । स्वमुखाश्रितः ।
लिखितम् इदं शासनं सेनापतिना^१ विष्णुना ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 60—Poona Copper-plate Inscription of
Prabhāvatiguptā—Regnal Year 13²

POONA,³ Poona District, Maharashtra.

K. B. PATHAK and K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 41ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class (with some Northern peculiarities) of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁴

Seal

a वाकाटक-ल्लामस्य

b [क]म-प्राप्त-नृपाश्रयः(*) (1*)

c जनन्या युवराजस्य

d शासनं रिपु-शास[न](नम्) (11*)¹

First Plate

दृष्टम् (11*)⁵

¹ Some of the Vākāṭaka *senāpatīs* (generals) possibly acted as provincial governors.

² This year apparently refers to the regency (cf. legend on the seal) of Prabhāvatiguptā after the death of her husband although her eldest son Yucarāja Divākarasena, who had at least 2 younger brothers, was not a minor (below 16 years of age) about this time. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 180. It is not known if the author called Yucarāja Divākara, mentioned in the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*, is the same as this prince.

³ The plates were found with a copper-smith of Poona, who originally belonged to Ahmednagar. They appear to have been preserved in his family for several generations.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

⁵ In the left margin on the level between lines 3-4. Cf. दि * in the grants of Pallava Sivaskandavarman (*infra*, Nos. 64-65).

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*) जितं भगवता¹ (॥*) स्वस्ति नान्दिवर्धनादासीद्गुप्तादि-रा[जो]²
[म]ह[ाराज]-
- 2 श्रीघण्टोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-
- 3 (५*)नेकाश्वमेध-याजी³ लिच्छवि-दोहिप्रौ⁴ महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो
- 4 महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रस्तत्पाद⁵-परिगृहीतः
- 5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व-राजोछेत्ता⁶ चतुर्दधि-सलिस्वादित-
- 6 यशा नेक⁷-गो-हिरण्य कोटी-सहस्र-प्रद-परम-भागवतो महारा-
- 7 जाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य इहिता⁸ धारण-सगोता⁹ नाग-कुल-सम्भू-
- 8 ताया(**)श्री-महादेव्या(*) कुबेरनागायामुत्पन्नोभय-कुलालङ्कारभूतात्यन्त-भगवन्नृपा
- 9 वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-

¹ This Vaishnavite expression is found at the beginning of many records of this age. Cf. also the verse : जितं भगवता तेन विष्णुना यस्य वक्षसि । श्रोतस्वर्यं भाति देवस्य नाभिपद्मे पितामहः ॥ at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant. The Vākāṭakas were Śaivas. Rudrasena II accepted Vaishnavism after his matrimonial alliance with the devout Vaishnava Chandragupta II. The popularity of Vaishnavism in India about the 5th century A.D. seems to have been largely due to this Gupta king.

² This passage has been translated as "Ghaṇṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first king." The translation is wrong in view of the corresponding passage गुप्तानामादिराजः in the Rithpur plates of the same queen. Better नान्दीवर्धनात् ॥ आसीत्. Nāndīvardhana has been identified with modern Nāgārdhan or Nandardhan near Ramtek in the Nāgpur District, M. P. Nāgārdhan however may be an old Nāgavardhana. Nāndīvardhana is also known from other inscriptions, e.g., the Kothuraka grant of the second year of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 159 f.) and the Rithpur plates of Bhavadattavarman (*ibid.*, XIX, p. 100).

³ It is hardly credible that Samudragupta performed many Āśvamedhas. Note that the usual epithets of Samudragupta have been wrongly applied to the name of his son. This shows that the Gupta genealogy in the Vākāṭaka records is carelessly drawn. Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 88, note 1. Chandragupta I was a Mahārājādhirāja.

⁴ Read दीहिवो.

⁵ Read °सत्पुत्रो.

⁶ Read राजोछेत्ता.

⁷ Read नेक or अनेक.

⁸ This record proves beyond doubt that the queen's father Devagupta, mentioned in other grants, should be identified with Chandragupta II and not with Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty as suggested by earlier scholars.

⁹ It is interesting that the queen refers to her paternal gotra instead of the gotra of her husband's family. Injunctions contained in late Bengal works like the महानिर्वाणतन्त्र (XII. 75 : विवाहानन्तरं नारी प्रतिगोत्रेण गोत्रिणी) therefore were not binding in the early period at least in all parts of India. Cf. also Raghubarandana's *Udcāhatattva* quoting Laghubārta (?). सगोत्राद् भय्यते नारी विवाहान् समने पदे । पति-गोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिच्छोदकक्रिया ॥

Second Plate

- 10 श्री-दिवाकरसेन-जननी श्री-प्रभावतिगुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे
- 11 विन्तवणकस्य पूर्व-पार्श्वं शीर्षेग्रामस्य दक्षिण-पार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापर-पार्श्वे
- 12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तर-पार्श्वे उङ्गुणग्रामे^१ ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिन × कुशल-
- 13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितमस्तु वो यथेष ग्रामो(ऽ*)स्माभिः(*) स्व-पुण्या-
प्यायना[त्थं]
- 14 कार्तिक-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या(*) भगवत्याद-मूले निवेश भगवद्भक्ताचार्य-चनालस्वामिने-
(ऽ*)पूर्व-
- 15 दत्त्या^२ उदक-पूर्वमतिमृष्टो^३ यतो भवान्द्रिचरुचितमर्यादया^४ सर्वाज्ञा × कर्त्तव्या(*) (।*)
पूर्व-
- 16 राजानुमता[^५]श्चात्र^६ चातुर्विद्याग्रहार-परीहारान्वितरामस्तथाभट-छत्र^७-प्रावेश्यः

Sūlapāṇi's *Śrāddhavicēka* quoting Brihaspati(?) : पार्श्वगृहणिका मन्वाः पितृगोवापहारकाः । भर्तृगोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकं ततः ॥ Also Bhavadēva-bhaṭṭa and others^१ quoting Manu (?) : विवाहे चैव निष्ठं चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ चतुर्थोद्दोममन्त्रेण त्वङ्मांसह-दयेन्द्रियैः । भर्ता संयुज्यते पत्नी तद्गोवा तेन सा भवेत् ॥ But Kātyāyana : संस्थितायानु भार्यायां सपिण्डीकरणानकम् । पैतृकं भजति गोवमूर्धन्यं पतिपैतृकम् ॥ The *Parāśaramādhava* refers to Gāndhārva and other marriages and to the case of the Putrikā (cf. Laugākṣhi), wherein *gotrāntara* does not take place owing to *pradān-ābhāra*. See also *Garuḍa P.* (Uttara, 21, 22) : ब्राह्मणादिषु विवाहेषु या वधूरिह संस्कृता । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ आसुरादिविवाहेषु या व्यूढा कन्यका भवेत् । तस्यास्तु पितृगोत्रेण कुर्यात् पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् ॥ According to the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the father's *Sapindas* are also the *Sapindas* of the mother, but not so in the case of the Putrikā. N. C. Sengupta refers to the Grihya rituals, in course of which the bride is called by the *gotra* name of her husband (*J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, IV, pp. 149ff.). But Prabhāvatī also uses the cognomen of her father's family. She was possibly an elder sister of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).

^१ The district (also known from the Kothuraka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 158f.) has been identified with the Hinganghat Tahsil of the Wardha District.

^२ Pathak and Dikshit : दङ्गुणग्रामि. *Uṅguṇa* is possibly traceable in the first part of the name *Hinganghat*.

^३ दत्ति=gift; अपूर्वदत्त्या=according to the custom relating to things that were not previously granted.

^४ Better read सटः । यतो.

^५ Read भव०.

^६ Read राजा०.

^७ Read "भटच्छा". भट is probably a policeman, and छात्र (literally, an umbrella-bearer) appears to be the leader of a group of *bhaṭas* and the same as चाट of other records.

- 17 अ-चारासन-चर्मार्ङ्गार-क्लिब्व-क्रेणि-खानक[:]¹ अ-पा(र*)म्पर(:*) अ-[पशु]मेध्यः²
अ-पुष्प-क्षीरसन्दोहः
- 18 स-निधिस्सोपनिधिस्स-कृप्तोपकृप्तः³।(*) न(त)देप भविष्यद्राजि(ज)भिस्संरक्षितव्य(:*)
परिवर्द्ध-
- 19 यितव्यश्च (।*) यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यभावाधा(।*) कुर्या-
त्कारयीत⁴ वा
- 20 तस्य ब्राह्मणरावेदितस्य⁵ स-दण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्याम (।*) व्यास-गितश्चात्र⁶ श्लोको
भवति (।*)
- 21 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता(।*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
गवा(।*) शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम् (॥*) 2
- 22 संवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे⁷ लिशितमिद(।*) शासनम् (।*) चक्रदासेनोत्कटितम् (॥*)

¹ Better °चर्मार्ङ्गारः अ-लवणक्लिब्वः. क्लिब्व-क्रेणि=moist commodity. क्रेणि=purchase; here a marketable object. This refers to the custom of boring certain trees for *audbhijja* salt and also sugar चारासन=pasturage (Fleet); but also चार=moving about, free movement (cf. पार of some records=free ferrying), and आसन=encamping. This refers to the king's touring officers. According to Mirashi, चार=grass for the horses of touring officers; आसनचर्मन्=hides for their seats; अङ्गार=charcoal for their cooking. Possibly we have to suggest अ-परंपरावलीवर्द्ध-यदण.

² पशुमेध्य is an instance of the *mayūravayamsakādi samāsa*. This refers to the custom of taking on the king's part animals like goats, from the villages, for sacrificial purposes.

³ Read °कृप्तोपकृप्तः, कृप्त is possibly a fixed tax (one of the 7 sources of income according to the *Arthasāstra*). उपकृप्त is occasional or unfixed taxes. According to Mirashi, this is the same as सोद्वहः सोपरिकरः, "with major and minor taxes." *Nidhi* means "wealth, the owner of which is not known" (*Vishṇusamhitā*, III, 36-39). As in the record निधि and उपनिधि are mentioned separately, the former would mean 'treasure-trove' and the latter 'surface funds'. For the other terms, see p. 434 and *infra*.

⁴ Read °रयेत.

⁵ Read ब्राह्मणे.

⁶ Read गीत.

⁷ Read त्रयोदशे and शासनम्, उत्कटित=engraved.

No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription [of Prabhavatigupta] of the time of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19¹

RITHPUR (Riddhapura), Amraoti District, Maharashtra.

Y. R. GUPTA, *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX, pp. 58ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fifth century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 श्रुतम् (श्रोक).

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 [१] जित(•) भगवता । रामगिरिस्वामिन = पादमूलाद्मान(•)मादि-³
- 2 राजो महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्र-
- 3 गुप्त⁴ तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीत⁵-लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो⁶
- 4 महादेव्या(•) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य⁷ पुत्र-
- 5 स्तत्पादानुद्धातो न्यायागतानेकगो-हिरण्यकोटिसहस्र-प्रदस्सर्वराजो-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 दत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ = परमभागवतो महादेव्या(•) दत्तदेव्यामु-
- 7 त्पन्नो⁸ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारण-सगोत्रा
- 8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(•) कुबेरानागदेव्यामुत्पन्ना⁹ उभय-कुलाल-

¹ Note that this record is later in date than *infra*, No. 62.

² From the facsimile in *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX.

³ Rāmagirisvāmīn may have been the god at modern Rāmtēk near Nāgpur. The deity was a form of Viṣṇu (cf. his name-ending *svāmīn*).

⁴ Read •गुप्तस्तस्य.

⁵ Better •गृहीतो लि.

⁶ Gupta : दीहित्रो.

⁷ Note that Samudragupta is called a *Mahārāja* against the evidence of genuine Gupta records. See p. 436, note 3.

⁸ Read •मुत्पन्नी.

⁹ Read कुबेर•, उभयकुल refers to the families of the father and the husband.

- 9 झरभुता¹ वाकाटकाना(१०) महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी
 10 वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-श्री-दामोदरसेन-प्रवरसेन-जननी² भगव-
 11 त्पादानुद्धाता साग्र-वर्ष-शत(१०) दी(जी)व-पुत्र-पौत्रा³ श्री(१०)-महादेवी
 प्रभ(१०)वती-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 12 गुमा कोशिकमार्ग⁴ अश्वत्थनगरे सवहन-पुरेग-ग्रम-महत्तराश्व⁵
 13 कुशलमुक्त्वा सम(१०)ज्ञापय(१०)त (१०) ऐहिकामुलिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्यायनात्थ⁶
 14 पराशर-सगोत्राणा(१०) तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मणानामप्य(१०)⁷ पुत्रापुत्राणा[१०]⁸
 15 अभ्यन्तर-पुर-निवेशने(१०) सह कर्पक-निवेशनानि च चत्वार(रि)

¹ Read भूता.

² It may be suggested that Dāmodarasena was another name of Pravarasena II; it is better to take them as different and as brothers, Dāmodarasena being succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena. That Prabhāvatī was more than 100 years old (*s-āgravarsha-jatā*) in the 19th year of Pravarasena's reign requires a fairly long reign of Dāmodarasena between her own regency and Pravarasena's rule. It is of course not altogether impossible that the brothers were ruling over different parts of the kingdom at the same time and that, as the land granted fell in the kingdom of Pravarasena, his regnal year was recorded. Reference to some territorial divisions of the Vākāṭaka kingdom as *rājya*, the fact that there was at least a collateral line ruling from Vatsagulma and the Puranic reference to the (simultaneous?) rule of the four sons of Pravira (=Pravarasena I) possibly suggest that the Vākāṭaka kingdom was once partitioned. Note that, even when mentioned side by side, the Gupta kings are called महाराजाधिराज, but the Vākāṭaka kings merely महाराज. This shows that the alliance of the Vākāṭakas with the Guptas was a subordinate one. Expansion of Gupta influence in the south is evidenced by the existence of the line of Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttal in the Dharwar District, the story of the connection of a daughter of Chandragupta II with the Śrīśaila and the Satara hoard of more than one thousand coins of Kāmāragupta I.

³ Gupte reads दिव^० and पौत्रा. The special mention is to emphasise her great age. Note that, at the time of the record, Prabhāvatī's age was more than 100 years. Jagannath (*Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 58f.) explains साग्र-वर्ष-शत-जीव-पुत्र-पौत्रा as "she whose sons and grandsons will live for more than a hundred years." But cf. जीवभुता (above, p. 200) and जीवपुता (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 139; XXXIV, p. 241).

⁴ Gupte : कोशिक. Read मार्गे. Aśvatthasagara (identified with Asatpur in the Ellichpur District, Maharashtra) was situated in the region called Kausika, possibly named after a river. मार्गे here possibly does not mean a road (p. 433, note 6).

⁵ Read ब्राह्मण-पुरेग-ग्रम-महत्तराश्व. श्व was originally engraved for न.

⁶ Read यमाये.

⁷ Gupte : तैत्तिरीय^०.

⁸ Read स-पुत्र-पौत्राणाम्.

- 16 भुक्ताकाभोग-क्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व¹ (*)¹ शासनेनो सतिवद्धं² (1*) उचितांश्चास्य
17 पूर्वराजानुमतांश्चातुर्वैद्य-ग्राम-मय्यादा(परिहारा*)नितरामस्तद्यथा

Third Plate : First Side

- 18 अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छ(1*)ख-प्रावेइय(1*) अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दोह(1*)³ अ-चारा-
19 सन-चर्मार्द्धार(1*) अ-लवण-क्लिन्व⁴-क्रेणि-ख(1*)नक[:] सर्व-विस्त्रि-परिहारा-⁵
20 परिहृत(1*) स-निधानं सोपनिधानं⁶ स-कृत्सोपकृत्समाचन्द्रा-
21 दिव्य-काळीय(1*) पुत्र-पैतानुगामी⁷ (1*) भुजता(*) न केनचिद्वाघात-
22 × कर्त्तव्य[:] सर्व-क्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्य⁸ परिचर्द्धयितव्यश्च (1*) यश्चस्मा-⁹
23 छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाधा(*) कुर्यात्कारयेत वा तस्य

Third Plate : Second Side

- 24 ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य स-दण्ड-निग्रहं करिष्यामः (1*) अस्मि (*)श्च धर्म्मोदर-
25 करणे अनी(ती)तानेक-राज-दत्ता(त्त)-सञ्चि(*)तन-परिपालनं पुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तन-
26 परिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम[:] (1*) सङ्कल्पाधियोग-पराक्रमोपजि-
27 तान्वर्त्तमानामाज्ञापयामः⁹ (1*) द्यास-गीतश्चात्र श्लोक=प्रमाणं(णम्) (1*)
28 स्वदत्ता(*) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (1*)
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य
29 हन्तु=पिबति दुष्कृतमिति¹⁰ ॥ 1
वाकाटकाना(*) महाराज-श्रीप्रवर-

1 Read भुक्ताकाभोगक्षेत्र (field that they already enjoy ; cf. भुक्त-भोग, No. 71, lines 19-20).

अभ्यन्तरपुर = अन्तःपुर. *निवेशन = a house complet: with an inner apartment.

2 Read शासनेन प्रतिबद्धानि.

3 Gupte : सन्दोह.

4 Read क्लिन्न.

5 Read विष्टि परिहार.

6 The same as सनिधि: सोपनिधि:. Read *पक्व*.

7 Read *पौत्र*.

8 Read यथाश्रच्छा*.

9 Read *तानवर्त्तमानाना* (No. 71, lines 19-20).

10 Better दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ॥

Fourth Plate

- 30 सेनस्य राज्य-प्रशासत¹ सञ्चत्सरे एकुनविंशतिमे कात्तिक-मा-
 31 स-श्रुक्पक्ष-द्वादशपा(१०) (१०) इतक देवनन्दस्वामी² (१०) लिखिता
 32 प्रभुसिद्धेन³ (॥०)

No. 62—Chammak⁴ Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 18

CHAMMAK, Ellichpur (Ilichpur) District, Maharashtra.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 116ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 239ff.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁵

Seal

- a वाकाटक-ललामस्य •
 b कक्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः (१०)
 c राज्ञ-प्रवरसेनस्य
 d शासनं रिपु-शासनं(नम्) (॥०) 1

¹ Read राज्यं प्रशासतः (or राज्य-प्रशासनं) संवत्सरे (or सँवत्सरे) एकौन विंशतितमे. The form विंशतिम (as also similar forms found in the Prakrit records) can be supported if we suggest विंशतिः मा (=मानं) यस्य सः = विंशतिमः.

² Gupte : देवनन्दस्वामी. Read दूतको.

³ Read लिखिता and ०सिद्धेन. Gupte : लिखितं.

⁴ Bühler edited this record under the name of Ilichpur (Ellichpur) grant.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टं(ष्टम्)¹ (॥*) स्वस्ति (॥*) प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमासोऽय्यमोक्थ्य-पोडश्यातिरात्र-²
- 2 वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन-
- 3 वि[ष्णुवृ]द्ध-सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ट्]-वाकाटकानां³ महाराज-श्रु⁴-प्रवरसेनस्य
- 4 सूनोः सूनोः⁵ अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मिमहाभैरव-भक्तस्य अ(°*)स-भार-सन्तिवेशि-⁶
- 5 त-शिवलि[ङ्गो]द्गहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राजव(°*)शा-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-भागीरथ्यामल-जल-मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशा-⁷

¹ Fleet suggested that the word is a contraction of दृष्टं भगवता. The occurrence of the word in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Vākāṭaka Vindhyasakti II, etc., however, shows beyond doubt that it signifies, "seen" i.e. "examined and approved".

² The usual form of the name of this sacrifice is अतिरात्र. The *Agnishṭoma* (literally "praise of Agni") was a protracted sacrifice extending over 5 days in spring and forming a part of the *Jyotishṭoma* which was the principal sacrifice connected with the Soma plant and its juice. Other parts of the *Jyotishṭoma* were the *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *śhoḍaśin*, *atirātra* and *vājapeya* ceremonies. *Atyagnishṭoma*, the seventh or last part of the *Jyotishṭoma*, is not mentioned in the text. The *Bṛihaspatīsava* sacrifice in honour of the preceptor of the gods lasted for one day. *Sādyaskra* seems to be the same as *Sadyaskriyā*, a one-day Soma sacrifice, mentioned in the *Āś. Śr. sū.*, IX, 6.

³ Read °याजिनो विष्णु° and समाङ्गाकाटकानां. Note that Pravarasena I was a *samrāt*. The passage seems to mean "belonging to the family of the Vākāṭakas who had been emperors."

⁴ Read श्री.

⁵ सूनोः सूनोः = पौत्रस्य. Bhandarkar suggests that Gautamīputra (and not Rudrasena I) was the grandson of Pravarasena I (as also of Bhavanāga). Note however that the Vākāṭaka genealogy is drawn on the pattern of the Gupta genealogy as found in the Gupta records. The position of Rudrasena I in this draft is exactly the same as that of Samudragupta in the Gupta draft, the only difference being that while the Gupta records observe the rules of *sandhi* and *samāsa*, these have usually ignored them. Bhandarkar's theory does not explain why the son of Pravarasena I is not mentioned. The mother of Gautamīputra again appears to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama-gotra and not to that of the Bhārasīva Nāgas. Note that Gautamīputra is not called वाकाटकानां महाराज° apparently because he predeceased his father.

⁶ Read सन्नि°. शिवसुपरितुष्ट = शिवसुपरितोष.

Read °रथ्यमल and मूर्द्धा°.

- 7 श्रमेधावभृत्य-स्नातानाम्भारशिवानां¹ महाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दी-
8 हितस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसे-
9 नस्य सूनोरत्यल-माहेश्वरस्य² सत्याज्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य-विक्रम-न-
10 य-चिनय-माहात्म्याधिमत्त्व³-पात्तागत⁴-भक्तीत्व⁵-धर्मवीजयीत्व⁶

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 मनोनेर्म्माल्यादि⁷-[गुणै]स्समुपेतस्य वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-
12 दण्ड-साधन-सन्नान⁸-पुत्र-पौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिर-वृत्नेर्ज्वाकाटका-⁹
13 नां महाराज-श्रीपृथिवीवर्षेणस्य सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे-प्रसा-
14 दोपाज्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य¹⁰ वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेन
15 सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्तस्य¹¹ शम्भो-प्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्ययुगस्य

¹ Fleet reads स्नाना°. The *avabhṛtha* bath was taken after the completion of the sacrifice. The Bhāraśivas were possibly Nāgas (cf. the name Bhavanāga). Their kingdom seems to have bordered on the Bhāgīrathī (=Ganges). Jayaswal's suggestion that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ at Vārāṇasī is problematical. All his other suggestions regarding the importance of the Vākāṭaka imperial power in North Indian politics (see his *History of India*, 150-350) are unconvincing. A large number of Nāga coins including some of Bhavanāga have been discovered. Bhavanāga probably had his capital at Padmāvati (modern Padampawaya in the former Gwalior State). Read भवनागस्य.

² Read °रत्यन्. Properly गौतमीपुत्र-पुत्रस्य which is actually found in the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 85).

³ Read °धिकत्व.

⁴ The engraver had originally made हि which was then made पा by cancelling the i-sign and the right curve of ह.

⁵ Read भक्तीत्व.

⁶ Read विजयित्व.

⁷ Read नेर्म्माल्या°.

⁸ Read सन्नान. A century of Vākāṭaka rule from its commencement at the time of Vindhyaśakti I seems to have been completed during the reign of Prithivīshaha I.

⁹ Read वृत्ते°.

¹⁰ The engraver had first formed जि which was corrected to जि°.

¹¹ Properly रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो°. Note that the epithets immediately before this name belong to Rudrasena II and not to his son, as the *saṁāsa* would suggest.

¹² Read °पद्मस्य. धृति-धारणः : कार्त्ययुग = सत्ययुगीयवत्. Note that Prabhāvatī's father called Devagupta here was the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II according to Nos. 61-62 above.

- 17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वर-महाराज-श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना (६*)
 18 भोजकट-राज्ये¹ मधुनदि²-तटे चर्माङ्क-नाम ग्र(१*)मः³ राजमानिक-भूमी-⁴
 19 सहस्रैरष्टभिः ८०००⁵ गव(८)न्नराज-पुत्र-कोण्डराज-विज्ञासग नाना-गो-
 20 त-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय⁶ दत्तः (॥*)

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 यतो(९*)सप्त-सत्तकाः(१० सवर्द्धाक्षत्रियोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सञ्च(१*)रि-कुठुवाविहृता
 22 भटाच्छात्राश्च⁷ विश्रुत-पूर्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
 23 हास्माकम्मतो⁸-धर्मायुर्वल⁹-विजयैश्वर्य-विवृद्धये इहामुल-हिता-
 24 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके¹⁰ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या¹¹ उदकपूर्व-
 25 मतिसृष्टः (१*) अथास्योचितां पूर्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्वर्ण्य-ग्राम-म-
 26 र्थादान्वितरामस्तयथा¹² अ-करदायी¹³ अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेक्ष्यः(१*)

¹ Apparently the district round Chammak; roughly speaking the modern Ellichpur District. Note the word राज्य which suggests that some of the territorial divisions in the Vākāṭaka kingdom were called राज्य, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage, or because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation. If Bhojakāṭa-rājya was under the local ruler Śatruḡhna-rāja or Koṇḍarāja, Senāpati Chitravarman was a High Commissioner or the Viceroy of the region including the area.

² Read नदी

³ द्वा had been originally engraved; but the d-sign was afterwards cancelled.

⁴ Usually भूमि. The word seems to indicate either a plot of land or the standard land measure (nivarttana?).

⁵ Supply परिमित; or some such word.

⁶ The number of the Brāhmaṇas was one thousand.

⁷ Read भटाच्छात्राः. Properly, *सप्तसत्तकाः. Better *ज्ञापयितव्याः । विदितम्.

⁸ Fleet corrected the passage to यथेय चात्मनो. It is however possible to justify the use of मनः meaning "faculty of judgment".

⁹ Read *युर्वल.

¹⁰ Read वैजयिके.

¹¹ Read दत्त्या.

¹² Read मर्यादा वितराम्.

¹³ Originally यै had been engraved; but it was afterwards corrected to यो.

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 27 अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द्धः^(*)¹ अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दोह² अ-च(।*)रा-
 28 सन-चर्मार्ङ्गारः^(*)³ अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-क्क्रेणि-खनकः^(*) सर्व-वेष्टि⁴-परि-
 29 हार-परीहृतः⁵ स-निधिस्सोपनिधिः स क्लिप्तोपक्लिप्तः⁶
 30 आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र(।*)नुगमकः (।*) भु[]जतां न के-
 31 नचि(दृ*) व्याघातं⁷ कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व-क्रियाभिस्स()रक्षितव्य-परवर्द्धयि-
 32 तवश्च⁸ (।*) यश्चायं⁹ शासनमगणयमानो¹⁰ स्वल्प(।*)मपि (प*)रिवाधा[]¹¹

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 33 [कु]र्यात्कारयिता¹² वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-व(द)ण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्या-
 34 मः¹³ (।*) अस्मि()श्च धर्मावर-करणे¹⁴ अतितानेक-राज-दत्त-सञ्चलन-¹⁵
 35 परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-परीहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयामः (॥*)

¹ Read बली°. See p. 435, note 1.

² See p. 434, note.

³ Read सन्दोहः.

⁴ Read विष्टि (= forced labour).

⁵ Read परिहृतः.

⁶ Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः. See p. 438, note 3.

⁷ Read व्याघातः.

⁸ Read परिवर्द्धयितव्य.

⁹ Read यश्चेदं.

¹⁰ Read °मानः.

¹¹ After this, कु (of the word कुर्या°) was first engraved and then cancelled.

¹² Read कुर्यात्कारयित.

¹³ Read कुर्याम.

¹⁴ Some records read धर्मादरकरणे which is better. Fleet translates: "and in this document which has at least the merit of religion", taking करण in the sense of document (cf. करणिक, scribe). The Siwani grant has धर्माधिकरण=subject matter of religion (Fleet); gift. The king means to say that he would not refer to the merits of considering and protecting the grants of the past kings as that involves praising such grants and that he would not thus dilate upon his own merits indirectly.

¹⁵ Read अतीता° and दत्त-सञ्चलन.

- 36 व्यास-गीतौ चाख श्लोको¹ प्रमानिकत्तंयौ² (I*)
स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां³
- 37 द्वा⁴ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (I*)
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हत्तु-⁵

Fifth Plate : First Side

- 38 हंरति दुष्कृतं(तम्) (II*) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि⁶ स्वर्गं मोदति भू-
- 39 मिदः (I*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च⁷ तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁸ (II*) 3
- 40 इशासन⁹-स्थितिश्चेयं ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपासनीया तद्यथा राज्ञां स-
- 41 साङ्गे राज्ये¹⁰ अद्भूत-प्रवृत्तानां¹¹ ब्रह्मण-चौर¹²-पारदारिक-राजा-
- 42 पथ्यकारि-प्रभृतिनां¹³ सङ्ग[1]म(*) कुर्वतां¹⁴ अन्य-ग्रामेष्वन-¹⁵ ॥¹⁶

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 43 पर(I*)द्वानां आचन्द्रादिरय-कालीयः (I*) अतो ऽ(*)न्यथा कुर्वतामनुमोदतां वा¹⁶

-
- 1 श्लोको looks like श्लोको on the plate.
- 2 Read प्रमाणी°. The engraver originally formed $\times$प्र.
- 3 Read दत्ताम्परदत्तां.
- 4 Read वा. The reduplication of व is influenced by the rule वा पदान्तस्य.
- 5 Read हत्तु°.
- 6 Read सहस्राणि.
- 7 Originally च or च्छ was engraved.
- 8 Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥
- 9 Read शासन.
- 10 Cf. स्वायम्भवाय-सुहृत्कोट-राष्ट्र-दुर्ग-वज्रानि च which are the 7 *āṅgas* or constituents of a State according to Amara.
- 11 Read प्रवृत्तानां.
- 12 चौरा was at first engraved. Fleet is inclined to supply च before ब्रह्मण and संयाम-कु°.
- 13 Read प्रभृतीनां (= प्रभृतिभिः).
- 14 Read कुर्वतामन्य.
- 15 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
- 16 The engraver at first formed द्वा.

- 44 राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्वन्तः अ-स्तेयमिति (॥*)¹ प्रातिग्राहिणश्चाल²
 45 वार-नियुक्ताः³ शाटपायनः⁴ गणार्यः वात्स्य-देवार्यः भारद्वाज-
 46 कुमारशर्मार्यः(*) पाराशर्य-गुहशर्मा काश्यप-देव(।. र्यः महेश्वरार्यः(*)⁵
 47 मात्तार्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-रुद्रार्यः(*)⁶ सोमार्यः(*) हरिशर्मार्यः(*)

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 48 भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्मा[।]र्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-मातृशर्मा⁷ वरशर्मा(।*)
 49 गोण्डशर्मा नागशर्मा भारद्वाज(*)-शान्तिशर्मा रुद्रशर्मा वात्स्यः
 50 भोजक-[दे]वार्यः(*) मघशर्मा देवशर्मा भारद्वाज-मोक्षशर्मा[।]
 51 [ना*]गशर्मा रेवतिशर्मा धर्मार्यः(*) भारद्वाज-शर्मार्यः(*)
 52 नन्दनार्यः(*) मूलशर्मा । ईश्वरशर्मा । वरशर्मा

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 53 चान्द्य⁸-स्कन्दार्यः(*) भारद्वाज-वप्पार्यः(*) धर्मार्य आलेय-स्कन्दार्यः(*)
 54 गौतम-सोमशर्मार्यः(*) भतृ(तं)शर्मा रुद्रश(र्मा*)र्यः(*) मघार्यः(*) मातृ-
 55 शर्मार्यः(*) ईश्वरशर्मार्यः(*) गौतमसगोल-मातृशर्मा-
 56 र्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-देवशर्मार्यः(*)⁹ वरशर्मार्यः(*) रोहार्यः(*)

¹ Read कुर्वन्तः. "And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and by [future] lords; namely [that the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇas] for so long as the moon and the sun endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of 7 constituent parts, of [successive] kings; that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmaṇas, thieves, adulterers, traitors to the king (Fleet—poisoners of kings), etc.; and that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise or assent [to such acts], the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

² Read प्रतिशा. स्वा was originally formed and was then corrected to या.

³ Read नियुक्ताः; for vāra (an arbitrator), cf. p. 375, note 3. The donors appear to have been made responsible for the distribution of shares of the gift village among themselves.

⁴ Although the gotra name and the following personal name have been given in a compound in some cases the separation of the former is better especially where more than one person are mentioned under one gotra.

⁵ ये stands below the line only a little above the next line. Note that Mahāśvara and Mātri belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra like Deva.

⁶ Read कौण्डिन्य.

⁷ Read वात्स्य.

⁸ Read कौण्डिन्य.

Seventh Plate

- 57 गौतमगोत्र-स्वामिदे(वा*)र्य्यः(*) रेवतिशर्म्मार्य्यः(*)
58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्यः(*) शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्मार्य्यः(*) स्वार्तिशर्म्मा-¹
59 र्य्यः(*) श(।*)ट्यायग-काण्ड(।*)र्य्य-प्रभृतयः (॥*) सेनापतौ
60 चित्रवर्म्मणि संवत्सररे(ऽ*)ष्टादश² १०(+*)८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-
61 पक्ष-तयोद्दया['] शासनं लिखितमिति³ (॥*)

No. 63—Ajanta Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena

AJAṆṬĀ (written *Ajanṭhā*, and pronounced *Ajanṭhā* by the local Marāṭhīs), Aurangābād District, Maharashtra.

BHAGAWANLAL INDRAJĪ, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of India*, p. 69; Burgess and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 124ff; V. V. Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940, No. 6, pp. 41 ff. (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 142 ff.); also *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. XIV; A. C. BISWAS, *Ind. Cult.*, VII, pp. 372 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 3 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 6-9, a species of मातासमक according to Kielhorn, but the गीतिका variety of मिश्रगण metres according to Venkatasubbia;⁴ V. 10 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 12 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 13 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 14-15 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 16 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 17 षडंस-मालभारिणी (षीपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 18 वंशस्थ; V. 19 षडंस-मालभारिणी

¹ Read स्वाति० and शाश्यायन.

² Read संवत्सररेऽष्टादशे or संवत्सररे० (see p. 359, note 2). For the position of the *Senāpati* cf. *supra*, p. 445, note 1.

³ Read ०मिति. The *visarga* sign may really be a mark of punctuation.

⁴ For this metre, see *infra*, No. 69, note; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 26f. The restorations suggested are in many places doubtful.

(श्रीपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 20 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 21 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (श्रीपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 22 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 23 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (श्रीपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 24 वंश; V. 25 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 26 प्रहर्षिणी; Vv. 27-28 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (श्रीपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 29 वसन्ततिलका; V. 30 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 31 शर्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 32 मालिनी।

TEXT¹

- 1 उदीर्ण-लोकलय-दोषवह्नि-
निर्वापणो² — — — — — (I*)
— — — — [बृहम³] भिप्रगम्य
पूर्वा⁴ प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्वी[म्] (II*) 1
- 2 महाविमर्ह⁵ प्वभिवृद्ध-शक्तिः
क्रुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य-[शक्तिः ?] (I*)
[अनन्यसाधा?] रण-दान-शक्तिः⁴
द्विज-प्रकाशो भुवि विम्यश[क्तिः] (II*) 2
- 3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र-सम-प्रभावः
स्वबाहुवीर्या[जि]त-[सर्वलोकः*] (I*)
— — — — — [यशो]शुकानां
बभूव वाकाटक-वह्नि-के[तुः*]⁵ (II*) 3

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. Many passages of the record cannot be read owing to the unsatisfactory state of its preservation. Bühler believed that it speaks of Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son (?) Rudrasena (?); his son Prithivīśena; his son (?) Pravarasena II (cf. No. 62), his son (name lost), his son Devāsena, his son Harīśena. After the discovery of *supra*, No. 59, it appears to be very probable that the record belongs to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. We have here Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son Sarvasena, his son Prithivīśena (?), his son Pravarasena, his son * * *, his son Devāsena, his son Harīśena.

² जो looks like क्षि on the plate.

³ The word *pūrvā* has been used here practically as a synonym of *prastā*.

⁴ Read *शक्तिर्द्विज*.

⁵ Read वंश.

- 4 रणे [स्व]हय्युत्थित-रेणु-जाल-
सञ्छादिताक्कं — — — — — (1*)
[ग्रनष्टसारानखिला?]नराती-
नृत्वाभिवाद-प्रवणा[?]श्रकार (11*) 4
- 5 [विनि][जिं]तारि[स्सुर]राजकार्य-
श्रकार पुण्येपु परं प्रय[त्तम्*] (1*)
— — — — —
— — — — — [11*] 5
[अरि*]-नरेन्द्र-मौलि-विन्यस्त-मणि-किरणलीड-[क्रमाम्बुजः*] (1*)
- 6 प्रवरवेनस्तस्य पुत्तो(ऽ*)भूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षणः (11*) 6
रविमयूख-द (1*)
[सर्वसेनः]¹ प्रवरसेनस्य जित-सर्वसेनस्सुतो(ऽ*)भवत् (11*) 7
- 7 [तस्य] पुतः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रश[शा]स धर्मेण मोदिनी[म्*] (1*)
कुन्तलेन्द्र[?]² नि[जित्य-श्री?]-[ष्ट]थिवी[पिणो]³[नयवांस्तदा?] (11*) 8
प्रवरसे[नस्त]स्य⁴ पुत्तो(ऽ*) भू-
त्प्रवरोज्जितोदार-शासन-⁵
=प्रवर
- 8
... .. (11*) 9
[तस्यात्मज × कामत ?] — — — —
— — — — — (1*)
— — — — — म]वाप्य राज्य-
मष्टाब्दको य=प्रशशास सम्य[क्*] (11*) 10⁶

¹ Earlier scholars suggested रुद्रसेनः in place of सर्वसेनः.

² Kuntala was in the heart of the Kannaḍa country, practically the same as the district round Banavāsi. A Kadamba king of Mayūrasārman's line is apparently indicated.

³ Earlier scholars like Bühler were inclined to read विजित्य...पृथिवीपिणः. Mirashi reads विज्यसेन whom he identifies with Vindhyasakti II of *supra*, No. 59. श्रीविज्यसेन may not be impossible. Biawas suggests भुवि विज्यशक्तिः. If the reading of Bühler be correct, we have to suggest that Vindhyasakti II had a brother named Prithivīshena.

⁴ Indraji : ०सेनस्य. This Pravarasena (son or brother's son of Vindhyasakti II) is different from Pravarasena II (son of Rudrasena II) of *supra*, No. 62.

⁵ Read ०शासनः । प्रवर०.

⁶ The father of Devasena whose name is lost became king where he was 8 years old.

- 9 [त०]स्या[त्मजो](५०)भूजरदेव-[कल्पो ?]
 [गुणैरतुल्यो ?] भुवि देवसेनः^१ (१०)
 यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः^२
 [नृ?]देवराजस्य — — — भूः (॥०) 11
 पुण्यानुभावाक्षितिपस्य [तस्य ?]
- 10 — — — — — (१०)
 — — — — [न्या?]य-गुणाधिवासो
 [प्रबुद्ध?]—कोशो भुवि हस्तिभोजः (॥०) 12
 प्र— — — — पृथुपीनवक्षा-
 स्सरोरुहाक्ष—क्षपि-
- 11 [तारिपक्षः०] (१०)
 — — — — — व[हु]-
 दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव (॥०) 13
 हितो विनीतः प्रणय-[प्रसिक्तो ?]
 [म]नोनुकूलो(५०)नुविधानव[र्त्ति] (१०)
 [नि]रत्यय
- 12 — — — — —
 — — — — — कश्च (॥०) 14
 त[थै]व लोक^३ सुहिताशयत्वा-
 रसुखेन सम्य[वप]रिपालनेन (१०)
 [पितेव०] मातेव सखेव नित्यं
 प्रियो(५०)भिगम्यश्च बभूव

^१ For a copper-plate inscription of this king issued from Vatsagulma (= Basim in the Akola District), see *New Ind. Ant.*, 1937. His minister was Hastibhoja.

^२ Indraji: विपावने०. The passage भुवि देवसेनः however suggests a metre of the Triastubh type (and not of the Jagati type) which would go against that reading. Of course a combination of Indravajrā and Varpasastha is known from literature (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XV, p. 646).

^३ Read लोक.

13

[गोप्ता ?] (॥*) 15

— — — — —

— — — — — [तुल्यम् ?] (१*)

स्वस्थस्समावेद्य स तत्त राजा

[सस]ञ भोगेषु ययेष्ट-चेष्टः (॥*) 16

अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-

14

[व भूपः ?]

— — — — — [नीतिः ?] (१*)

हरि-राम-हर-स्मरे[न्दु?]-कान्ति-¹

हंरिषेणो हरि-विक्रम-प्रतापः (॥*) 17

स कुन्तलावन्ति-कलिङ्ग-कोसल-

विकूट-लाटान्ध्र-²

15

— — — — —

— — — — — नैर्दृता-

नपि स्वनिर्देश — — — — — (॥*) 18

प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोज-सूनु-

स्सचिवस्तस्य महीपतेर्बभूव (१*)

सकल-क्षिति

16

— — — — —

— — — — — (॥*) 19

— — — जेष्ट³ स्थिर-धीर-चेता-

सयाग-क्षमौदार्य-गुणैरुपेत(ः*) (१*)

धर्मेण धर्मप्रवणश्शशास

देशं यश-पुण्यगुणांशु-

¹ हरिन्द्र is the reading of some scholars.

² Avanti=district round Ujjayinī. Kaliṅga (in the narrow sense)=Puri-Ganjam region of Orissa. Kosala=South Kosala=Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region. Aparānta=the Northern Konkan. Lāṭa=Nasāri-Brosch region. Andhra=districts near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī. It is a vague claim which may indicate some sort of hostile relations of the Vākāṭaka king with those countries. It is impossible to believe that the countries were completely subjugated by Harishena. Harishena is possibly mentioned in another Ajanta inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1713).

³ जेष्ट ? For the omission of *visarga*, see p. 404, note 7.

17

[दीप्तम् ?] (॥*) 20

प्रति पुण्योपचयं परं चकार (१*)

यत ऊर्द्धमद[स्सहायधर्मा]

[परितो लोकगुरौ] चकार कारा[न्?] (॥*) 21

आयुर्व्ययो-वित्त-सखाणि^१

18

— — — — — छानि (१*)

उ[द्दिश्य*] मातापितराबुदारं

न्यवीविशद्वेष्टम यतीन्द्र-[सेव्यम्] (॥*) 22

सजलाम्बुद-[वृन्द-संस्थि?]ताग्रे

भुजगेन्द्राद्युपिते महीधरेन्द्रे (१*)

19

— — — श्रीपतिना शरा निकुञ्जे (॥*) 23

गवाक्ष-निष्ठ्यंह-सुवीधि-वेदिका-

[सु]रेन्द्र-कन्या-प्रतिमाचलङ्कृतम् (१*)

मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-

20

[मेदुरं*]

— — — — — र^१-चैत्यमन्दिर['](रम्) (॥*) 24

म — — — — तल-सन्निविष्ट-

वि[तान?] — — — मनो[भि]रामं(रम्)(१*)

— — — — — ज्ञाम्बु-महानिधान[']

नागेन्द्र-वेदमादिभिर

21

— — — (॥*) 25

[कल्पार्हं तु ?] सम(मी?)रणा — — — — —

— — — — — (१*)

ग्रीष्माक्कस्य च किरणोपता[प*]-त[स*]

सर्व्वत्तु-प्रथित-सुखोपभोगयोग[म्*] (॥*) 26

^१ लोकगुर = बुद्ध ; कार = पूजा.

^२ सुखानि ?

^३ ग्रीष्मरं ? Some scholars suggest उद्गुरं.

- 22 — — — — [सु]रेन्द्रमन्दिराणा[']
 रुचिम[न्म]न्दर-कन्द — — — — (1*)
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — [मुखं ?] यथेप्सित[ञ ?] (11*) 27
 असम[व्यति ?]रोचने गिरेर्वि-
 क-
- 23 — — — — — [काननानि ?] (1*)¹
 वह — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (11*) 28
 — — — — — — — — — — यस्य जनेन नाम
 प्रीति-प्रसाद-विकच-प्रणयेन चक्रे (1*)
 [एतच्च ?]
- 24 — — — — — लयनं सुरेन्द्र-
 मौलि[प्रभोपचित ?] — — — — [वि?]हाय (11*) 29
 निवेद्य सङ्गाय — — — — [भोग्य ?]
 सवन्धुवर्गस्स वराहदेवः² (1*)
 नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय
- 25 — — — — —
 [शरण्य ?]-शास्ता सुगतः*) प्रशस्तः (11*) 30
 सान्द्राम्भोद-भुजङ्गभोग — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — ज-मनश्शिलाळ-कपिलैर्यावत्करैर्भास्व स्क ?)रः (1*)
 तावच्छे
- 26 — — — — — — — — — — स्सेव्यता-
 मन्तर्मण्डप-रत्न[मे]तदमलं रत्न[योन्द्रा]वित[म्] (11*) 31
 विविध-लयन-सानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भि-
 गिरिरय-
- 27 — — — — — — — — — — द्वयः (1*)
 जगदपि च समस्तव्यस्त-दोष-प्रहाणा-
 [द्वि*]शतु पदमशोकं निज्वरं शान्तमार्य['] र्यम् (11*) 32

¹ There is possibly यतिभद्रदीप in this half of the verso.

² Varāhadeva, minister of Harishena, was probably a son of Hastibhoja.

No. 63A—Gañj Inscription [of Vyāghra] of the time of Prithivishena [II]

GAÑJ, Panna District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. S. SURTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 12ff.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, p. 362.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.¹

TEXT²

- 1 वाकाटकाना[] महाराज-श्रु(श्री)-
- 2 पृथिविषेणपादां(दा)नुद्धगतो व्याघ्रदे-
- 3 वो मातापितो(ः*) पुन्या(ष्या)र्थे कृतमिति³ (॥*)

THE PALLAVAS

No. 63A—Manchikallu Pillar Inscription of Simhavarman.⁴

MANCHIKALLU near Rentachintala, Palnad Tāluk, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 87ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.

¹ For the 6th century 𑀧 with the loop inside the lower bend as used in this inscription, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 259, note 3; XXXIV, p. 248, note 4. I was wrong in assigning the inscription as also the Nachnekitalai inscriptions with identical text (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 234) to the reign of Vākāṭaka Prithivishena I (4th century A.D.) See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 179, note 1. The Vākāṭakas appear to have ousted Gupta rule from Bondelkhand about the close of the 5th century A.D.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII.

³ The objects made are not mentioned in any of the three records of Vyāghra, feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivishena II.

⁴ This king seems to have been the father of Śivaskandavarman mentioned in Nos. 64-65 below.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ भारदाय-सगो[त्तेन]...[ध]रेण पलवानं सी[ह]-
- 2 वंसग अप्पणो वेजयिके...[ल-व]र्धे(र्ध)न्तिके संन्ति(ति)-सथि-
- 3 यायणं का[त्तु]ण भग[वतो]...[जीवशि]वसामिस तेथि[का]-
- 4 न कुर्त्तका(को)पहारकादि कातं (1=) कि[हन्थि ?]-देवकुलस्य भट्ट[1]....²
- 5 ...[स] पाद[मूले]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण धरेण पलवानां (=पल्लवेन) सिंहवर्मणा आत्मनः वेजयिकं [धर्मव]लवार्धनिकं (=वर्धनाय) शान्तिस्वस्त्ययनं कृत्वा भगवतः [श्री]जीवशिवस्वामिनः तैथिकेभ्यः (=पूजकेभ्यः) कुर्त्तकोपहारकादि (=कम्बलोपायनादिकं) कृतम् । किहन्थि-देवकुलस्य भट्टा[रक]...स्य पादमूले...

No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 10³

MAYIDAVOLU, Narasaraṅvupeta Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.
E. HULTZSCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 86ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Cursive Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.⁴

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

² The word *bhaṭṭāraka* was probably prefixed to the name of the deity in the *devakula* or temple in question. कुर्त्तक = Pali कुत्तक.

³ The year apparently refers to the rule of the father of Śivaskandavarman as he was only a *Yuvamahārāja*. The word युवमहाराज is coined from युवराज on the analogy of राजन् and महाराज. Kāñchīpura is modern Conjeeveram about 55 miles to the west of Madras. Some scholars think that the name is Skandavarman (identical with the king of No. 66) and śiva is an honorific like *vijaya* of No. 66, line 1; cf. No. 67, note. The name Śivaskanda is however often found in other sources. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 166f.; cf. old and modern South Indian personal names like Bhavaskanda and Śivashayamukha.

⁴ This record (cf. also the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315) is very interesting from the palaeographic point of view. See notes below. The peculiar forms of the letters are merely cursive ones.

TEXT¹

First Plate : First Side

दिठं [॥*]

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 [सिद्धं ॥*]² [कां*] चौपुरातो युवमहाराजो³
- 2 भारदाय-सगोत्तो⁴ पलवानं⁵

Second Plate : First Side

२⁶

- 3 सिवख['] दवम्भो धंजकडे
- 4 वापतं आनपयति (१*)

Second Plate : Second Side

- 5 अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह-वेजयिके⁷
- 6 [धं]मायु-बल-वधनिके य⁸

Third Plate : First Side

३⁹

- 7 बम्हनानं अगिवेस-सगोत्तस
- 8 पुवकोडुजस अगिवेस-सगोत्तस

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VI. The seal bears the figure of a couchant bull in relief and below it the legend शिवस्तु[न्दवर्मासः].

² Traces of the letters still remain.

³ स has a peculiar form in this inscription. It consists of an upper curve and of a loop that starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line.

⁴ सु also has a peculiar form consisting of two equal curves, one below the other, but not interconnected.

⁵ न in this inscription does not differ from ड or द.

⁶ In the left margin a little above the level of line 4.

⁷ ज has generally a peculiar form in this inscription consisting of an angle and a circle.

⁸ This stands for च.

⁹ In the left margin on the level between lines 7 and 8.

Third Plate : Second Side

- 9 गोनंदिजस अंधापथीय¹-गामो
10 [विरिप]रं अम्हेहि² उदकादि³

Fourth Plate : First Side

8³

- 11 संपदतो (10) एतस गामस
12 विरिपरस सव-बम्हदय-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 13 प[रिहा]रो वितराम (10) अ-छोन-[ख]ादकं
14 अ-रठ-सं[वि]नायिकं अ-परंपरा-बळीव[डं०]⁴

Fifth Plate : First Side

4⁵

- 15 अ-भड-पपेसं अ-कूर-चोळक-
16 विनासि-खट(10)-संवासं (10) एतेहि

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 17 अनेहि च सव-बम्ह-
18 देय-मजादाय

¹ Read अंधापथीय. Andhrāpatha is a geographical term like Dakṣiṇāpatha. Originally it may have indicated "way to the Andhra country", but later the Andhra country itself. Its capital Dhānyakāṣṭha is very probably to be identified with Amarāvati. An inscription (No. 529 of 1937-38) of Virapuruṣadatta refers to the installation of two dharmachakras at the great monastery at Dhānyakāṣṭha.

² Omit अम्हेहि. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद् ददानोति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दद्यात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं श्रुतः ॥ quoted above, p. 336, note 12 With विरिपरम्, cf. modern पिडापरम्, etc.

³ In the left margin a little above the level of line 12.

⁴ Hultzsch : बलिबर्द. Some of these exemptions refer to the obligations of the villagers to the touring officers of the king, while some refer to their obligation to the king on occasions (e.g., a marriage in the king's family). For a detailed discussion on them, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 186f.; also *supra*, p. 431, note 1. खोन possibly includes the *audbhijja* salt prepared from plantain and coconut trees in some parts of Bengal even to-day. See Bk. II, No. 83, note.

⁵ In the left margin a little above the level of line 16.

Sixth Plate : First Side

६^१

- 19 सब-परिहारेहि परिहारितो (।
20 परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च (।*)

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 21 जो अम्ह-सासनं अतिछि-
22 तून पीला बाधा करेजा^२ [वा]^३

Seventh Plate : First Side

७^४

- 23 [त]^५ कारापेजा वा तस अम्हो
24 सारीर['] सासनं करेजामो (।*)

Seventh Plate : Second Side

- 25 स[']वछरं दसमं १० गिम्हा-
26 पखो छो ६ दि-सं पंचमि ५ (।*)

Eighth Plate

८^६

- 27 आनती सयत्ति दत्ता
28 पट्टिका (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (— राजपुरुषैः परीक्षितम्) ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरतः युवमहाराजः (= युवराजः) भारद्वाज-सगोलः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्द-
वर्मा धान्यकटे व्यापृतं (— धान्यकटनगरस्थं कर्मसचिवम्) आज्ञापयति ।—‘अस्माभिः इदानीम्

^१ In the left margin a little above the level of line 20.

^२ जा is read by Hultzsch and Bühler; but it looks exactly like the ordinary form of जो. See p. 464, note 5.

^३ The scribe had at first left out कारापेजा and engraved वा त (of वा तस), but eventually the two *aksharas* were struck out.

^४ In the left margin on the level of lines 23 and 24.

^५ See above, note 2.

^६ In the left margin on the level of lines 27 and 28.

अस्मद्-वेजयिकम् (—अस्माकं विजयाय) धर्मायुर्वल्लवाद्धनिकं (—वर्द्धनाय) च ब्राह्मणाभ्याम्
अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय पूर्वकोटार्याय अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय गोनन्धार्याय [च] अन्ध्रापथीयः ग्रामः
विरिपरः उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तः । एतस्य ग्रामस्य विरिपरस्य सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-परिहारं वितरामः—
अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-परम्परावलीवर्दम् (—वलीवर्दग्रहणम्), अ-भट-
प्रवेशम्, अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वा-संवासं (—भक्तस्थालीन्यनखट्वावासादीनां : परि-
हारम्) । एतेः अन्यैः च सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-मर्यादया (—नियमानुसारेण) सर्वपरिहारेः परि-
हारितः । परिहरेत परिहारयेत च [त्वम्] । यः अस्मच्छासनम् अतिच्छिद्य पीडां बाधां [च] कुर्युः
कारयेयुः वा तस्य वयं शारीरं शासनं (—दण्डं) कुर्याम ।' संवत्सरः दशमः १० ग्रीष्म-पक्षः
पष्ठः ६ दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (—ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्ष-पञ्चम-दिवसे)^१ । आज्ञप्तिः स्वयम् इति दत्ता
पट्टिका ॥

No. 65—Hirahadagalli Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 8

HĪRAHADAGALLI, Bellary District, Mysore.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff., 9 ff., 479; II, pp. 485f.; LEUMANN, *ibid.*, II, pp. 483-85; LÜDERS' List, No. 1209 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.²

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the middle of the 4th century A.D.

TEXT³

Seal

शिवस्कन्द[वर्मणः]

First Plate: First Side

दिठं (॥*)

¹ It must however be remembered that the Andhra-Drāviḍa-Karṇāṭa region now reckon the *amānta* month (starting from the *Sukla pratipad* and ending with the *amāpāsyā*).

² Note that this record shows more cases of the reduplication of consonants and of conjuncts than No. 64. See *supra*, p. 430, note 2.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. This record, found almost within the borders of ancient Kuntala, suggests that the Early Kadambas were feudatories of the Early Pallavas. For other grounds, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 184.

First Plate : Second Side

सिद्धम् ॥¹

- 1 कांचिपुरा² अग्निहोम³-वाजपेयस्समेधयाजी धम्ममहा-
- 2 राजाधिराजो भारद्वाजो पञ्चवाण सिवखंदवमो⁴
- 3 अम्हं विसये सवत्थ राजकुमार-सेनापति-

Second Plate : First side

- 4 रट्टक⁵-माडवि[क]⁶-देसाधिकतादीके गामागामभोजके
- 5 बल्लवे गोवल्लवे अमच्चे आरखाधिकते⁷ गुमिके तृथिके
- 6 नेयिके अन्ने वि च अम्ह-पेस[ण]-प्पयुत्ते संचरंतक-
- 7 भडमनुसा ण[कडसो]⁸ परिहारं वित्तराम⁹ (1*) एत्थ दाणि

Second Plate : Second Side

- 8 [आ]पिट्ठि-वत्थवाण चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-वम्हणाणं अप्प-
- 9 ण कुल-गोत्तस धमायु-बल-यसो-वधनिके विजय-वेजयीके
- 10 च कातूर्णं अप्पतिहत-सासनस्स अनेक-हिरोगोकोडी¹⁰
- 11 गोहलसतसहस्स-प्पदायिनो महाराज-वप्पसामौहि¹¹

¹ This word is in the left margin, on the level of line 2.

² Bühler : कांचो, कौ was originally engraved.

³ Bühler : अग्निहोम ; but the superscript is certainly ट.

⁴ धर्ममहाराजाधिराज has been coined on the analogy of धर्ममहाराज which again is derived from धर्मराज. The title indicates that the king was engaged in some pious activity (dharma) no doubt referring to the issue of the grant.

⁵ Read रट्टिक which is the reading of Bühler.

⁶ The letter looks like नु which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ Bühler reads आरण०.

⁸ This reading seems to be suggested by the plate. The reading intended however is possibly भड-मनुसे आणवेति.

⁹ These two words are out of place here and should have been omitted.

¹⁰ हिरोगो is possibly a mistake for हिरण. For हल, see, p. 208, note 4.

¹¹ Read स्वामिनो. Some scholars take Bappa (literally 'father') as the name of the father of Sivaskandavarman, which is unlikely. See *Sac. Sât.*, pp. 183f. Cf. परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीवत्सपादानुध्यात, परमदेवतवत्सभट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यात, etc., in Fleet's *C.I.I.*, III. p. 186, note. वत्स from Sanskrit वत्स = वीजवत्स ? See above, p. 456, note 4.

Third Plate : First Side

३^१

- 12 वाडक चिन्नरेककोडुंके पुव्वदत्तं (1*) गोळसमजस पतीभागो^२ १
- 13 आत्तेय-सगोतस अगिसमजस पतीभागा ४
- 14 माढरस पतीभागा वे २ जामातुकस अगिहस पती-
- 15 भागो १ हारित-सगोतस कालसमस पत्तीभागा ३

Third Plate : Second Side

- 16 भारदाय-सगोत्तस कुमारसमस पतिभागा ३^३ कोसिक-
- 17 सगोतस कुमारनंदि-कुमारसम-कोट्टसम-सत्तिस्स च
- 18 चतुष्टं भातुकाग चत्तारि पत्तिभागा ४ कस्सव-सगोत्त-
- 19 स भट्टिस पतीभागो १ भारदायस खंदकोडिस

Fourth Plate : First Side

४^४

- 20 पतीभागा वे २ खंदस पतीभागो १ वप्पस
- 21 [प]त्तीभागो^५ १ दत्तजस पतीभागा वे २ नंदिजस
- 22 पतीभागा ३ वस्स-सगोतस रुदसमस पती-
- 23 भागो^६ १ दामजस पतीभागो १ सालसमजस पति-
- 24 भागो १^६

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 25 परिमितस पतीभागो १ नागनंदिस पतीभागो १ गोळिस
- 26 पतिभागो १ खंदसमस पतिभागो १ सामिजस पतिभागो १ (1*)
- 27 एतेसि वम्हणाणं अगिसमज-पमुखाणं साताह्नि-रट्टे^७
- 28 गामे चिन्नरेककोडुंके दखिण-सीमं पुव्वदत्तं (1*)

1 In the left margin, a little above the level of line 14.

2 Bühler reads पति°.

3 Bühler reads २. कोसिका was originally engraved.

4 In the left margin, a little below the level of line 22.

5 Bühler reads पत्ती°.

6 These aksharas are engraved below सालसम of the previous line.

7 I. e., the modern Bellary District. See *supra*, No. 90 (p. 212).

Fifth Plate : First Side

५^१

- 29 अम्हेहि वि आ-चन्द-तार-कालीक^२ कातूणं उदकादि संप-
30 दत्तो एतं बम्हणाणं चिल्लेरेककोडुंक-वाडकं (1.)
31 अ-कूर-योळक^३-विनेसि-खट्टा-वासं अ-दूध-दधि-गहणं
32 अ-रट्टसंविनयिकं अ-लोग-[गु]ल-च्छोभं अ-कर-वेट्टी-

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 33 को[']जल्लं अ-पारंपर-वल्लिवह-गहणं अ-तण-कट्ट-गह-
34 णं अ-हरितक-साक-पुफ-गहणं एवमादीकेहि अट्टा-
35 रस-जाति-परिहारेहि विसयवासीहि अपि-
36 ट्टी-वासीहि चिल्लेरेककोडुंक-वासीहि च परिहरितवं

Sixth Plate : First Side

६^१

- 37 हरिहापेतव्व च त्ति (1*) अपि च आपिट्ठीयं अगिसमज-
38 पमुखाण बम्हणाणं खल्लस निवत्तणं घरस्स निवत्त-
39 णं अद्धिका चात्तारि ४ कोळिका ये त्ति २ (1*) एव नातूणं
40 अथ कोचि वल्लभ-मदेन पिला बाधा करेय्य कारवेज्जा^५

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 41 वा तस खु अम्हे निगहं वारणं^६ करेय्याम त्ति (1*) भूयो च
42 वरिस-सत-सहस्सातिरेक-समकाले अम्हं पल्लव-
43 कुल-महंत्ते भविस्स-भडे अन्ने च नो

^१ In the left margin, on the level of line 31.

^२ Bühler reads कालिक.

^३ Hultzsch suggests अ-कूर-चोळक which is possibly the reading of the original. For a detailed discussion on these exemptions, see *Sac. Sāt.*, pp. 192f.; *supra* p. 434, note 1; p. 459, note 4.

^४ In the left margin, above the level of line 39.

^५ ज्जा looks like जी. See p. 460, note 2.

^६ Better read निगहवारणं.

Seventh Plate : First Side

७^१

- 44 वसुधाधिपस्ये^२ अभत्येमि (1*) जो सक-काले उपरि-
45 लिखित-मेजाताये अणुवट्टावेति तस
46 वो सम्मो ति [1*] यो चसि विग्घे वट्टेज

Seventh Plate : Second Side

- 47 स च खु पञ्च-महापातक-संजुत्तो नराधमो
48 होज ति (1*) दत्ता पट्टिका वास-सतसहस्साय
49 सव ८ वास ६ दिव ५ (1*) सयमाणत्तं (1*)

Eighth Plate

८^३

- 50 कोलिवाल-भोजकस रहसाधिकत-भट्टिस-
51 म्मस सहत्य-लिखितेण पट्टिका कड^४ ति (1*)
52 स्वस्ति गो-व्र[1]ह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्य इति (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

६६म् ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरात् अग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजी धर्ममहाराजाधिराजः भारद्वाजः
पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्दवर्मा अस्माकं विषये (— आत्मनः राष्ट्र) सर्वत्र राजकुमार-सेनापति-राष्ट्रिक-
माण्डपिक-देशाधिकृतादिकं ग्रामाग्राम (— नानाग्राम)-भोजकं वल्लवं (— वल्लभान् = अश्वरक्षान्)
गोवल्लवं (= गोरक्षिणः) अमात्यम् आरक्षाधिकृतं (— रक्षापुरुषान्) गौळ्मिकं तैथिकं
नैयोगिकम् अन्यम् अपि च अस्मत् (— राज०)-प्रेषण-प्रयुक्तं सञ्चरत्क-भटमनुष्यम्
[आज्ञापयति] ।—‘अत्र इदानीम् आपिट्टि-वास्तव्येभ्यः चिह्नरेककोटु^५क-भोजक-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
आत्मनः कुलगोत्रस्य धर्मायुर्बल्यशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैजयिकं च कृत्वा अप्रतिहत-
शासनेन अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोहलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिना महाराज-वप्पस्वामिना (— महाराजेन

1 In the left margin, above the level of line 46.

2 Bühler reads वसुधाधिपे भये ; but his भ is certainly त.

3 On the margin, a little below the level of line 54.

4 Bühler reads कड.

5 See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 191.

6 For this परिवार, see *Manu*, VII. 201.

पितृदेवेन) वाटकं (- आरामं) चिह्नरेक-कोडुंके पूर्वदत्तम् ।—गोलशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागः¹ १, आलेयसगोलाय अग्निशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागाः ४, माठराय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, [तस्य च माठरस्य] जामातृकाय अग्निलाय प्रतिभागः १, हारीतसगोलाय कालशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, भारद्वाज-सगोलाय कुमारशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, कौशिकसगोलेभ्यः कुमारनन्दि-कुमारशर्म-कोट्टशर्म-शक्तिभ्यः च चतुर्भ्यः भ्रातृभ्यः चत्वारः प्रतिभागाः ४, काश्यपसगोलाय भर्त्से प्रतिभागः १, भारद्वाजाय स्कन्दकोट्ये प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, स्कन्दाख्याय प्रतिभागः १, वप्पाय प्रतिभागः १, दत्तार्याय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, नन्दार्याय प्रतिभागाः ३, वत्स-सगोलाय रुद्रशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, दामार्याय प्रतिभागः १, शालशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागः १, परिमिताय प्रतिभागः १, नागनन्दिने प्रतिभागः १, गोलिने प्रतिभागः १, स्कन्दशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, स्वाम्यार्याय प्रतिभागः १ । एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः सातवाहनीय-राष्ट्रे ग्रामे चिह्नरेक-कोडुंके दक्षिण-सीमा (- सीमालम्न-भूमिः) पूर्वदत्ता । अस्माभिः अपि आचन्द्रतारकालिकं कृत्वा उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तम् एतत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः चिह्नरेक-कोडुंके-वाटकम् । अ-कूर-चल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वावासम् (= अ-भक्त-स्थालीन्धन*), अ-दुग्धदधि-ग्रहणम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-लवणगुड-क्षोभम्, अ-करविष्टि-कौञ्जस्यम्², अ-परम्पराबलीवर्द-ग्रहणम्, अ-तृणकाष्ठ-ग्रहणम् ; अ-हरितकशाकपुष्प-ग्रहणम्—एवमादिकैः अष्टादशजातिपरिहारैः (- सर्वजाति*) विषयवासिभिः आपिष्टिवासिभिः चिह्नरेक-कोडुंके-वासिभिः च परिहर्तव्यं परिहारयितव्यं च इति । अपि च आपिष्ट्याम् अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः खलाय निवर्तनं, गृहाय निवर्तनम्, आर्धिकाः (- शस्त्रार्धभागिनः श्लेषकपर्णकाः) चत्वारः ४, कौलिकौ (- क्षेत्रजकार्पासेन वसनादिवयनार्थम् आवश्यकौ तन्तुवायौ) द्वौ इति २ । एवं ज्ञात्वा अथ कश्चित् बल्लभ-मदेन (- राजवल्लभः अहम् इति दर्पेण) पीडां बाधां [वा] कुर्यात् कारयेत् वा तस्य खलु वयं निग्रहवारणं (- दण्डेन वारणं) कुर्याम इति । भूयः च—वर्षशतसहस्रातिरेक-समकाले अस्माकं पल्लवकुलमहतः भविष्य-भटम् अन्यान् च नः (- अस्माकं) वसुधाधिपतीन् अभ्यर्थये, यः स्वक-काले उपरिलिखितमर्यादया अनुवर्तयति, तस्य एव शर्म (= मङ्गलम्) इति ; यः च अस्मिन् विघ्ने वर्तेत, स च खलु पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तः नराधमः भवेत् इति । दत्ता पट्टिका वर्ष-शतसहस्राय संवत्सरे अष्टमे—८—वर्षा [पक्षे षष्ठे]—६—दिव[से पञ्चमे]—५ । स्वयम् आज्ञप्तम् । कोलिवाल-भोजकस्य (- कोलिवालाख्य-स्थानभोक्तुः) रहस्याधिकृत(= मन्त्रि)-भर्तृशर्मणः स्वहस्तलिखितेन (- स्वाक्षरेण) पट्टिका कृता इति ॥ स्वस्ति गो-ब्राह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः³ इति ॥

¹ प्रतिभागः = निवर्तनात्मकः चंशः.

² The meaning of कौञ्ज is unknown. If कुञ्ज (= काञ्चिका) is taken in the sense of the popular beverage of South India, कौञ्जस्य may refer to the villagers' obligation to supply free gruel to the king's labourers working in the area. विनाशिन् may also be वैनायिक in the sense of 'an attendant'.

No. 66—Gunapadeya Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman

GUNAPADEYA, Kondakūr Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh;
now in the BRITISH MUSEUM, London.

FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 100ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2, note 2;
HULTZSCH, *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 143ff.

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the latter half of
the 4th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक)

TEXT¹

First Plate

सिद्ध ॥²

- 1 सिरि-विजय-खुन्दव[म्मा]-महाराजस्स संभवच्छरा •³ (1*)
- 2 युवमहाराजस्स भारद्वायस्स प[ल्लवा]-
- 3 णं सिरि-विजय-बुद्धवम्मस्स देवी * •⁴
- 4 कुर-जनवी [चारु]देवी का (?) • वीय *⁵

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII and *Ind. Ant.*, IX. The record is usually referred to as the British Museum plates. For the suggested identification of Skandavarman with Sivaskandavarman, see p. 457, note 3. Note that the language of this record is later. It shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts. See p. 430, note 2. This Skandavarman may be identified with Skandavarman I of the Orangoḍu grant, No. 1.

² In the left margin of the plate.

³ The figures of the date are totally lost.

⁴ Hultzsach is inclined to read [बु]द्धि[यं]कुर-जनवी in lines 3-4; he further corrects जनवी to जननी. It is however impossible to decipher the two (?) *akṣaras* after देवी in line 3. On the strength of Hultzsach's conjectural reading, Buddhavarman and Budhyaṅkura are usually represented as Pallava kings. There is no evidence to show that they ascended the throne or that Buddhavarman was the son of Skandavarman.

⁵ The reading intended is possibly आणवीयति (= आणापयति). Hultzsach is inclined to restore क[डके] वीय[पतं ॥]. But traces of an *anusāra* above the letter which looks like क and of an *ā*-sign are possibly visible. May काचिये वियापतं be suggested?

Second Plate : First Side

२^१

- 5 राजतळाक-हे[हे] पाणिय-[कु*]-
- 6 पाहुत्तरे पासे [आ]तुकस्स कसित[व्व*]
- 7 छेतं दालूरे कूलिमहात्तरक-देवकुलस्स^२

Second Plate : Second Side

३^३

- 8 भगवन्नारायणस्स अम्हं आयु-बल-वदनी-
- 9 यं कातून भूमी-निवत्तणा चत्तारि ४ अम्हेहिं
- 10 सम्पदत्ता (१*) तं नातूण गामेयिका आयुत्ता
- 11 सव्व-[प]रिहारेहि परिहरथ परिहरापेथ (१*)

Third Plate

- 12 बहुभिच्च[सु]धा दत्ता बहुभिच्च[ानुपा]लिता (१*)
- 13 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि^४ तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलम् (॥*) १
- 14 स्व-दत्ता(१*) परदत्त[१] वा ये हरति वसून्धराम्^५ (१*)
- 15 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् (॥*) २
- 16 आणत्ति रोहण[१] गुत्ता^६त्ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ श्रीविजय-स्कन्दवर्म-महाराजस्य संवत्सरः ...। युवमहाराजस्य भारद्वाजस्य पण्डितानां श्रीविजय-बुद्धवर्मणः देवी ...कुर-जननी चारुदेवी [आज्ञापयति] ।—‘राजतडागा-धस्तात् पानीयकूपात् उत्तरपार्श्वे आतुकस्य कष्टव्यं श्वेतं दालूरे कूलि-महत्तरक-देवकुलस्य (=कूलिनामकेन महत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितस्य मन्दिरस्य) भगवन्नारायणाय अस्माकम् आयुर्वल-

^१ In the left margin of the plate.

^२ स्मा was possibly in the mind of the scribe.

^३ In the left margin of the plate. Both sides of Plate II are numbered. Usually only one of the sides bears the number of the plate.

^४ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

^५ Read यो हरति (or हरति) वसुः.

^६ The i-sign of यो could not be properly executed owing to the interference of च in the preceding line. The reading गुत्ता is doubtful.

वर्धनीयं (यद्वा— ०वार्धनिकं) कृत्वा भूमिनिवर्तनानि चत्वारि ५ अस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तानि । एतत्
ज्ञात्वा ग्रामेयकाः आयुक्ताः (—ग्राम-स्थिताः आयुक्ताः राजभृत्याः ; यद्वा—ग्रामवासिनः
च आयुक्तकाः च) [यूयं] सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरत परिहारयत [च] ।^१

बहुभिर्वमुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।

यस्य यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरति वसुन्धराम् ।

गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुःकृतम् ॥

आशुभिः (—दान-सम्पादन-निश्चयः दत्तकः) रोहिणीगुप्तः इति ॥

No. 67—Narasaraopet¹ Copper-plate Inscription of Simhavarman—Regnal Year 4

NARASARĀOPET TĀLUKA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 254f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A. D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3 चतुष्टुप् (द्यौक).

TEXT³

First Plate

1 जि[त][^१•]^४ भगवता(॥•) स्वस्ति(॥•) श्रीविजय-स्कन्ध(१•)वारा[त्प]रामावहण्य-^५

2 स्य स्व-बाहु-बल[१]जितो[जि]त-[क्षा]स-त[पो]निषेष्टिभि-^६

¹ The grant is usually referred to as the Oṃgoḍu grant after the name of the village donated. It was discovered in a village in the Narasaraopet Taluka.

² According to Krishna Sastri the record "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century."

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. For Simhavarman of this record, see *Sac. Sat.*, pp. 170ff.; 202ff.; 402.

⁴ त is written below the line. See p. 426, note 1.

⁵ Read "सकन्द". Note that the name of the skandhārāra (camp) is omitted owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. Another record discovered at the same place was issued from vijaya-Tāmbraṇa-sthāna.

⁶ Sastri: "चाव."

- 3 हित-सर्व-मर्यादस्य स्थिति-स्थितस्य[1]मितात्मनो महा-¹
4 राजस्य प्रियवित[लै]क²-वीरस्य श्रीवीरवर्मणः प्रपौत्रो(ऽ*)प्य

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 [जि]त³-शक्ति-सिद्धि-सम्पन्नस्य प्रतो(ता)पोपन[त]-[रा]ज-मण्डलस्य [भ]गव-
6 त्भ(ज्)क्ति-सम्भाव-सम्भावित-सर्व-कल्याणस्य(1*)नेक-गो-
7 हिरण्य-भूम्य[1]दि-प्रदानैः प्रवृ[त्त]⁴-धर्म-सन्न-
8 यस्य प्रजापालन-दक्षस्य लोकपालाना[] पञ्च(म*)स्य लो-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 कपालस्य⁵ महात्मनो महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः पौ-
10 त्रो देव-द्विज-गुरु-वृद्धोपसेविनो विवृद्ध-विनयस्य(1*)-
11 नेक-संग्राम-स(1*)हसावमहोपलब्ध⁶-विजय-यशः(1*)-प्रा-⁷
12 काशस्य सत्यात्मनो युवमहाराज-श्रीविष्णुगोपस्या⁸ पुत्रः

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 कलियुग-दोषावस[त्त]-धर्मदूरण⁹-नित्य-श[त्त]द्धो¹⁰ राज-गु-
14 ण-शर्व¹¹-सन्दोह-विजिगिषु¹² धर्म-विजिगिषु¹³ भगवत्पादानुभ्यातो¹⁴

¹ Sastri : माह०.

² Read पृथिवी०.

³ Read प्रपौत्रोऽभ्युक्षित०, as in other grants.

⁴ Read प्रवृद्ध०.

⁵ Note that the passage indicates only four divine Lokapālas (cf. above, p. 193).

Their number was later raised to eight or ten.

⁶ Read मर्होप०.

⁷ Read प्रका०.

⁸ Read गोपस्य.

⁹ Read धर्मोद्धरण.

¹⁰ Read सन्नद्धो.

¹¹ Read सर्व.

¹² Read विजिगीषुर्धर्म०.

¹³ Read गोपुर्भग०.

¹⁴ Read अनुभ्यातो.

- 15 वण्य-भट्टारक-पाद-भक्तः(*) परमभागवतो भारद्वाज-स-
16 गोप्त¹ विक्रामाक्रान्तन्यनूपरिश्च-निलयानां² यथावदाहृतानेकक्रतुनां³

Third Plate : Second Side

- 17 शतक्रतुनां कल्पनां⁴ बहुभानां⁵ पञ्चवानां धर्म-महाराज-श्री-सिं-
18 हिवर्म[१] कर्म-७१ ण्टे⁶ ओगोदुग्रामः कोडिकिग्रामो⁷ एवतः न७१चडु-
19 मा[मो] दक्षिणतः कडाकुटुरु-ग्रामो⁸ प[श्चि]मतः⁹ पेरुक्कप ७
20 ग्रामे¹⁰ उत्तरतः एवं चतुरव[धि]-मध्ये पूर्व-भोग-विवर्जितः

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 21 कुण्डूर्व(१०)स्तव्याया काश्यप-गोत्राय छन्दोविदिते¹¹ सर्व-शास्त्र-कुश-
22 लाय देवशर्मने¹² ग्रहाण-निमित्त¹³ अस्मदायुर्वल-वि-

¹ Read भारद्वाज-सगोत्री. गोत्र is engraved above the line.

² Read विक्रामाक्रान्तान्य-नूप-श्री०.

³ Read क्रतूनां. Some records, e. g., the Pīkira grant of Simhavarman, read यथावदाहृतानेकाश्वमेधानां. The Āśvamedha referred to is no doubt that performed by Kumāravishṇu, father of Viravarman. Cf. पञ्चवानामश्वमेधयाजिनः महाराजस्य श्रीकुमारविष्णोः in the Oṃgoḍu grant of Skandavarman (II), *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251. It is interesting that only the descendants of this Kumāravishṇu refer to the Āśvamedha.

⁴ Read शतक्रतुकल्पानां

⁵ The fuller form of this title appears to be श्री-पृथिवी-वज्रभ found in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. It refers to the kings' claim to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu. For this interpretation, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 208, note; *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 131 f.

⁶ Read सिंहवर्मनामानः वयं and राष्ट्रे. The letter here printed ७ (=r) is the *bandira* or *śakaṭarepha* of the Telugu alphabet. Theoretically it is a cerebral r.

⁷ Read ओगोदु-ग्रामं कोडिकि-ग्रामः.

⁸ Read ग्रामः.

⁹ Sastri : ०मातः.

¹⁰ Read ग्राम, and ०विवर्जित (with the exception of lands previously granted).

¹¹ Read वास्तव्याय and छन्दोविदि.

¹² Read ०शर्म.

¹³ Read ग्रहणनिमित्तम् (on the occasion of an eclipse).

23 जयाभिवृद्धये सम्प्र[1]दाम [1] तदिमं¹ सर्व्व-परिहारै[रै](ः*)² प-

24 रिहत्तव्य[म्]³ परिहारयितेव्यञ्च⁴ (1*) यञ्चेदं अस्मच्छा-⁵

Fourth Plate : Second Side

25 शनमतिक्रामे(त्*) स पापः शारीरदण्डमहंति (1*) आशीलता-

26 पा⁶ श्लोका भवन्ति (11*)

भूमिदान-समन्दानां नं भूतो⁷ न भवि-⁸

27 विष्यति (1*)

तस्यैव हरणात्पाप(ः*) न भूतो⁹ न भविष्यति (11*) 1

28 स्व-दत्त(1*) परदत्तां ना¹⁰ यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् (1*)

गवां शत-

Fifth Plate

29 सहस्रस्य हन्तु-पिबति किस्विपम् (11*) 2

बहुभिर्व्वसुदा¹¹ [द]त्ता बहु-

30 भिश्चानुपाळितम्¹² (1*)

यस्य यस्य यथा भूम तस्य¹³ त-

31 स्य तदा फलम् (11*) 3

स¹⁴-विजय-राज्य-स(ः*)वत्सरे चतुर्थे वैशाख-शु[क्र]-¹⁵

32 पक्ष-पञ्चम्यां दत्तं(त्तम्) (1*) भट्ट[1]रका[णां] स्व-मुखाजसपा लिखित[मि]दं-
(दम्) 1(1*)

1 Read तदिदं.

2 रै is engraved on an erasure.

3 Read ०हत्तव्यं.

4 Read ०तव्यञ्च.

5 Read ०दम् अस्मच्छासन०.

6 Read अपि चावाप्यः.

7 Read ०न्दानं न भूतं.

8 Read भविष्यति.

9 Read भूतं.

10 Read वा.

11 Read ०सुधा. द of दत्ता is engraved below the line.

12 Read ०पालिता.

13 Read यदा भूमिस्तस्य.

14 Better read स्व.

15 स्व was originally engraved for कृ.

C—THE KADAMBAS

No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription of Mayūrasarman (c. 330-60 A.D.)

CHANDRAVALLI, Chitaldrug District, Mysore State.

M. H. KRISHNA, *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50; K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India, 150-350*, pp. 220f.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 कदंबाणं मयूरशमण विनिम्भिभं²
- 2 तटाकं [कुट]³-तेकूड⁴-अभिर⁵-पल्लव-पुरि-
- 3 योतिक⁶-सकस्थ[न⁷]-सयिन्यक⁸-पुण्ड⁹-मोकरि[ण]¹⁰(॥*)

¹ From the eye-copy and indistinct facsimile in *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929. The reading is in many places doubtful. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation are in some parts impossible. He reads (lines 2-3) तटी काञ्ची-वकुटाभीर-पल्लव-पुरी-यातिकेन सातहनीस्य-सिन्दकपुरी-दमन-कारिणा, "who marched against Kāñchī and Trikūṭa—the Ābhīra and Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātāhanī, built the embankment." K. A. Nilakanṭha Sastri is wrong in thinking that the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarman is a modern forgery. See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, p. 238.

² In the space between lines 1 and 2, there are two symbols possibly representing the sun (a circle with a centre mark) and the moon (a crescent).

³ The reading is not beyond doubt. Krishna : दुभ.

⁴ Krishna : तेकूट ; but, in his eye-copy, there is no trace of a subscript r. As regards ड, compare the form of this letter with टा (of तटाकं) in the eye-copy.

⁵ Krishna : अभौर.

⁶ Krishna reads पारियातिक ; but his eye-copy has distinctly पुरियोतिक. If we however think that the subscribed u in पु and the e-sign (part of the o-sign) of यो are not actually the engraver's work, the word may be read प(१*)रियातिक.

⁷ न is engraved above the line.

⁸ Krishna : सयिन्दक ; but the subscript of the third akshara looks like य in the eye-copy.

⁹ Krishna : पुनाट. See note 4 above.

¹⁰ For the existence of a people or locality called Mukari on the Ponnai or Kāveri, cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 41, note.

कदवाणां (— कदम्ब-वंशीयेन) मयूरशर्मणा विनिर्मितं तटाषं (— पुष्करिणी) कुट्ट (— कुट्टित
= निजित)-लैकूटामीर-पल्लव-पारियात्रिक-शकस्थान-सेन्द्रक-पुण्याट-मौखरिणा ॥¹

No. 69—Tālagunda Stone-pillar Inscription of the time of Śantivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.)

TĀLAGUNDA, Shimoga District, Mysore State.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, pp. 27f.; RICE, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, pp. 200ff.;
KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 31ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class
of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-24 मावासमक-विशेष or सिद्धम-गौरिका²; Vv. 25-26 पुष्पिताया;
V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता;
Vv. 30-31 वसन्ततिलका; V. 32 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 33 दण्डक-प्रचित-चण्डवेग
(or •अणव)³; V. 34 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT⁴

सिद्धम् [॥]⁵

¹ The Traikūṭas or Traikūṭakas belonged to Aparānta or the Northern Koṅkan. The Ābhīras of this period also belonged to the same region. A place called Āhīrwārā lies between Bhilsa and Jhansi. Mayūraśarman's struggles with the Pallavas are referred to in No. 69 below. Pāriyātrikas lived about the Pāriyātra mountain (Western Vindhyas and the Aravalli range). Śakasthāna possibly indicates the kingdom of the Śakas of Western India. The Sendraka territory lay in old Mysore. The Maukharis lived in Rajasthan although the reference may be to the Mukaris of the Tamil country, who of course may have been a branch of the Maukhari clan. Puṇḍa = Puṇḍu was in the Southern part of old Mysore. See *Sac. Sāt.*, pp. 241-46.

² "A species of mātrāsamaka, the name of which as yet is unknown" (Kielhorn). Venkatasubbiah takes it to be the Gīṭikā variety of the mītragāṇa metres (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 115). Mātrā: 15+15+15+15.

³ "A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specially Chāṇḍavega or Arṇava" (Kielhorn). The verse has 30 syllables in a pāda.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

⁵ This word stands in the left margin on the level between lines 1 and 2.

1 नमश्शिवाय ॥

जयति विश्वदे[व]-स[ं]घात-निचितैकमूर्त्तिस्सनातनः (1*)

स्थानुरिन्दु¹-रश्मि-विच्छुरित-द्युतिमञ्जटाभार-मण्डनः ॥ 1

तमनु भूसुरा द्विज-प्रवरास्सामर्यजुर्व्वद-वादिनः (1*)

यत्प्रसादस्त्रायते नित्यं भुवन-त्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ 2

अनुपदं सुरेन्द्रतुल्य[व]पु × काकुत्स्थवर्मा² विशाल-धीः (1*)

भूपति × कदम्ब-सेनानी-बृहदन्वय-[व्यो]म-चन्द्रमाः

2

॥ 3

अथ बभूव द्विज-कुलं प्रांशु विचरद्गुणेन्द्रंशु-मण्डलम् (1*)

श्वार्पवर्म-हारितोपुलमृषिमुख्य-मानव्य-गोतजम् ॥ 4

विविध-यज्ञावभृथ-पुण्याम्बु-नियताभिपेकार्द्र-मूर्द्धजम् (1*)

प्रवचनावगाह-निष्ठातं विधिवत्समिद्धाग्नि-सोमपम् ॥ 5

प्रणवपूर्व्व-पट्टिधादेय-नानर्द्यमानान्तरालयम् ॥³

अकृश-चातुर्मास्य-होमेष्टि-पशु-पार्व्वण-श्राद्ध-पौष्टिकम् (॥*) 6

3 अतिथि-नित्यसंश्रितावसथं सवनलयावन्ध्य-नैत्यकम् (1*)

गृह-समीपदेश-संरूढ-विकसत्कदम्बैकपादपम् ॥ 7

तदुपचारवत्तदास्य तरोस्सानाम्य-साधर्म्यमस्य तत् (1*)

प्रववृते सतीर्थ्य-विप्राणां प्राचुर्य्यतस्तद्विशेषणम् ॥ 8⁴

एवमागते कदम्ब-कुले श्रीमान्वभूव द्विजोत्तमः (1*)

नामतो मयूरशर्मा⁵ति श्रुत-शील-शौचाद्यलंकृतः [॥] 9

4 यः प्रयाय पद्मवेन्द्र-पुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्मणा (1*)

अधिजिगांसु-प्रवचनं निखिलं⁵ घटिकां विवेशाशु तत्कुंकः ॥ 10

¹ Read स्थानु°.

² The correct form is काकुत्स्थ ; but काकुत्स्थ is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. "The great lineage of the Kadamba leader of armies" seems to refer to the Kadambas as sprung from Mayūraśarma who is called *Senāpati* in verse 22 below and apparently served once as a general of the Pallavas. See p. 476, note 7; p. 479, note 4.

³ Only one *danḍa* may be retained.

⁴ "Then as the family tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of these Brāhmaṇa fellow-students, currently accepted as distinguishing them."

⁵ Read निखिलं, घटिका (an establishment for holy and learned men devoted to religious and learned discourses; something like a college) is the same as ब्रह्मपुरी of many inscriptions. तत्कुंक = याचक ; here शिष्याधी ; पद्मवेन्द्र-पुरी = काची.

- तल पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन¹ कलहेन तीव्रेण रोपितः (I*)
 कलियुगे(S*)स्मिन्नहो वत² क्षलात्परिपेलवा विप्रता यतः (II*) 11
 गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराद्ध्य शाखामधीत्यापि यत्नतः (I*)
 ब्रह्म-सिद्धिर्यदि नृपाधीना किमतः परं दु × खमित्यतः [II] 12
- 5 कुश-समिद्धपत्सु गाज्य-चरु-ग्रहणादि-दक्षेन पाणिना (I*)
 उद्वहं दीप्तिमच्छस्तं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ 13
 यो(S*)न्तपालान्पल्लवेन्द्राणां³ सहसा विनिर्जित्य संयुगे (I*)
 अद्भुतवास दुर्गमामटवीं श्रीपर्वत-द्वार संश्रिताम् ॥ 14
 आददे करान्बृहद्वाण-प्रमुखाद्दूनाजमण्डलात् (I*)
 एवमेभिः पल्लवेन्द्राणां भृकुटी-समुत्पत्ति-कारणैः ॥ 15
- 6 स्वप्रतिज्ञा-पारणोत्थान-लघुभि × कृतार्थैश्च चेष्टितैः (I*)
 भूपणैरिवावभौ बलवद्याला-समुत्थापनेन च ॥ 16
 अभियुयुक्षयागतेषु भृशं काञ्ची-नरेन्द्रेष्वरातिषु (I*)
 विषम-[दे]श-प्रयाण⁴-संवेश⁵-रजनीष्ववस्कन्द-भूमिषु ॥ 17
 प्राप्य सेना-सागरं तेषां प्राहन्वली इयेनवत्तदा (I*)
 आपदन्तान्धारयामास⁶ भुज-खड्गमात्स्-[न्य]पाश्र्वयः ॥ 18
- 7 पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्य शक्तिमिमां लब्ध्वा प्रतापान्वयावपि (I*)
 नास्य हानिश्चेयसीत्युक्ता यम्मिलमेवाशु वव्रिरे ॥ 19

¹ May पल्लवाश्वसंस्था refer to the Aśvamedha performed by Śivaskandavarman? In that case, Mayūrasarman was Śivaskandavarman's contemporary. For the possible contemporaneity of Mayūrasarman and Śivaskandavarman, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 184, 247.

² The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *mātrās*.

³ अन्तपाल = frontier-guard. श्रीपर्वत = the Nallamalpur range. For the Bāṇas, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 247. Their kingdom comprised parts of the Chittoor, North Arcot and Anantapur Districts.

⁴ श in देश-प्र° may be considered to be a short syllable. Kāñchi (Conjeeveram near Madras) was the Pallava capital.

⁵ स्वे was originally engraved; but the subscript व has been struck out.

⁶ ना seems to have been originally engraved.

⁷ Verses 19-20 suggest that Mayūrasarman became a general of the Pallava king. His feudatory position was probably analogous to that of the military governor of a province within the Pallava empire which extended up to the Śrīparvata.

- संश्रितस्तदा महीपाळानाराज्य युद्धेषु विक्रमैः (१०)
 प्राप पट्ट-यन्त्र-संपूजां कर-पल्लवै = पल्लवेर्दृताम् ॥ 20
 भङ्गुरोर्मि-वलिगतैर्नृत्यदपरार्णवाम्भ × कृतावधिम् (१०)
 प्रेहरान्तामनन्य-संचरण-समय-स्थितां^१ भूमिमेव च ॥ 21^२
- 8 विबुध-संघ-मौलि-संमृष्ट-चरणारविन्दछयडाननः (१०)
 यमभिषिक्तवाननुध्याय^३ सेनापतिं मातृभिस्सह ॥ 22
 तस्य पुत्र × कङ्कवर्माप्र-समरो[दु]र-प्रा[']शु-चेष्टितः (१०)
 प्रणत-सर्व-मण्डलोत्किष्ट^४-मित-चामरो[दु]त-शेखरः ॥ 23
 त[सु]त × कदम्ब-भूमिवधू-रुचितैकनाथो भगीरथः (१०)
 सगर-मुख्य[स्व]यं कदम्बकुल-प्र[च्छन्न]-ज[न्मा] जनाधिपः (॥०) 24^५
- 9 अथ नृप-महितस्य तस्य पुत्रः
 प्रथित-यशा रघु-पार्थिवः पृथु-श्रीः (१०)
 पृथुरिव पृथिवीप्रसङ्ग योऽ^६रीन्
 अकृत पराक्रमतस्स्वव[']श-भोज्याम् ॥ 25

^१ Preharā and Muralā have been mentioned in the *Avantisundarikathā* as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported (Raghavan, *An. Or. Res.*, Madras University, V, pt. 2). The Muralā may be associated with the Murala people known from the Bheraghat inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 11) and Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Prachandapāṇḍava* (N. S. P. ed., I, 7) as having come into conflict with Kalachuri Karṇa and Pratibhāra Mahipāla I respectively. Mallinātha (on *Raghu*, IV, 55) takes Muralā as a river in Kerala. The *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (end of the 17th century) speaks of the waters of मलप्रहरा-भीमरथो-चटप्रहराणां (Gode, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXII, p. 263). This seems to suggest that Preharā was another name of the Malaprabharā (Malaprabhā) or the Ghaṭaprabharā (Ghaṭaprabhā), both tributaries of the Kṛishṇā. The metre possibly requires the reading प्रहरा° (see note 2 below).

^२ The third pāda has 16 mātrās. See note 1 above.

^३ Kielhorn seems to have understood from this passage that Śaḍānana installed Mayūrasārman after meditating on the Senāpati with the Mothers. This may be wrong: here अनुध्याय means "having favoured", and not "after meditating on". Śaḍānana is here said to have favoured and installed the general (सेनापति) Mayūrasārman on the throne.

^४ Read मण्डलोत्किष्ट.

^५ The third pāda has 16 or 17 Mātrās. ल in कुल-प्र° may however be considered as a short syllable. We may suggest मुख° for मुख्य°. Kielhorn : कुले.

प्रतिभय-समरेष्वराति-शस्त्रो-
 लिखित-मुखो ऽ० भिमुख-द्विषां प्रहर्त्ता (१०)
 श्रुतिपथ-निपुण × कविः प्रदाता
 विविध-कला-कुशल = प्रजा-प्रियश्च ॥ 26

- 10 भ्रातास्य चारु-वपुरब्द-गभीर-नादो
 मोक्ष-लिवर्ग-पटुरन्वयवत्सलश्च (१०)
 भागीरथिन्नरपतिमृगराज-लीलः
 काकुस्थ^१ इत्यवनि-मण्डल-घुष्ट-कीर्त्तिः ॥ 27
 ज्यायोभिस्सह विग्रहो(ऽ०)धिषु दया सम्यक्प्रजा-पालनम्^२
 दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधान-वसुभिर्मस्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम् (१०)

- 11 यस्यैतत्कुल-भूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रजोत्तरं भूषणम्^३
 तम्भूपा × खलु मेनिरे सुर-सखं काकुस्थमन्नागतम् ॥ 28
 घर्माक्क्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षर(१०)जिं प्रविश्य
 छाया-सेवा-मृडित-मनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति (१०)
 तद्गज्यायो-विहत-गतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः
 प्रापुश्शर्माव्यथित-मनसो यस्य भू[मिं] प्रविश्य ॥ 29

- 12 नानाविध-द्रविण-सार-समुच्चयेषु
 मत्त-द्विपेन्द्र-मद-वासित-गोपुरेषु (१०)
 संगीत-वल्गु-निनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य
 लक्ष्म्यङ्गना प्रतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥ 30
 गुप्तादि-पात्थिव-कुलाम्बुरुह-स्थलानि
 स्नेहादर-प्रणय-सम्भ्रम-केसराणि (१०)
 श्रीमन्त्यनेक-नृपपटु-सेवितानि
 यो(ऽ०)बोधयद् हित्-दीधितिभिर्नृपाङ्कः ॥ 31^४

¹ See p. 475, note 2.

² Read पालनं, ज्यायस् = stronger.

³ Read भूषणं.

⁴ Kākusthavarmān apparently gave his daughters in marriage to princes belonging to the Gupta and other royal families. His Halsi copper-plate grant is dated in the year 80 which is possibly to be referred to the era of his Gupta relatives. See *Sac. Sāt.* pp. 255-56.

- 13 यन्दैवसम्पन्नमदीनचेष्टं
शक्तिस्त्रयोपेतमथासनस्थम् (10)
शेषैर्गुणैः पञ्चभिरप्यसादृशा-
स्सामन्त-चूडामणयः प्रणेमुः ॥ 32
सयिह भगवतो भवस्यादिदेवस्य सिद्धपालये सिद्ध-गान्धर्व-रक्षो-गणैस्सेविते¹
विविध-नियम होम-दीक्षा-परैर्ब्राह्मणैः² स्नातकैः³ स्तूयमाने सदा मन्त्र-वादैश्शुभैः (10)
- 14 सुकृतिभिरवनीश्वरैरात्म-निश्चयेयसं प्रेषुभिस्मातकर्ण्यादिभिश्चन्द्रयाभ्यर्चिते⁴
इदमुत्सलिलोपयोगाश्रयं भूपति × कारयामास काकुस्थवर्मा तडाकम्म[हत] ॥ 33
तस्योरसस्य तनय[स्य] विशाल-कीर्त्तः
[प]ट्ट-सयार्पण-विरा[जित]-चारुमूर्त्तः⁵ (10)
श्रीशान्तिवर्मा-नृपतेर्वर-शासनस्थः
कुब्जस्वकाव्यमिदमश्म-तले ळिलेख⁶ ॥ 34
- 15 नमो भगवते स्थानकुन्दूर-वासिने महादेवाय (10) नन्दतु सर्व-समन्तागतो (50)
यमधिवासः⁷ (10) स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य इति ॥

¹ Read गन्धर्व, सयिह = सः १६.

² See p. 404, note 7.

³ Read ०र्चितः. This Sātakarpi is probably a king of the family represented by Viṣṇupukadḍa Chūṭakulānanda Sātakarpi of Kuntala. See *Sac. Sāt.*, pp. 219-21. For the wrong belief about the existence of a Chūṭu family, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 72.

⁴ This appears to suggest that, like his ancestor Mañjarasarma, Śāntivarman also received the *paṭṭabandha* (i.e. the position of a feudatory) from the Pallavas. Possibly the Early Kadamba kings owed nominal allegiance to the Pallavas. Śāntivarman's younger brother Kṛishṇavarman I became independent and performed the *Aśvamedha*; but he was defeated and killed by the Pallavas. See *ibid.*, pp. 258, 280ff.; *supra*, p. 461, note 3.

⁵ Kubja was thus both a poet and a calligraphist. No other work of this poet is known. The poet did not actually engrave the inscription, but wrote it on the stone to facilitate the engraver's work. This was also the custom often followed in engraving copper plates.

⁶ अधिवास = the temple; or, the place called Sthānakundūra (modern Tālagunda).
सर्वसमन्तागतः = सर्वान् समन्तान् (= समन्तवासिनः, पत्यन्तवासिनः) प्रातः.

D—WESTERN GĀNGAS¹No. 70—Penukonda Copper-plate Inscription
of Madhava

PENUKONDA (Penugonda), Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh.

FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 480; L. RICE, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 334f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the second half of the 5th century A.D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT³

First Plate

१ स्वस्ति (॥*)⁴

- 1 जितम्भगवता गतघन-गगनाभेन पद्मनाभेन (॥*) श्रीमज्जाङ्गवेय-कुलामर-
व्योम-भा-
- 2 सन-भास्करस्य स्व-भुज-जव-जय-जनित-सुजन-जनपदस्य दारुणारि-गण-विदारण-रणोप-⁵
- 3 लब्ध-वण-भूषणस्य काण्वायन सगोलस्य श्रीमत्कोङ्कणिवर्मा-धम्ममहाधिराजस्य पु-
- 4 लस्य पितुर्न्वागत-गुणस्य नाना-शास्त्रार्थ-सद्भावाधिगम-प्रणीत-म]ति-विशेषस्य नीति-
शास्त्र-

¹ Later Eastern Gaṅga records appear to suggest a connection between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas. The Vizagapatam plates (Śaka 1040) of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and the Kerdapatna plates (Śaka 1217 or 1218) of Narasimha II (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1103, 1116) refer to Ko'ābala as an ancestor of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the former also to the foundation by Kolābala of a city called Kolābalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi (the popular name of the Western Gaṅga country in Mysore). It is however difficult to determine if there was actually any relation. The Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is not called Jāhnavaya-kula. The Kāpavāyana-gotra is changed to Ātreya. But the presence of both the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas in the east coast shows that such relations are not improbable. Most of the early Western Gaṅga records are spurious and it is difficult to settle Early Western Gaṅga genealogy in the present state of our knowledge.

² Fleet ascribed the record to c. 475 A.D. See *Sac. Sāt.*, p. 176.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. On the seal is found the representation of an elephant to right.

⁴ १ = symbol for सिद्धम्. १ स्वस्ति is written in the left margin, १ on the level of line 1 and स्वस्ति on that of line 2.

⁵ Rice : विदारणीप०.

5 स्य वक्तृ-प्रयोक्तृ-कुशलस्य सम्यक्प्रजापालनमावाधिगत-राज्य-प्रयोजनस्य श्रीमन्मा-¹

Second Plate : First Side

6 धव-महाधिराजस्य तस्य पुत्रस्य अनेक-युद्धोपलब्ध-व्रग-विभूषित-शरीरस्य नाना-
7 शास्त्रेतिहास-पुराग-तत्त्वज्ञस्य² श्री-पल्लव-कुलेन्द्रेण सिंहवर्म्मा-महाराजेन यथाहंम-
8 भिषिक्तस्य गङ्गा-राजस्य³ आय्यवर्म्माणा⁴ पुत्रेण पितृ-पैतामहा(ह)-गुण-संयुक्तेन देव-
9 द्विजाति-गुरु-पूजन-तत्परेण धर्माभ्यास-कृत-मतिना स्व-बाहु-वीर्याञ्जित-राज्य-विभवेन
10 गाङ्गेय-वंश-ध्वजेन स्व-वंश-क्रमागत-राज्य-प्रणीतेन पल्लवानां श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्मा-महा-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 राजेन यथाहंमभिषिक्तेन गङ्गानाम्माधव-महाधिराजेन श्री-सिंहवर्म्माणा⁴ ब्राह्म-
12 णाय वत्स-सगोत्राय तैत्तिरिय⁵-चरगाय कुमारशर्मणे यम-नियम-तपः(*)-
13 स्वाद्य-यजन-याजनाद्य-यपन-शापानुग्रह-सामर्थ्याय अ-दान-प्रतिग्रहा-
14 य चैत्र-मास्याम्⁶ तिथौ पौर्णमास्याम् परुवि-विषये⁷ परुवि-महातटाकाधस्तात्
कर्माटुव-क्षे-

Third Plate

15 त्रे पञ्चषष्टि-केदाराः सप्तविंशत्खण्डकवापाः⁸ ब्रह्मदेय-क्रमेणाग्निः प्रदत्ताः (1*)
16 यो(5*)स्य हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति ॥ अपि चाल मनु-गीताः श्लोकाः (1*)
17 बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥* 1

¹ Read श्रीमन्मा°

² Read तत्त्व°

³ Read आय्य°.

⁴ His second name was apparently given after his father's overlord. This Pallava king Siphavarman is identified with the *Kāñchīśa* Siphavarman whose 22nd regnal year corresponds to Saka year 380 (458 A. D.) according to the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

⁵ Read तैत्तिरीय.

⁶ Read °मासि.

⁷ Paruvi is modern Parigi, 7 miles to the north of Hindupur in the Anantapur District, still noted for its tank. In early records, Paruvi is mentioned as the capital of the Bāṇas, and, at the time of Chōla Rājārāja I, it was the headquarters of the Parivai nāḍu in the Nulambapāḍi or Nalambavāḍi district.

⁸ Read °विंशति-ख°. The actual measurements of *Kedāra* and *Khaṇḍukavāḍpa* are not known. Cf. *Keyār*, a land measure in the Sylhet District where 12 K. = 1 Hāl (Hala), *Khaṇḍukas* of various weights (between 40 and 1280 maunds) are known.

- 18 स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यन्दु × खमन्यात्थ-पाळनम् (I*)
दानं वा पाळनं वेति दानाच्छेयो (S*) नुपाळनम् (II*) 2
- 19 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (I*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि घोरे तमसि वर्त्तते (II*) 3
- 20 इति सुवर्गकाराख्य-पुत्रेण अपापेन लिखितेयन्तान्न-पट्टिका । (I*)
[A Symbol for *Siddham* ?]

E—EARLY CHĀLUKYAS

No. 70A—Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I)— Śaka Year 465 (=543 A.D.)

BĀDĀMI, Bijapur District, Mysore State.

R.S. PANCHAMUKHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 4-9.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 श्लोक (अष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्ति (II*) शक-वर्षेषु चतुश्शतेषु पञ्चषष्टियुतेषु²
2 अश्वमेधादि-यज्ञानां यज्वा श्रौत-विधानतः (I*)
3 हिरण्यगर्भ-सम्भूतश्चलिक्यो³ वल्लभेश्वरः (II*) 1
4 धराधरेन्द्र-वातापिमजेयम्भूतये⁴ भुवः (I*)
5 अधस्तादुपरिष्ठाच्च दुर्गमेतदचीकरत् (II*) 2

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*

² This portion in prose is followed by verses.

³ The other well-known forms of the family name is *Chalukya* and *Chālukya*. For the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna*, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ Pulakeśin I made Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi) his capital; but the description of his son Kirtivarman I as the first maker of Vātāpi, as found in the Chiplun plates, would suggest that he had a large share in the construction of the city or fort.

F—PITRIBHAKTAS¹

No. 70B—Bobbili Copper-plate Inscription of
Achandavarman—Regnal Year 4.

BOBBILI, Vizagapatam District, Andhra Pradesh.

R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 33ff ; D. C. SIRCAR, *I.H.Q.*, XXIX, pp. 299-300 (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 1ff.)

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

First Plate: Second Side

- 1 १^३ स्वस्ति (॥*) विजय-सिङ्ग(सिंह)पुरात्परमभागवत[:] पितृपादानुदयात[:]
- 2 कलिङ्गाधिपति-श्री-महाराजाचण्डवर्मा तिरित्थाणग्रामे सर्व-
- 3 समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः भोजका[']श्च समाज्ञापयत्यस्येषो(ष) प्रा[मो](ऽ*)-
- 4 स्माभिरात्मन[:] पुण्यायुष्यंशसामभिवृद्धये [आ]-समु[द्रा]द(द्रि)-शसि(शि)-तारकार्क-
- 5 प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व-कर-परिहारैश्च परिहृत्य षट्छ(ट्)त्विंश-
लक्ष

Second Plate: First Side

- 6 दग्रहार-सामान्यज्ञाग्रहार-प्रदेय(*) साम्ब(सांव)त्सरिकं स(प)णाम्(प्र)-शतभु(द्व)-
- 7 यज्ञा(*)शं^३ चोपनिबन्धः(न्ध्य) [ति]रित्थाण-वाटकाग्रहार-ब्राह्मणानाम्

¹ For this dynastic name and the history of this family of rulers, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 74-81. The name of the donor of this grant and of his Śālaṅkāyana namesake was formerly read wrongly as *Chandavarman*. But see now *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, p. 3.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

³ This is the *Siddham* symbol.

⁴ The word *shattrimśat* (literally, 'thirtysix') has been used in the sense of 'all' in accordance with an Indian convention. The reference is to the custom prevalent in the Kalinga region, according to which even holdings declared to be revenue-free were liable to pay annually a nominal rent called in some records *triṇodaka* (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1952, pp. 4ff.). That the *agrahāra-pradeya* (amount annually realisable from the *agrahāras* or free-holdings) was 200 *paṇas* is supported by another early inscription of the same region. *Paṇa* seems to mean either the small coin called *fanam* or a *paṇa* of cowries. The word *agra* may suggest payment in advance. Cf. the Brihatproshtha grant (lines 5-6): दन्तयशागुभोगादुत्प

- 8 नाना-गा(गो)ल-सब्रह्मचारिणाम्¹ सम्प्रत्तः (।*) तदेवं ज्ञात्वा
9 युष्माभिः पूर्वोचित-मर्यादया सर्वोपस्थान['] कर्तव्यम्
10 मेय-हिरण्याघञ्जोपनेयम् (।*) भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 त्वज्ञाम(प)यामि (।*) धर्म-क्रम-विक्रमाणामन्यतम-योगा-
12 दवाप्य महोमनुशासताम् प्रवृत्तकमिदन्दानम्(नं)
13 सद्धर्ममनुपश्यन्निरेपो(ऽ*)ग्रहामा(रोऽ)नुपाल्यः (।*)² अपि चाल
14 व्यास-गीतानि(तान्) श्लोकानुदाहरन्तिः(न्ति ।)

बहुभिर्भद्रं³ दत्ता वसुधा

- 15 [व]सुधाधिपैः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य⁴ तद[।*] फलं(लम् ॥) 1

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 [स्व-द]त्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यत्नाद्रक्षस्व⁵ युधिष्ठिर ।⁶
महीन्म(म्)हिमतां श्रेष्ठ
17 [दानाच्छ्रेयो](ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम् ॥) 2
पट्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भू-
18 मिदः[.] (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁷ (॥*) 3
19 स्वयमाज्ञापना (।*) देशाक्षपटलाधिकृतेन मातृवरस्य
20 सुनुना रुद्रदत्तेन लिखितमितिः(ति ।) संवत्सर⁸ चउतम⁹ ४ ग्रीष्म २ दि ५⁹ (॥*)

षट्त्रिंशद्वहारसामावृत्त्या भोगसम्बन्ध-निर्व्वचनीयम्पुनः, "[the gift land], having separated it from the Dantavāgñ division and having put it on a par with all other *agrahāras*, is given in such a way that its present relation to the subdivision should be always declared." The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 5. See now, *ibid.*, XXX, p. 118, text line 15.

¹ Better read °ब्राह्मणेभ्यः...°ब्राह्मचारिभ्यः.

² I. e. "This *agrahāra*, which is a gift settled [by myself] should be maintained by those that keep true virtue in their mind out of the persons that rule the earth after having obtained possession of it by any one of the means such as right, inheritance and conquest". The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch and later writers that followed him.

³ Read °बहुधा or °बहुवो (vocative).

⁴ Read भूमिस्तस्य

⁵ Read °द्रक्ष.

⁶ The punctuation is indicated by a small curve. It is thus not impossible to think that the *visarga*-like sign in lines 13-14 was really intended to indicate double *danda*.

⁷ Better read वसेत् ॥ 3 इति ॥

⁸ Read संवत्सरे चतुर्थे.

⁹ I. e. शीत-पक्षे द्वितीये दिवसे पचमि शैत-शुक्ल-पचमौ-दिवसे.

G—EASTERN GAṄGAS

No. 71—Jirjingi Copper-plate Inscription of Indravarman—Gaṅga Year 39 (=c. 535 A.D.)¹

JIRJINGI, near Tekkali, Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh.

R. SUBBA RAO, *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, pp. 47ff; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, VII, pp. 229ff; R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 286f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 वृद्धम् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

First Plate

1 १^३ स्वस्ति (॥*) अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-श्रीमहन्तपुराद्भगवत्सकल-भु-

¹ Some scholars refer to the reckoning as the Gaṅga-Kadamba era which is a misnomer. The Kadambas of Kaliṅga used the era as feudatories of the Gaṅgas. The commencement of the Gaṅga era is still a disputed problem; but there can be no doubt that it started from about 496 A. D., either from that very year or from some date in the next two years. A definite clue is given by the Santa Bommal plates (dated in the Gaṅga year 520 in the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman; *J. A. H. R. S.*, pp. 171f.) and the Mandasa plates (dated in शकाब्द(ब्दे) नवगतक-सप्तम-मत(मिते) in the reign of Anantavarman, *ibid.*, V, pp. 272f) belonging to the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. Scholars have rightly taken Anantavarman of both the grants to be the same person. But the Śaka date has been interpreted differently, as $900 + \text{सप्त} + \text{रस} = 900 + 7 + 6 = 913$ by some and as $900 + 76$ or $900 + 67$ by others. The influence of Prakrit on the early Gaṅga records however seems to prove that सप्तम is a mistake for Sanskrit सप्तदश (i.e. 17). As Anantavarman of the two records is apparently identical, Śaka 917 = 995 A.D. is a few years earlier than the Gaṅga year 520. The Gaṅga era thus started some years later than $995 - 520 = 475$ A.D.. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1474, refers to a lunar eclipse on the Mārgaśīrṣa pūrṇamāsī in the Gaṅga year 128, i.e. $475 \text{ A. D.} + 128 + x = 603 + x \text{ A. D.}$ Now, lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇimā after this date occurred in A.D. 606 and 607, 624, 625, 626 and 643, etc. There are also references to solar eclipses in the Gaṅga years 154, 304, 351, etc. (*ibid.*, Nos. 1477, 1492, 1484). If the date Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇimā, Gaṅga year 128, be equated with the 30th November, 624 A.D., all the other dates are fairly satisfactorily explained. We therefore arrive at 496-97 A. D. as the initial year of the Gaṅga era. See *Ind. Int.*, LXV, pp. 237f; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 508f. It is possible that the Gaṅga era started from the first regnal year of king Indravarman of the Jirjingi plates. Mirashi favours 498 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 326ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV.

³ सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

- 2 वनतलोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-हेतोः¹ परमेश्वरस्य² सतत-प्रणा-
- 3 मावासः³ पुण्यसञ्चय-प्रभाव-निरस्ताशेषदुरितो गङ्गामल-कुल-
- 4 गगनतल-सहस्ररश्मिः अनेक-चातुर्दन्त-समर-विजय-⁴
- 5 विमल-विकोश-निस्त्रिङ्ग⁵-धारा-समाक्रान्त-सकल-सामन्त-
- 6 नृपति-मण्डलाधिपतिः⁶ मकुट-निहित-रुचिर-पद्मराग-
- 7 प्रभा-प्रसेक-परिष्वङ्ग-पिङ्गाङ्गीकृत-चरणयुगलः

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 अतुल-बल⁷-समुदयावास-विपुलविभव-सम्प्लुता-
- 9 मण्डप-च्छाया-विश्रान्त⁸।⁹ सुहृत्साधु-वा(वा)न्धवार्य-जनः
- 10 माता-पितृ-पादानुद्धृतातत्त्विकलिङ्गाधिपति⁹-श्रीमहा-

¹ Dantapura is an old city, the early form of the name possibly being Dantakūra. Some scholars identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura, from Dravidian *pal* (tooth) + *ār* (city). It is usually located at the site of modern Dantavaktra near Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh.

² Note that Śiva Gokarṇeśvara installed in a temple on the Mahendragiri peak is mentioned in the later records of the family as the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gaṅga kings.

³ Read °मावाप्त-पुण्य°. Paramēśvara is Śiva.

⁴ Chaturdanta is the name of Indra's Airāvata. As Indra is the guardian of the east, the reference may be to Indravarman's struggles with some eastern or north-eastern power. But the word is too often used in inscriptions to warrant such a suggestion.

⁵ Read निस्त्रिङ्ग.

⁶ Read °पति-मकुट°.

⁷ Read बल. In this record, the sign for व has been usually employed for ब which has been used only twice.

⁸ The punctuation mark after विश्रान्त is unnecessary.

⁹ The title त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति was later used by the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III and a few of his successors. It was also used by the Somavamśī kings of South Kosala and the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. The unique instance of its use in a Chandella record is apparently due to the fact that the charter belongs to the Kauravas of Karkareḍi who were at first feudatories of the Kalachuris and afterwards of the Chandellas. The epithets of their previous Kalachuri overlords were tacitly applied in that record to the name of their new Chandella suzerain. It is possible that त्रिकलिङ्ग originally indicated a particular territory between Kālīṅga and South Kosala, which may have been conquered by Indravarman who thus called himself त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति. The original home of the Somavamśīs may have been in this country. The adoption of the title by the Kalachuris and the later Gaṅgas is possibly due to their success against the Somavamśīs or their encroachment into Somavamśī territory. Trikaṭīṅga may also indicate the eastern, central and western parts of Kālīṅga, or Kālīṅga, Utkala and Kosala, or may be a technical name of Kālīṅga with Koṅgoda and Utkala or Kosala (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1956); but in that case it is

- 11 राजेन्द्रवर्मा ।¹ वोङ्गर-भोग-सम्बद्ध²-जिज्जिकग्रामे ।³
 12 सर्वसमवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः^(*) समाज्ञापयत्यस्ययं ग्रामो-
 13 (ऽ)स्माभिर्विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीय-सब्रह्मचारिणे⁴

Second Plate : Second Side

- 14 रुद्रस्वामि-सूतवे अग्निस्वामिने उत्तनुजाय च रुद्रस्वामिने
 15 संविभज्यार्द्धनासमुद्रादि-शशि-तारकाङ्क⁵-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा
 16 स्वपुण्यायूर्यंशो-बल-वर्द्धनात्थं^(*) माता-पितृश्रेष्ठ पुण्यावाप्त-
 17 ये ।⁶ सर्व-कर-परिहारैः^(*) ।⁷ परिहृत्य चार्यं ग्रामः
 18 प्रत्तः^(*) तदेवं भवद्भिः पूर्वोचित-मर्यादयोपस्थेयम्⁸ ।^(*)
 19 भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो विज्ञापयामि । धर्म-क्रम-विक्रमा-

Third Plate

- 20 णामन्यतम-योगादवाप्त-भूमण्डलाधिराज्यैरपि मा⁹
 21 महीमनुशासद्भिः × क्रमागतं दानमी(मि)त्यनुपाहनीयम् ॥
 22 अपि च श्लोकौ भवतः ॥
 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तांस्वा⁷ ।¹ यन्नाद्रक्ष
 23 युधिष्ठिर ।^(*)
 मही^(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ ।¹ दानाच्छ्रेयोऽ^(*)नुपालनं(नम्) ॥^(*) 1

difficult to explain why other equally powerful Gaṅga kings do not use the title. Moreover, in the records of the Eastern Chālukyas of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., their kingdom Veṅgī deśa is called *Trīkaṇḍa-sahita* or *Trīkaṇḍ-ā'asī-yukta*. This suggests that Trīkaṇḍa was not far from the Veṅgī country. As the Kākatiyas of the Telugu country do not use it, *विकलिङ्ग* seems to be quite different from *विनिङ्ग* (Telengana). Trīkaṇḍa appears also to have been originally a district (in the southern part of the present Andhra country according to some authorities; see *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 40), the geographical connotation of which afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of the Telugu-speaking area.

- 1 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
- 2 Read सम्बद्ध. Jijjika is modern Jirjīngi.
- 3 Read तैत्ति० and सब्रह्म०.
- 4 Read पुण्यायु० and बल.
- 5 उपस्थेय = उपसिष्य, पूज्य (to be honoured).
- 6 This *akshara* is redundant.
- 7 Read ०त्तां वा.

- 24 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः(ः*) ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुम-
- 25 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
प्रवर्द्धमान-सं ३० (+*) ८^१ वैशाख-दि २० (+*) १ ।
- 26 लिखितमिदं महाराज्ञो^२ सान्धिविग्रहीक-देवसिंहदेवेनेति ॥^३

H—KINGS OF ŚARABHAPURA

No. 71A—Pipardūlā Copper-plate Inscription of Narendra—Regnal Year 3

Pipardūlā, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya, *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 139ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁴

Seal

- 1 खड्गधारा-जित-भुवः शर[भाष्या]प्त-जन्मनः (1*)
- 2 नृपतेश्श्री-नरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपु-शासिनः[ः*] (॥*)^५ 1

¹ This date was originally read as year 389 by Subba Rao.

² Properly महाराजस्य. See *supra*, Bk. II, No. 9, notes.

³ Read *यष्टिक-देवसिंह*. See p. 377, note 4.

⁴ See the facsimile in *I.H.Q.*

⁵ The sixth syllable of the first quarter is short. Sarabha, father of Narendra, was probably the same as the maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died in 510 A.D. (above, No. 38). Both the father and the son appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. For the history of the kings of Sarabhapura, see the *Classical Age*, pp. 219ff. Paramabhāgarata Narendra also issued his Kurud plates in the year 24 of his reign from his residence at Tilakesvara (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 263ff.). It is stated that the Paramabhāṭṭāraka (apparently the Gupta emperor) granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa by a charter written on palmyra leaves which were destroyed by a conflagration in the donee's house. Narendra therefore issued the grant in favour of the original donee's son for the merit of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka to whom he may have then owed nominal allegiance.

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 १^१ स्वस्ति (॥*) शरभपुरा^२न्महाराज श्री-नरेन्द्रः
- 2 नन्दपुर-भोगीय-शर्करापट्टके^३ ब्राह्मणा-
- 3 दीनप्रतिवालि-कुटुम्बिनो बोधयति (॥*)
- 4 एष ग्रामो राहुदेवेन^४ स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्ध-
- 5 ये ब्राह्मण-वाजसनेय^५-आलेयसगोत्र-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 स्वामिण्याय^६ ताम्रशासनेनातिसूक्ष्मो मया-
- 7 पि च अ-बाट-भट-प्रावेश्य इत्यनुमोदितो
- 8 यतो भवद्भिरस्य यथाकालं मेय-
- 9 हिरण्यादीनां प्रत्यायानामुपनयः
- 10 कर्त्तव्यः (॥*) भविष्यतश्च भोगपतीनभिनन्दयति

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 पूर्व-दत्तेरनुपाळनाच्छेयसा सम्बन्धः आ-
- 12 छेदाच्च प्रत्यपा(वा)य इत्यनुप्रपश्यद्भिर्भवद्भि-
- 13 रस्य ग्रामस्यानुपालनं कर्त्तव्यम् (॥*)
- 14 व्यास-गीतौ चाल श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।

पूर्व-

- 15 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (॥*)

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ-दानाच्छेयोऽ^७नुपाळनम् (॥*) 2
- 17 षट्तिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः (॥*)
- 18 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

¹ This is the symbol for Siddham.

² Possibly the names are preserved in modern Nandgaon and Sākra in the old Sarangarh State.

³ Rāhudeva, the actual donor, was apparently a subordinate of king Narendra. According to the legal procedure of ancient India, when one granted land out of his *jāgīr* or of an area purchased from the king, the latter had to sanction the creation of a rent-free holding. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 60ff.

⁴ Read «सुनेयावेय».

⁵ Sanskrit स्वाम्यात्मनि.

19

वसे(त् ॥*) 3

प्रवर्द्धमान-वि(त्)तोय-वर्षस्य मार्गशि-

20 र-मास-दिवसे दशमे (१*) उत्कीर्णं^१ श्रीदत्तेनेति (॥*)

J—VIGRAHAS

No. 71B—Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription of the
time of Prithivivigraha-bhattaraka—Gupta
Year 250 (= 569 A.D.)

SUMANDALA, old Khallikot State, Ganjam District, Orissa.

S. N. RAJAGURU, *Manoramā*, I, i, pp. 17-24; D. C. SIRCAR *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 79ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-4 श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्),

TEXT²

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति (१*) चतुर्दशमेखलायां सप्तश्लोक-पञ्चत-सरित्पत्त[न*]-
- 2 भूषणायाम्(यां व)तुन्धरायाम्(यां व)र्त्तमान-गुप्त-राज्ये^३ वर्षशत-द्वये
- 3 पञ्चाशदुत्तरे कलिङ्गराष्ट्रमनुशासति श्री-पृथिवीविग्रह-
- 4 भट्टारके तत्पादानुष्यातः पद्मखोल्यां महाराजोभयान्वयो^४
- 5 व व.पदेव्यामुदाहृतनुः सहस्ररश्मि-पाद-भक्तो महाराज-धर्म्मरा-
- 6 जः कुशली परक्खलमार्गं^५ -विषये वर्त्तमान-भविष्यत्साम[न्त]-

¹ Read उत्कीर्णं [पट्टिका] or उत्कीर्णे [शासन].

² From the original plate and impressions.

³ This is the *Siddham* symbol.

⁴ This shows that, even though the Guptas had been ousted before this date from Bihar and U. P. by the Maukharis, they were continuing their hold on Bengal and Orissa. There are two conflicting Jain traditions giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and 255 years and pointing to its extinction respectively about 550 A.D. and 574 A.D. The first of these may refer to the extirpation of the Guptas from Bihar and U.P. and the second from Bengal and Orissa. See *Jadunath Sarkar Presentation Volume*, ed. H. R. Gupta, II, pp. 343ff.

⁵ The name of the ancestor (father ?) of Dharmarāja is *Ubhaya* which may be the contraction of a name like *Ubhayachara*.

Second Plate : First Side

- 7 महाराज-राजपुत्र-कुमारामातृपेरिक-तदायुक्तक-दाण्डवासिक¹-स्थान[1]-
 8 न्तरिकानन्याङ्ग(न्यांश्च) बलभजातोयानाज-पादोपजीविनो भ्य[व]हारिविषे(ष)-
 9 यिकाङ्ग(कांश्च) यथाहंमानयस्यादिशति च (1*) विदितमस्तु वो य[थ]1-
 10 साभिः माच-कुणस्थेकादश्यामुत्तरायने एतद्विषय-सं
 11 [द्विष्टा²र्द्धा] कमुण्डाकग्रामस्यन्दनवाटक-सहितो ऽ-)प्रहारीकृत्य होम्ब(स्व)काय-
 12 हारीय-ब्राह्मगोपा-व्याय-मट्टस्वामि-प्रमुखानां नाना-गोत्र-चरणा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 नां वृत्ताद्वयनवतां ब्राह्मणानां ना माचन्द्रावर्क-सम-काल-स्थित्या ताम्र-[प]-
 14 ट्टाभिलिखितः सर्व-कर-पीडा-वर्जितः सोद्देशः सोपरिकरः मा[ता]-
 15 पिस्तोरात्मनश्च पूष्याभिवृद्धये प्रतिग्रहेण प्रतिपादितः (1*)
 16 तदेवास्मद्वत्तिर्द्धर्म-गौरवात्परिपालनीयेति । उक्तञ्च धर्म-
 17 शास्त्रे ।

व(व)हुभिर्ध्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)

यस्य यस्य य-

दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम् ।) 1

- 18 पष्टिम्ब(ष्टिं व)र्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति

Third Plate : First Side

- 19 भूमिदः (1*)

आभेष्टा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं(के) वसेत् ।(1*) 2

मा भूदफ-

³क-शङ्का वः पर-दत्तेति पार्थिवाः (1*)

- 20 स्व-दानात्फलमानन्त्यं पर-दा-

नानुपाढनं(ने) ।(1*) 3

- 21 स्वदत्तां पर-दत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।

स्व-विष्टा-

1 The same as °पाशिक,

2 Read संवत् 10.

3 Another *la* was written and rejected before this letter.

22 यां कृमिभत्वा पितृभिस्तह पच्यते ।(1) 4

लिखिताधिकरणि-

23 क-द[1]सुकेन । लक्ष्मणस्वामिना¹

24 तापितमिति ॥²

¹ The name may be *Lakshmana*.

² This inscription has to be read along with the Kanās plate of Lokavigraba-bhaṭṭāraka (Gupta year 280=599 A.D.), the Soro (Gupta year 260=579 A.D.) and Patiakella (Gupta year 283=602 A.D.) plates of Śambhuyaśas of the Māna dynasty and Mudgata gotra and the records of Śaśāṅka and his feudatories. The Vigrabas originally owed allegiance to the Guptas but later ruled independently over Orissa (comprising Northern Kalinga and the old Utkala country). Their kingdom became known as Tosali probably after their capital at modern Dhauli. Soon the Māpas, probably living in the Mānbhūm-Mayurbhanj region and belonging to the Oḍra tribe, ousted the Vigrabas and established their rule over Orissa which became famous as Oḍra from this time. The Māna rule was extirpated from Orissa by the Gaṇḍas. The word *tāpita* refers to heating the plates for affixing the seal.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—Burma

No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions

MAUNGGUN, Prome District.¹

MAUNG TUN NYEIN, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 101.

Language: Pāli.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 6th century A.D.²

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या.

TEXT³

No. 1

1 ॐ (?)⁴

ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेस(॥*) हेतु तथागतो आह (॥*)

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एव-वादि महासमनो ति (॥*) 1⁵

इति पि सो भगवा अरह^{*}

¹ The ancient name of Prome was Sirikhattara = Sriksheṭṭara.

² Maung Tun Nyein believed that the characters used in these plates were in vogue during the first century A.D. This is certainly wrong. Elsewhere however he says, "The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions at Pagan of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets."

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, V.

⁴ The decipherment of the first sign in No. 1 and the first two or three signs in No. 2 are not quite beyond doubt. Maung Tun Nyein only gives two *daṇḍas* at the beginning of the inscriptions. His Nos. 1 and 2 are here represented as Nos. 2 and 1, respectively.

⁵ Read ॐ and ॐवादी. This is the most popular Buddhist formula. Sometimes in Sanskrit we have ॐवादी in place of ॐ, महासमनो = बुद्ध, ॐवादी = holding this doctrine. हेतुपभवा धम्मा = conditions originated from a cause. The formula refers to the fundamental tenets of the doctrine of the Buddha; for its interpretation, see *infra*, No. 73, verse 2; for the four noble truths which are related to the formula, see *infra*, p. 495, note 1

- 2 सम्मा-संबुद्धो विज्ञाचरणसम्पन्नो सुगतो लोकविदु अनुत्तरो पुरिस-दम्म-सारथि सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा ति (1*)
- 3 स्वाख्यातो भगवता धम्मो सन्दिट्ठिको अकालिको एहिपस्सिको ओपणायिको¹ पञ्चत्तं वेदितम्बो विम्भूहीति (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

इति अपि (—एवमपि—एतस्मात् कारणात्) सः भगवान्—अहं न्, सम्यक्संबुद्धः, विद्या-चरणसम्पन्नः सुगतः, लोकविदु, अनुत्तरः, पुरुष-दम्य-सारथिः (—नररूपाणां वृषाणां नियन्ता), शास्ता देवमनुष्याणां, बुद्धः भगवान् इति [विश्रुतः] । स्वाख्यातः (—सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः) भगवता धर्मः—सान्दष्टिकः (—दृष्टिगोचरः), अकालिकः (—सार्वकालिकः),¹ एहिपदियकः (—असङ्कुचितः), औपनयिकः (—निर्वाण-सम्पादकः), प्रत्युक्तं (—सौक्ष्म्येण) वेदितव्यः विज्ञैः इति ॥

No. 2

- 1 [१^० स्वस्ति ?] (1*)

ये धर्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषां हेतुं तथागतो आह (1*)

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महासमनो ति (11*) 1

चत्तारो इद्धिपादा

- 2 चत्तारो सम्मपाधाना चत्तारो सत्ति-पट्ठाना चत्तारि अरिय-सञ्चानि चतु-वेसरजानि पञ्चिन्द्रियाणि पञ्च चक्खूनि ७
- 3 असद्धारणानि² सत्त वोज्झङ्गा अरियो अट्ठङ्गिको³ मग्गो नव लोकुत्तरा धम्मा वस वल्लानि चुट्ठस चुट्ठ-कोनि⁴ अट्ठारस बुद्ध-धम्मानि (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ये धर्माः हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

¹ Read ओपनयिको.

² It has been corrected to असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि]. If this suggestion is accepted, they would no doubt refer to the six abhiññās (supernatural knowledge of an Arhat) which are (1) the different magical powers, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of the thoughts of others and (4) of former existences, (5) the divine eye, and (6) the knowledge that causes the destruction of human passion.

³ Read अट्ठङ्गिको.

⁴ Read *योनि

[तेन च महाश्रमगेन व्याख्यातानि]—चत्वारि ऋद्धिरदानि, चत्वारि सम्यक्प्रधानानि, चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थापनानि, चत्वारि आर्य-सत्यानि, चत्वारि वैशारद्यानि, पञ्च इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च चक्षुः, पञ्च अवाचारगानि [ज्ञानानि], सप्त बोध्यज्ञानि, आर्यः आष्टाङ्गिकः मार्गः, नव लोकोत्तराः धर्माः, दश बलानि, चतुर्दश बुद्धयोनयः, अष्टादश बुद्ध-धर्माः ॥¹

No. 72A—Vesali Stone Slab Inscription of the time of Nīticandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 108-09.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 चार्या.

¹ The 4 *iddhipādas*, by which *iddhi* is attained, are *chhanda* (determination), *ciriyaṃ* (exertion), *chittaṃ* (preparation of the heart) and *vimamsā* (investigation). The 4 *sammā-padhānas* are exertion (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious conditions already existing. The 4 *satipaṭṭhānas* are meditation (1) on the impurity of the body, (2) on the evils of sensations, (3) on the evanescence of thought, and (4) on the condition of existence. The 4 sublime truths are (1) *dukkhaṃ* (suffering), (2) *dukkha-samudayaṃ* (cause of suffering), (3) *dukkha-nirodhaṃ* (cessation of suffering), and (4) *dukkha-nirodha-gāminī paṭipodā* (the path leading to the cessation of suffering). For a Buddha's 4 *veśārājas* (subjects of confidence or fearlessness), see p. 423, note 5. The five *indriyas* (qualities) are *saddhindriyaṃ* (faith), *viriyin* (energy), *satā* (recollection), *samādhin* (contemplation) and *paññā* (wisdom). The 5 *chakṅkhus* (kinds of vision) are *manasa-chakṅkhu* (human eye), *dibba* (divine eye), *paññā* (eye of wisdom), *samanta* (eye of universal knowledge), and *buddha* (the eye of a Buddha). Six *asādhāraṇas* are noticed above, p. 494, note 3. The 7 requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha are recollection, investigation, energy, joy, calm, contemplation and equanimity. For the sublime eightfold path, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 101, notes. The *lokuttaradhammas* (transcendent conditions) are the 4 *maggas* (noble paths), the 4 *phalas* (fruits of the paths) and Nirvāṇa. The ten *balas* or forces belonging to a Buddha consist of his comprehension in ten fields of knowledge; sometimes they are given as consisting in the knowledge of the *pañcicchasaṃuppāda*. The 14 *buddha-yonis* (requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood) are however not enumerated in the lexicons; but a Buddha's *āśā* is sometimes referred to as 14 in number. The 18 *buddhadhammas* (conditions or attributes of a Buddha) are the same as the *decāika-dhammas* (p. 423, note 7) which are (1) seeing all things, past, (2) present and (3) future; (4) propriety of actions of the body, (5) speech, and (6) thought; (7) firmness of intention, (8) memory, (9) *samādhī*, (10) energy, (11) contemplation, (12) and wisdom; (13) freedom from fickleness, (14) noisiness, (15) confusedness, (16) hastiness, (17) heedlessness and (18) inconsiderateness.

TEXT¹

- 1 ये धर्म्मो हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथाग[त्]
- 2 आह (10)
- तेषां च यो निरोधो ध) एवंवादि दी) [म]हाश्रमण[ः] (॥*) 1
- 3 श्री[नीतिचन्द्र]स्य चन्द्रवर्ष्णी[नास्य]² देवी(द्याः) सावीता-
- 4 चन्द्रश्री(श्रि)या-नाम-परे(र)[मो]पासिकस्य³
- 5 देव्य⁴-धर्म्मो(५*)यम्⁵ सर्वसत्त्वा(स्वा)नां(ना)मनुक(त्त)म⁶

No. 72B—Vesālī Stone Slab¹ Inscription of Virachandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 9-10

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the close of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 षण्दुम् (श्लोक)

TEXT¹

- 1 सत्यधर्म्मान(नु)रागेण कृतं स्वार्थेण(न)भूभुजा (10)
- 2 [प]रार्थघटनोद्योग-सम्यग्नि(ह्नि)हित-चेति त)सा (॥*) 1
- 3 श्री-वीरचन्द्रदेवेण(न)महोमण्डलमण्डनं(नम्)।
- 4 धर्म्माधिगतराज्येण(न)बुद्धस्तुपशतं(तं) [कृतं(तम्)] (॥*)

See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

Probably प्रार्थमानस्य is intended.

² Read = सिद्धायाः.

This is the Pāli form of Sanskrit देव.

Omit the final म् which is redundant.

The word ज्ञानाय seems to have broken away after this.

B—MALAYSIA

No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription
of Buddhagupta

NORTHERN DISTRICT, Wellesley Province, Malay Peninsula.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, ii, p. 71; J. W. LAIDLAY, *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 247, Plate X; H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, pp. 255 ff.; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5), p. 7; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, I, pp. 14ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या ; V. 2 चतुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

ये धर्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषा(•) हेतु(•) तथागतो² (I*)
तेषा(•) च यो निरोध एव(•)वादी महाश्रमणः(॥) (II*) 1
अज्ञानाच्चीयते कर्म जन्मनः कर्म कारणम् (I*)
ज्ञानाच्च क्रि(ची)यते कर्म कर्माभावाच्च जायते (II*) 2
महानाविक[स्य] बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिका³ वास⁴.....

¹ From the partial facsimile in *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, I, and transcripts. The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. Kern assigned the inscription to circa 400 A. D. on palaeographic grounds.

² Read •भवास्तेषां; and तथागतो चवदत् to suit the metre. The formula is also found in the Keda inscription (*India and Java*, loc. cit.).

³ Scholars have rejected Kern's identification of this place with Chih-tu (meaning 'red earth' in Chinese), which is usually located in Siam. It is now generally believed that रक्तमृत्तिका is to be identified with the Vihāra called Lo-to-mo-chi (=Pāli *Rattamattikā*=Sanskrit *Raktamṛttikā*) which Hiuen-tsang found near Karpasuvārṇa, the capital of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. Hiuen-tsang's Lo-to-mo-chi has been identified with a place called Rāṅgāmāṭi (literally, 'red earth'), 12 miles to the south of Murshidābād, West Bengal. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadeśa*, I, pp. 82f. A clay seal of the Raktamṛttikā monastery has been recently unearthed from a site near Rāṅgāmāṭi.

⁴ The reading intended is possibly •वासव्यस्य दानम्, महानाविक=captain of a महानी or ship.

C—BORNEO

Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yupa Inscriptions
of Mūlavarman

Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river), KUTEI State, East Borneo, now in Malaysia.

KERN, V. G., VII, pp. 62, 64; VOGEL, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXIV, pp. 167-232; LXXVI, p. 431; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 18; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S., L.*, I, pp. 38ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 and 1-2 षगुष्टम् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

No. I

- 1 श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य
- 2 कृण्डङ्गस्य महात्मनः (I*)
- 3 पुलोऽ*)श्ववर्म्मी² विख्यातः
- 4 बहु-कर्त्ता यथा हमान्³ (II*) 1
शु
- 5 तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः
- 6 स्वयस्त्रय इवात्मनः (I*)
- 7 तेषान्स्वयाणाम्प्रवरः

¹ From the eye-copies in V. G., VII. Out of the 4 Yupa inscriptions, we give the text of two only. For the text of another of the four, see p. 499, note 1. Kern proposed 4th A. D. as the approximate date of the Kutei inscriptions. The un-Sanskritic name of Mūlavarman's grandfather suggests that these were indigenous princes of the Malay race, who adopted Indian culture and religion. The equation Kūṇḍaṅga = Kaupḍīnya is probable.

² Read *वर्म्मी विख्यातो. Note also that the record does not observe the rules of sandhi at the end of the first and third pādas in line 5 (*स्वयस्त्रय*), line 7 (वरस्त्रयो) and line 11 (वर्पोर्वि*). The fifth syllable is often long (cf. V. 1, pāda 3; V. 2, pāda 3; V. 3, pāda 1) though it is required to be short according to some authorities.

³ Read बन्ध and बन्धीय*.

- 8 तपो-बल-दमान्वितः (॥*) 2
 9 श्री-मूलवर्मा राजेन्द्रो
 10 यद्वा बहुसुवर्णकम्¹ (॥*)
 11 तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
 12 द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः (॥*) 3

No. 2

- 1 श्रीमतो नृप-मुख्यस्य
 2 राजः(ः*) श्री-मूलवर्मणः (॥*)
 3 दानं² पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे
 4 यद्वत्तम्प्रकेश्वरे³ (॥*) 1
 5 द्विजातिभ्यो(ऽ*)ग्निकल्पेभ्यः⁴
 6 विकृतिहोसहस्रिकम् (॥*)
 7 तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
 8 कृतो विप्रैरिहागतैः[ः*)] (॥*) 2

N.B.—The following three more *Yūpa* inscriptions, recently discovered at Kutei, are now preserved in the Djakarta Museum (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel LXXXIII, 1946, pp. 370 ff.).

A.—जयत्यतिव[लः*)] श्रीमान्श्री-मूलवर्मन्-भू[पतिः*)] (॥*)

यस्य लिखितानि दानान्यस्मिन्महति [स्थानके] (॥*)

जलधेनुहृतधे[नु*)] कपिलादानन्तथैव ति[लदानम्*)] (॥*)

वृषभैकादशम[पि यो*)](ऽ*)दत्ता(दद्) विप्रेषु राजेन्द्र[ः*)] (॥*)

¹ बहुसुवर्ण has been taken to mean a सोन sacrifice. One would expect to have in it a महादान like कल्पवृक्ष and गोसाहस्रिक of the other two *Yūpa* inscriptions of Mūlavarman. But it is not found in the general list of the 16 *mahā-dānas*. The inscription (V. G., VII, p. 60) referring to the Kalpavriksha reads श्रीमहिराजकोर्तेः राजः(ः*) श्रीमूलवर्मणः पुण्यम् । यस्य विप्रमुख्यः(ल्य) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(॥*) ॥ बहुदानजीवदानम् सकल्पवृक्षं सभूमि-दानम् । तेषाम्पुण्यगणानाम्(र्ना) यूपो(ऽ*)यं स्थापितो विप्रैः ॥ (Metre : चार्या).

² Kern : जा(?)त.

³ Read दत्तं वप्रः. Vaprakeśvara was apparently the name of a god (Śiva?), which was also applied to the locality where his temple was situated.

⁴ Read *कल्पेभ्यो विंशति-गोसा*.

Kern : *कल्पस्य विकृतिर्गो* . The 5th syllable should have been short and 6th long according to some.

- B.—श्रीमूलवर्म्मणा राजा यद्वत्तन्तिष्ठ-पञ्चतम् (I*)
 स(सु)दीप-मालया सार्द्धं यूपोऽ(*)यं लिखितस्तयोः (II*)
- C.—श्रीमूलवर्म्मा राजेन्द्रः(*) सम(व*)जित्य पार्थिव[वान्] (I*)
 करदां(दान्) नृपतींश्चक्र यथा राजा युधिष्ठिरः (II*)
 चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि स ददौ वप्सकेश्वरे (I*)
 वा * * * * * शिंशत्सहस्राणि पुनर्ददौ (II*)
 * * * * * मालां स पुनर्जाव-दानं प्रि(ष्टु)यन्विधम् (I*)
 आकाशदीपं धर्म्मात्मा पार्थिवेन्द्रः(*) स्वके पुरे (II*)
 * * * * * महात्मना (I*)
 यूपोऽ(*)यं स्था[पितो] विमैर्ज्ञानादेशादिहा[गतैः*] (II*)

Jaladhenu and *ghṛitadhenu* are apparently names of gifts like *Ratna-dhenu*, etc., mentioned in the list of the sixteen *Mahādānas* (see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 50). *Akāśadīpa* (a lighted lamp attached to the top of a pole) is raised in honour of Vishṇu or Lakshmī in the month of Kārttika. See the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.; also Apte's *Sans. Eng. Dictionary*, s.v.

D—JAVA (Indonesia)

No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Purnavarman

JAMBU Rock, West Java.

KERN, V.G., VII, p. 6; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-25; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, p. 25.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 चण्डिका.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीमान्दाता² कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो य-पुरा [ता]रुमाया (••)³
नाम्ना श्री-पूषर्षवर्मा प्रचुर-रिपुशराभेद्य-विख्यात-वर्मा (।•)⁴

¹ From the eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII. The characters which are box-headed are almost identical with and only a little more developed than those used in the records of Mūlavarman. A close affinity between the script of these records with the alphabet (wrongly called *grantha*) used by the Pallava kings in their records has been noticed; but the contemporary epigraphs of the Pallavas, Kadambas, Western Gaṅgas and others are written in the same Late Southern Brāhmī or Early Telugu-Kaṇaḍa. If Mūlavarman's records are to be assigned to c. 400 A. D., the records of Pūrṇavarman may be assigned roughly to the second half of the 5th century A. D. Kern suggests the date 450 A. D. It is not known whether Pūrṇavarman was an Indian, or an indigenous prince of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion as well as a Sanskrit name.

² Kern : •न्पाता.

³ Read •माया, Tārumā (also called Tāruma) was apparently the capital of Pūrṇavarman. Some scholars believe that the Ci-tarum river has preserved the name of Tārumā.

⁴ There is a pair of foot-prints engraved near the inscription. Cf. the Ci-arutōn Rock inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 5) engraved near the representation of foot-prints. It runs :

विष्णुनामस्यावनिपतेः शोभतः पूषर्षवर्माः ।
तारुम-नगरेन्द्रस्य विष्णोरिव पद-द्वयम् ॥

The king was apparently deified and his foot-prints were worshipped by the people, as those of the Buddha and of Vishnu were worshipped in India. According to Vogel (*Op. cit.*, pp. 16-21), the foot prints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He suggests that the Ci-arutōn rock marks the spot of the king's cremation and that the foot-prints of the dead king were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies. Stutterheim (*B. K. N. I*, LXXXIX, pp. 288f.) believes that the foot-prints are a symbol of the king's supremacy over the land. It is also interesting to note that the Kebon Kopi rock has the representation of two elephant's foot-prints and the following verse inscribed near them :

* * जय-विशालस्य तारुमेन्द्रस्य हृत्पिः ।
* * [पिरा•]वताभस्य विभातोदन्पद-द्वयम् ॥

All the three records lie close to one another in the hilly country called Buitenzorg which was up till the Japanese occupation of Java during World War II the residence of the Governor General of Dutch East India. The lost letters of the verse may be conjecturally restored as भुव and रायः. The reference seems to be to another king of Tārumā, whose name was Hastin.

- २ तस्येदम्पादविम्ब^१-द्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदक्षम्
भक्तानां यन्निपाताम्भवति^२ सुखकर^(*) शक्य-भूतम्^३ रिपूणाम् ॥०॥ १

No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Puranavarman —Regnal Year 22

Tugu Rock, to the east of Tanjong Priok (the port of Batavia), West Java; now in the Batavia (Jakarta) Museum.

KERN, *V. G.*, VII, p. 131f.; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, p. 32; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 26

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th or 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (चतुष्टुभ).

TEXT⁴

- १ पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा^५ पीन-बाहुना (१*)
[स्त्रा]ता कयातां पुरी^(*) प्राप्य
२ चन्द्रभागा^६र्णव^(*) ययौ ॥ १
प्रवर्द्धमान-हाविर्हृत्स्वर^७ श्री-गुणौजसा (१*)
नरेन्द्र-ध्वज-भूतेन

¹ The word *simba* (*bimba*) here means 'a representation'.

² Read यन्निपाताम्.

³ Read भूतम्.

⁴ From the partial eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII, and transcripts.

⁵ गुरु has been taken in the sense of 'the father'. चन्द्रभागा, name of the canal excavated by the king's father, and गौमती, that of the other excavated by the king himself, possibly point to a North Indian element in the Indian influence on the old culture of Java. The first was named after the Chandrabhāgā = modern Chenāb (in the Punjab) whose older name was Aśikni. गौमती (line 4) was named after either the river Gomati = modern Gumti, the western tributary of the Indus, or Gomati = modern Gumti which joins the Ganges on its left bank below Banaras. The title *Rājādhirāja* also exhibits North Indian influence.

⁶ Read *विर्णे ययौ. The 5th syllable is required to be short according to some.

3

श्रीमता पूर्य दग्ध्या ॥ 2

प्रारभ्य फाल्गुन¹-मासि खाता कृष्णाष्टमी-तिथौ (॥*)

चेव-शुक्ल-त्रयोदश्याम् दिनेस्मिन्नैकविंशके[:*]² (॥*) 3⁴

4

आयता षट्सहस्रेण धनुषा['] स-शतेन च (॥*)

द्वाविंशे⁵ नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥ 4

पितामहस्य राजर्षिर्ग्विंशदाय्यं शिविरावनि[म्] (॥*)

5

ब्राह्मणैर्गोसहस्रेण⁶ प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः⁷ ॥ 5

E—CHAMPĀ (South Annam)

No. 78—Vo-canh Rock Inscription

VO-CANH (pronounced *Vo-kañh*), Khánh-Hoà District of Annam, North Viet-nam (former French Indo-China).

A. BERGAINE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XX, pp. 16-18 (196-98); FINOT., *B. E. F. E. O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 1f.; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. L.*, I, pp. 45f.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. G. I. S.*, VI, pp. 57f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVII, pp. 107f.; G. COEDÈS, *ibid.*, XVI, pp. 484ff.

¹ Better read फाल्गुने.

² Read °दश्या.

³ Read °विंश°.

⁴ This verse shows that the मास recognised was समान as in South India, and not पूर्वमान as in the North.

⁵ Read °विंशे°. 1 dhanus=4 hastas or cubits; 6122 dhanuses=24488 cubits=12244 yard—a little less than 7 miles. Note that the canal of this length was excavated in 21 days.

⁶ गोसहस्र is the name of a महादान.

⁷ Read दक्षिणे. The meaning seems to be that the canal was consecrated by a gift of go-saharra to the Brāhmaṇas. ख्यातां पुरीं प्राप्य in line 1 may indicate that the canal started from the capital city.

⁸ The ancient kingdom of Champā roughly corresponded to the southern portion of the modern region of Annam in the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The name may have been an Indianised form of the original name of the indigenous people who are

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (but actually of a little later date).¹

Metre: Verses 1-2, can not be determined, but may be some metre like शिखरिणी; Vv. 3-4 वसन्ततिलका; V. 5 मादूल-विक्रीडित.

TEXT²

1-5

6 प्रजानाङ्गरुणा

7 प्रथम-विजय ... (॥*) 1-2

— — — — —
— — — — —

8 — — — — [पौ०]र्णम(१०)स्याम् (पूर्णमस्याम् १) ।

आज्ञापितं सदसि राज वरेण [लोकाः १]

[सामन्त १] राज-गग-

now called Cham, the Indianization having been influenced by the name of the Indian city of Champā, capital of the Aṅga janapada (modern Monghyr-Bhāgalpur region). In India, the name of the capital is often applied to the country.

¹ Scholars have assigned the record to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. on grounds of palaeography. In our opinion, the theory is untenable. In the above period not Sanskrit but Prakrit was generally used in Indian inscriptions. Classical metres like वसन्ततिलका were popular in India from the Gupta period and were rarely used in Indian inscriptions before the fourth century A. D. The draft of lines 14-15 of the record appears to be an imitation of inscriptions of the Gupta period. We are therefore inclined to think that the inscription is not earlier than the first half of the 4th century. As regards the early script, cf. *supra*, No. 9, notes. As to the conservatism of the Indo-Chinese scribes, Blagden has rightly pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 131) that the anchor-shaped subscript y is found in the Pyn inscriptions (c. 12th century, though their palaeography may be a few centuries earlier) of Myazeli (Burma), although the form had become obsolete in India after the 4th century A.D. The late date of the Vo-cañb inscription proposed by us has been supported by Émile Gaspardone in the *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLI, 1953, pp. 477-85. It has been suggested that the date is not much earlier than the 5th century A.D.

² From transcripts. The inscribed rock is called Nha Trang.

- 9 वागमृतं पिबन्तु ॥ 3
श्री-मार-राज-कुल-व[श - विभूषणे.]न
श्री-मार-लो[क*]-[न]-
- 10 [पतेः*]² कुल-नन्दनेन ।
आज्ञापितं स्वजन-स[जन-सङ्घ?]-मध्ये
वाक्यं प्रजा-हि-
- 11 तकरं करिगो¹ ?)स्वरेण ॥ 4
लोकस्यास्य गतागति(ती?) वि
— — न (विविचता ?) सिंहासनाद्ग्रासने
- 12 पुत्रे भ्रातरि नास्त्य ज्ञा¹?)के स्वसमीकरणच्छन्देनप्लेषु (०समके
राजच्छदावाप्तिषु?) (1*)
यत्किञ्चिद्रजतं सु-
- 13 वर्णमपि वा सस्थावरजङ्गमं
कोष्ठागारक[तो ध?]नं प्रियहिते सर्वं विस्-
- 14 हं मया ॥ 5
तदेवं मयानुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम्) (1*)
- 15 विदितमस्तु च मे भृत्यस्य वीरस्य

¹ The passage may indicate the family of king Śrīmāra or the family of the illustrious king Māra. The name of the king responsible for the record is lost. He appears to have been a descendant of a king named Māra. Māra has been identified by some scholars with Kiu Lien who began to rule in 192 A. D. Coedès identifies him with Fan-She-man of the Chinese annals, who was the king of Fou-nan (an ancient kingdom comprising Cambodia and the adjoining regions) about the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The identifications are doubtful; but even if any of them be accepted, the present record should be placed considerably later, as it belongs to a descendant of Māra and not to Māra himself.

² The restorations in the first half of verse 4 are not ours. One may also suggest, e.g., कुलवर्धयिष्यमानेन. The emendations and restorations suggested by us are conjectural.

No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman

NHÂN-THÁP,¹ near CHO DINH, Phu-yen District, to the north of Cape Varella in Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

BARGAIGNE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites*, No. XXI, p. 26 (236); FINOT, *B.E.F.E.O.*, II, p. 186; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 3f.; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, I, p. 48.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 नमो देवाय (१*) भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-पाद-प्रसादात् अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं करिष्यामि³ (१*)
- 2 धर्ममहाराज-श्रीभद्रवर्माणो⁴ यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पुत्र-पौत्रभोक्ष्यति (१*)
- 3 पृथिवि⁵-प्रसादात्का(त्क)र्म-सिद्धिरस्तु⁶ ।

¹ Cho-Dinh is the name of a market place in the neighbourhood of the village.

² From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, I. Scholars have referred these inscriptions to circa 400 A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The actual date may be a little later, but certainly not earlier. Some scholars identify Bhadravarman with Fan-Hou-ta (380-413 A.D.) known from the Chinese sources.

³ I.e., I shall make thee agreeable to fire, i.e., I shall sacrifice thee (referring to some unknown object).

⁴ धर्ममहाराज, etc., are peculiar titles used (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) in South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the Vākāṭakas, Early Pallavas, Early Gaṅgas and Early Kadambas. This fact and that Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. indicate that our record cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 5th century. पुत्र-पौत्र भोक्ष्यति = [Agoi] will protect the sons and grandsons.

⁵ Usually पृथिवी. This reference to the Earth as a goddess is interesting.

⁶ कर्मसिद्धि refers to the successful completion of the sacrifice or to the attainment of the result due to the sacrifice.

No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman

My-son, Quang Nam District of Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

FINOT, *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 187 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 4.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या(?) ; V. 2 उपगौति.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 [सि]द्धं(इम्) (॥*) नमो भद्रेश्वर[म्] उमाश्व प्र[ति] ?]
- 2 ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमेव च नमो² (।*)
- पृथिवी(°*) वायुरा(मा?)काशमप[?] ?]
- 3 ज्योतिश्च³ पञ्चमं(मम्) (॥*) 1
- नमस्कृत्वाहमिच्छामि⁴ सर्वं(°*) विशेषैरनुध्यातं(तुम्)⁵ (।*)
- दुष्कृ-⁵
- 4 म्मं व्यपोह[न्तु] सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा⁶ (॥*) 2
- भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-प 1°) दानुध्या[ते°] न चास्माक[°] महारा[जेन°]
- 5 भद्रवक्ष्णेणा मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा[त्वा°] भद्रेश्वराय⁷ भक्षयीया?) नीची दत्ता (।*)
- यथा [पूर्वेण°]
- 6 सुलह-पर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः पश्चिमेन कुचक-पर्वत⁸ उत्तरेण [महानदी°]

¹ From the transcript in *Champā*.

² Read नमः ॥

³ Read °येति.

⁴ Read °मिच्छे.

⁵ Read दुष्कर्म°.

⁶ Read व्यपोहितुं सुकृतं नयच तनितुं तथा.

⁷ Bhadrēśvara is the same as Bhadrēśvaraśvāmin, apparently a Śivaliṅga founded by and named after Bhadravarman. मानुष्य अध्वन् = मानवी गति (= परिणाम) = man's way leading to death.

⁸ Finot suggests कुचोक् which is an indigenous word meaning 'august'.

- 7 परिमाणाभ्यन्तरा स-कुटुम्बि-जना भूमि¹ दत्ता (1*) जनपद-मर्यादा पट्टागे(5*)पि²
[अस्माकं ?]
- 8 स्वामिना दशभागेनानुगृहीता देवस्य देय[1*] इ[?]त (1*) तदेव(1*) यथाभि-
लिखितमकुर्व[तो*]
- 9 देवस्य जन्म(नः*) प्रभृति³ धर्म-प्रसवो यः तत्फलं भद्रवर्ष्मणः (1*) यदि
कश्चिद[1*]क्रम्य हर[ति*]
- 10 विनाशयति वा मुक्तदोषा[?] कुटुम्बिनः तस्योपरि अधर्म[?] स्यात् (1*) चातुर्वेदं
राजा[नं*]
- 11 राजमात्रं वा⁴ सह कुटुम्बिभिः विज्ञापयामि ममानुकम्पार्थं यन्मया दत्तं मा
विनाशय[त*] ॥*

Second Side

- 1 यदि विनाशयय जन्मनि जन्मनि वो यत्सुकृतं तन्मम स्यात् (1*)
- 2 यच्च मम सुकृतं तद्युष्म[1*]कं स्यात् (1*) अथ सम्यक्परिपालयय तद्युष्माकमेव
- 3 धर्म[?] स्यादिति भूयो विज्ञा(प*)यामि (1*) य इह प्रभवति
देव-बलि-कारकाः [ते]-
- 4 [पा*]धर्मं न कारयितव्यं स्यादोर रत्नरतं वा राजकुलकार्यमनुष्ठेयं
- 5 [अ*]य गु[?]रो[?]स्माकं राजा[नो]..... यत्किञ्चित्.....फलाद्येषु पदेषु
पदितव्यमिति (1*)

¹ Read भूमिर्दत्ता, Better supply इति before परिमाण.

² Read षड्भागापि, i.e., even the sixth part of the produce received by the State according to custom prevailing in the kingdom (was reduced by the king to the tenth part and was made payable to the god).

³ Possibly we have to suggest *सकुर्वन्तोऽपि.

⁴ I.e., from the creation of the god, i.e., so long as Bhadradevavarasvāmin has been established.

⁵ Better read च.

⁶ चातुर्वेद = Brāhminapa versed in the four Vedas, who may receive the district as an honorific grant. राजमात्र = king's officer who may be appointed a governor of the district; cf. महामात्र, ममानुकम्पार्थं = out of compassion for me.

- 6 ¹... ..
7 कुशलायतनाः बहुल रत्न-च²
8 ³... .. अयञ्च स्वरतो धम्मभव
9 पाळयति तस्येव धम्मं[:*] (।*) यो न तु पाळ(य*)ति अभिनाशयतु⁴
अय विनाशयति
10 तस्य भद्रेश्वरस्वामि⁵ जानाति ॥

F—KAMBUJA⁶ (CAMBODIA)

No. 81—Neak Ta Dambang Dek Stone Inscription of the time of Jayavarman⁷

NEAK TA DAMBANG DEK attached to the village of Khvoo, Prei Sandék District, Treang Province, Cambodia.

G. COEDÈS, *J.G.I.S.*, IV, pp. 117-21 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.⁸

Metre: Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; verse 2 श्लोक (चतुष्टुप्); verses 3-5 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

¹ About 27 *aksharas* are lost.

² About 16 *aksharas* are lost.

³ About 18 *aksharas* are lost.

⁴ Read *अयति.

⁵ Read स्वामी. Possibly we have to suggest परिणाम before तस्य.

⁶ Usually spelt as Kambuja.

⁷ Little is known about this early king of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan from any other source. He has been regarded as the father of prince Guṇavarman of the Prasat Pram Loven inscription (No. 82 below). But see below, p. 511, note 3.

⁸ The characters resemble those in the records of the Early Kadambas (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 22-32; VII pp. 33-38; etc.). Note also the script of such other records as the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīśāṅga (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 1 ff.), Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka (*ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.), etc., etc.

TEXT¹

- 1 युञ्जन्योगमतर्कितहमपि यः(*) क्षीरोद-शै(श)ट्या-गृहे
- 2 शेते शेष-भुजङ्ग-भोग-रचना-पर्यङ्क-पृष्ठाश्रितः (1*)
- 3 [कु]क्षि-प्रान्त-समाश्रित-विभुवनो नाभ्युत्थिताम्भोरुहो
- 4 [राज्ञी] श्री-जयवर्म्मणो(ऽ*)प्रमहिर्षी स स्वामिनीं रक्षतु ॥ 1
- 5 [क]लप्रभावती-नाम्ना प्रभावात्कुलवर्द्धिनी (1*)
- 6 दृष्टिरेकेव या दृष्टा² जयेन³ जयवर्म्मणा ॥ 2
- 7 विप्राणां भवनं कुरुस्वनगरे प्रा — — — — —
- 8 कृत्वा यां प्रतिमां सुवर्ण-रचितां — — — — — (1*)
- 9 कार्याणां व्यसने⁴ निमग्न-मन[सा] — — — — —
- 10 भोगे(ऽ*)सत्यपि नैव भोग⁵-रहिते[व] — — — — — [11*] 3
- 11 शक्रस्येव शची नृपस्य दयिता स्वाहे[व सप्तार्चिषः]
- 12 रुद्राणीव हरस्य लोक-विदिता सा श्री[रिव श्रीपतेः] (1*)
- 13 भूयस्सङ्गतमिच्छती नृपतिना श्री — — — — —
- 14 लौल्यं वीक्ष्य भुवि श्रियाश्च⁶ बहुभा(धा) च[1] — — — — — [11*] 4
- 15 राज्ञश्च-जयवर्म्मण-प्रियतरा — — — — —
- 16 कृत्वा बन्धुजनञ्च सौख्य-सहितं वि — — — — — (1*)
- 17 ज्ञात्वा भोगमनित्य-बहु-द-समं स — — — — —
- 18 भारामं स-तटाकमालय-युतं — — — — — [11*] 5

¹ From the facsimile in *J. G. I. S.*, IV. Majumdar's text is an erroneous copy of the transcript published by Cordée.

² The meaning is that king Jayavarman regarded the queen as precious an object as the single eye is to a one-eyed man.

³ The word *jaya* here means 'victorious'. But the intended reading may be *जयिना*.

⁴ The word *vyasana* here means 'division.' The activities of the queen were classified under the heads *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* which were attended to in specific hours.

⁵ Others have read *bhāga*.

⁶ As the name of Jayavarman cannot be accommodated here in accordance with the metrical necessities, an expression associating the king with Śrī is expected at this place.

⁷ The plural number suggests that the reference is to the royal fortunes of the kings who were Jayavarman's enemies.



No. 82—Proasat Pram Loven Stone Inscription
of Gunavarman.¹

PROASAT PRAM LOVEN temple, Thup Muoi or 'Plaine des Jones' (Marshy Plain), Cochin-China.

COEDÈS, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, pp. 1 ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 2 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 (damaged); verses 2-3 वसन्ततिलक; verse 4 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्); verses 5-9 वसन्ततिलक; verses 10-11 शार्ङ्गलविकीर्णित; verse 12 अर्धसप्तमालभारिणी.

TEXT²

1 — — — — —
— — — — — (१०)
2 — — विदिव — — तग — —
— — — — — [॥•] 1
3 ॥ तस्य प्रसादज — — — — —
— — — नृपतिर्ज्जं — — — — — (१०)
4 यस्याग्रहस्त-परिमृष्ट-जलस्समुद्र-
× क्षीरोदको(५*)प्यमृतवद्ब्रह्मभ्य — — (॥•) 2
5 ॥ जाराङ्ग — — — — युधि वीर — —
नाम्ना नराधिपतिना सह यु — — — (१०)
6 श्री — — — — —
द्योऽनौ — — परि चतुर्भुज — — — ॥ 3
7 ॥ क त (१०)
स्वहृदि हन्ति निर्दग्धाराम ... मा ॥ 4

1. He has been regarded as a son of Jayavarman of No. 81 above. But see note 3 below.

2 From the facsimile in B.E.F.E.O.; Majumdar has committed errors in copying Coedès' transcript.

³ The reference may be to a king named Viravarmān in both lines 9 and 11.

- 8 ॥ पद्म — — — — यो भुवि — — सर्व-
— — — — रिपुगणास्व — जा — येन (1*)
- 9 स — — — — वतश्च जगत्यनेका
— — — — धने — परितापिताश्च ॥ 5
- 10 ॥ तस्यावनी — — — तेर्गुणवर्म्मा नामा
— — — — णबुद्धिरभून्महात्मा (1*)
- 11 से — — — — सङ्गम-चारु-काञ्ची
येने — — — दयिता जनिता मनोज्ञा ॥ 6
- 12 ॥ यः श्रीमता विजयविक्रमविक्र[मेण]
कौण्डिन्य-वश-^ह(वंश)-शशिना वसुधाधिपेन (1*)
- 13 जम्बात्त-भोजक-पदे¹ नृप सूनू — —
बालो(ऽ*)पि [स]न्नधिकृतो गुण-शौर्य-योगात् ॥ 7
- 14 ॥ तेनेदमात्म-जननी कर-संप्र — —
[सं²]स्थापितं भगवतो भुवि पादमूलम्² (1*)
- 15 यस्यैव रूपमतुल-द्युति येन — —
— — स नेच्छति परि प्रतिमा — पृथिव्याम् ॥ 8
- 16 ॥ अष्टाष्टमे(ऽ*)द्वि विचितैरुपवेद-वेद-
वेदाङ्गविद्भिरमर-प्रतिमैर्द्विजैर्द्वैः (1*)
- 17 संस्कारितस्य कथितं भुवि चक्रतीर्थ-
स्वामीति नाम विदधुः श्रुतिषु प्रवीणाः ॥ 9
- 18 ॥ स्थानं यो गुणवर्म्मेणा गुणवता श्रद्धावता त्यागिना
पुण्यञ्जित — — — कृतमिदं श्रीचक्रतीर्थस्य ह (1*)
- 19 तद्भक्तो(ऽ*)धिवसेद्विशेषदपि च वा तुष्टान्तरात्मा जनो
मुक्तो दुष्कृत-कर्मणस्स परमदृष्टेत्पदं वैष्णवम् ॥ 10
- 20 ॥ दत्तं यद्गुणवर्म्मेणा भगवते धर्म्मार्थिना शक्तितो
विप्रैर्भागवतैरनाथ-कृपणैस्तत्कर्मकारैस्तथा (1*)
- 21 तत्सर्वैरुपयुज्यतां समयतो यैरन्यथा भुज्यते
युज्यन्तां नरके यमस्य पतितास्ते पञ्चभिः पातयैः ॥ 11

¹ Jambūta was apparently the name of a locality. जम्बात्तभोजकपद = the status of the
fief-holder of Jambūta.

² Pādamūla means here 'a temple'. The inscription records the construction of a
temple of Viṣṇu called Chakratīrthasvāmin.

- 22 ॥ अभिवर्द्धयत ह यो महात्मा
भगवद्भ्यमिदं गुणाद्ध — — (1*)
स तु यत्कुशलं लभेत विष्णोः
परमं प्राप्य पदं महद्यशश्च ॥ 12

No. 83—Ta Prohm Stone Inscription of Rudravarman¹

TA PROHM temple, Bati Province.

COEDÈS, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, pp. 8ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 4-7.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 पृथ्वी; verses 2-11 गार्हपत्यिकोद्धित.

TEXT²

- 1 जितं विजित-वासना-सहित-सर्व-दोषारिणा
निरावरण-वृद्धिनाधिगत-सर्व[धा सम्पदा] (1*)
- 2 जिनेन करुणात्मना परहित-प्रवृत्तात्मना
दिगन्तर-विसर्पि-निर्मल-वृद्धय-शा-भाविना] (11*) 1
- 3 उद्धृत्य विभवाम्बु-राशि-प[तितं लोकं निरालम्बनं
निर्वाण-स्थल-मुत्तमस्तिरुपमं संप्राप्य — — — (1*)
- 4 यस्याद्यापि च कुर्वते परहितं श्रीधातवश्शेषिता-
इशास्तुस्तस्य हितोदयाय जगतां स — — — — (11*) 2
- 5 यस्योत्कृष्टतया कृशो(ऽ*)पि न गुणः कश्चित्स संप्रेक्षितो
यश्चूडामगिर्वाच्छरस्सु जगतां स्थातुं न — — — (1*)
- 6 एकस्थानखिलान्नराधिर-गुणानुद्यच्छतेवेक्षितुं
धाता निमित्त एक एव स भुवि श्रो-रुद्रवर्मा-[नृपः*] (11*) 3
- 7 सर्वं सचरितं कृतं नृपतिना तेनातिधर्मास्थिना
— — — श्रि — निसर्ग — बले वि — — — — (1*)

¹ He is supposed to have been a son of Jayavarman of the Neak Ta Dambang Dek inscription (No. 81 above).

² From the facsimile in *B.E.F.E.O.* Majumdar's transcript is an erroneous copy of Coedès' text.

- 8 लोकानुग्रह-साधनं प्रति न च क्षतवतं खण्डितं
मेधाभाय हि मा — — — — — (II*) 4
- 9 तत्पिता जयवर्माणा नृपतिनाभ्यक्षो]धनानां कृत-
इश्री-रुद्राह — — — पि — — — — — (I*)
- 10 विप्रस्य द्विज-नायकस्य तनयइश्रीदेहमालोदिते-
स्सद्वर्माननि — — — — — (II*) 5
- 11 शुद्ध['] धर्ममथाय्यं-सङ्गमखिलैस्सर्वैस्सर्वैर्गुणैस्सङ्गतं
यश्चेष्टं श — — — — — (I*)
- 12 यत्रोपासक-कर्म सर्वमकरोत्पापाश्लिष्ट[।शयः*]
— — नो वि — — — — — (II*) 6
- 13 आधार-पयसामिवाखिल-जलै-पुण्यैर — — — — —
सर्वं काम — — — — — (I*)
- 14 यत्राभूत्कुशलः(*) क्रियासु सकलास्स्वादान-दा — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 7
- 15 तस्याशेष-विशेषगैक-निलयस्याजन्मनोनु — ते
भार्याय्या सरशी — — — — — (I*)
- 16 भक्लेशात्सुपु[वे च*]सा दुहितरं सिद्धिं क्रियेवोत्तमा
— — — — — (I*) 8
- 17 आचारानतिवर्तिनी स्व-तनयां तन्तु प्र — — — — —
— — — — — (II*)
- 18 — — — — — मन्त्रिरूपमं वर्णोत्तमं प्रा — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 9
- 19 को विद्वान्द्विजस[त्त*]मे — — — — —
— — — — — (I*)
- 20 इत्येवं द्विजमण्डले सुव — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 10
- 21 षट्मण्य — — — — —
— — — — — (I*)
- 22 ते — — — — — द्विजस्य — — — — — स्व धर्मात्म[ना*]
— — — — — (II*) 11

SUPPLEMENT

BK. I, No. 23-A—Gujarra Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka

GUJARRĀ, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1 देव[ानं]पिय[स] पियदसिनो असोकराजस² (1*) अ[ड]ित्तियानि³ स[']वड्डरानि
उपासके(ऽ*)[स्सि] (1*) साधिके स[']वड्ड[रे] य च मे संघे य[1]ते⁴ ती [अह]⁵ या-
- 2 ड['] च परकंते ती [आ]हा (1*) एतेना अंतरेणा जंद्दीपसि देवानंपीय[स]
[अ]मिसंदेवा संतो मुनिस मिसंदेवा कटा (1*) परकमस इयं फले (1*) नो
[च इ]यं महतेना ति व
- 3 चकिये पापंतवे (1*) खुदाकेण पी परकममीनेना धंमं चरमीनेना पानेसु संयतेना
विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये आराधयितवे (1*) से एताये
- 4 अठा[ये] इयं सावणे (1*) खुदाके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतु [यो]गं युंजं तु⁶ (1*)
अंता पि चा जानंतु किंति च⁷ चिल्लधि[ति]के⁸ धंमच ...⁹

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI.

² The personal name of the king occurs only in the Maski and Gujarrā versions of the Minor Rock Edict.

³ A word like सातिरेकाणि, found in the other versions of the edict, has been inadvertently left out by the scribe.

⁴ Other versions have उपेत, उपगत and उपयात in place of यात in the sense of 'intimately associated'. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287ff.

⁵ This refers to the commingling of pious men with the gods. Cf. उपविश्यासने युष्माद्योगमात्मविपुलये (गीता 14.12), योगिनो यतचित्तस्य युञ्जतो योगमात्मनः (गीता 14.14), etc.

⁶ Read चिल्लधितिके च.

⁷ Possibly चिल्लधितिके च धंमचरणं सिया (= चिरस्थितिकं च धर्माचरणं स्यात्),

- 5 ... [सि]ति' [च] एनं [वा] धमं चर['] अति[यो] (1*) इयं [च] सावन विबुधे[न]²
[२००] (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः अशोकराजस्य [श्रावणम् इदम्] । [सातिरेकान्] अर्धतृतीयान्
संवत्सरान् [व्याप्य अहम्] उपाकः अस्मि । साधिकं संवत्सरं [व्याप्य] यत् च मया संघः
यातः इति अहं बार्द पराक्रान्तः इति आह । एतेन अन्तरेण जम्बुद्वीपे देवानांप्रियस्य
अमिश्रदेवाः सन्तः मनुष्याः मिश्रदेवाः कृताः । [मम] पराक्रमस्य इदं फलम् । नो च इदं
महता इति एव शक्यं प्राप्तुम् । क्षुद्रकेग अपि पराक्रममाणेन धमं चरता प्राणेषु संयतेन
विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम् । तत् एनस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम् । क्षुद्रकः च उदारः
च धमं चरतां, योगं युञ्जताम् । अन्ता अपि च जानन्तु—किमिति—चिरस्थितिकं च
धर्मावरणं [स्यात्] । [जनः] वर्धियते च एनम् एव धमं चरन् अतीव । इदं च श्रावणं
व्युपितेन २५६ (— द्वे षट्पञ्चाशदधिकरात्रिशते व्याप्य व्युपितेन मया विधोषितम्) ।

Bk. I, No. 23-B—Ahraura Minor Rock Edict I
of Aśoka

AHRAURĀ, Mirzapur District, U P.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 239ff.; cf. A. K. Narain, *Bhārati*, Varanasi, Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105; V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-47.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1⁴ पियो' (1*) साति⁵
2⁷ [सा]धि[का] ...⁸

¹ Probably वटिसिति (= वर्धियते).

² विबुध = विबुध्य = Sanskrit व्युपित; cf. Pali-Prakrit वुत्थ = Sanskrit उषित, See *I.H.Q.*, XXXVIII, pp. 222ff.

³ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*

⁴ About 22 aksharas are lost here.

⁵ The intended word may be देवानांप्रियो.

⁶ The intended word may be सातिरेकानि.

⁷ About 20 aksharas are lost here.

⁸ About 3 aksharas are lost. The intended reading is साधिकानि चट⁹.

- 3 ¹च वाढं पलकंते (1*)
 4 ²च पलकंते (1*) एतेन
 5 [अ] तले ³मिसंदेवा कटा (1*)
 6 पलकमस इ] ⁴[खन] व [स]क्य पापोतवे (1*) खुदकेन पि
 7 पलकममीनेना विपुले पि स्वग [स]क्ये आलाधेतवे (1*) एताये अटाये
 8 [इ]यं सावने (1*) खुदका च उडा ला च प[ल]कमंतु (1*) अंता पि च जानंतु (1*)
 9 [च]ीळीतिके च पलकमे होतु (1*) इयं च अठे वडिमति विपुलं पि च
 10 वडिमति दियडि[यं] अ]वळधिया वडिमती (1*) एस सावने विवुणे[न]
 11 [दु]वे मपंना-लाति-सति अं मं[चे] बुधस सळीले आळोडे ति ।⁵

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

... .. [देवानां]प्रियः । साति[रेकाणि]
 साधिकान् [[अर्धतृतीयान् संवत्सरान् यत् [अहं] उपासकः (=बुद्धोपासकः) अस्मि (1*)
 नो]] च [अहं] वाढं पराक्रान्तः [अभवम्] । एतेन अन्तरे[ण जम्बुद्वीपे अमिश्रदेवाः मनुष्याः]
 मिश्रदेवाः कृताः । [मम] पराक्रमस्य [हि] इ[दं] फलम् । नो हि इदं महत्त्वेन एव शक्यम्
 आराधयितुम् । खुदकेण अपि पराक्रममानेन विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम् ।
 एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम् । खुदकाः च उदाराः च पराक्रमन्तु । अन्ताः अपि च जानन्तु ।
 चिरस्थितिकः च पराक्रमः भवतु । अयं च अर्थः वर्धिष्यते विपुलम् अपि च वर्धिष्यते द्विकार्धम्
 अवरधिकत् वर्धिष्यते । एतत् श्रावणं व्युपितेन द्वे षट्पञ्चाशद्राशिषते (=द्विपञ्चाशद्राशि-
 शतव्युपितेन मया घोषितं) यत् (=यतः) मञ्चं बुद्धस्य शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) आरूढम्
 इति (- यदा बुद्धस्य देहावशेषः मञ्चारूढः अभवत् तत्कालतः) ।

1 The lost aksharas may be restored as °तियाणि संवत्सरानि चं उपासके सुमि (1*) नो.

2 The lost aksharas may be restored as संवत्सरे साधिके चं सुमि इकं संघ उपेत वाढं.

3 The lost aksharas may be restored as °न जंजुदीपसि अमिसंदेवा संत सुमिसा.

4 The lost aksharas may be restored as °यं फले (1*) नो होयं मह°.

5 The stop is indicated by an oval sign which has joined the right leg of त. This passage, not found in any other version of the edict, says that Aśoka set out on a tour of pilgrimage lasting at least for 256 days after the relics of the Buddha had been installed on the platform [for worship] apparently by himself.

Bk. II, No. 42-A—Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A.D.)—Regnal Year 14¹

MATHURĀ, Mathurā District, U. P.

D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96 ff.; H. LÜDERS, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), pp. 116 ff. (No. 81).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Northern Class exhibiting resemblance with characters of the 3rd century A. D.²

TEXT³

- 1 महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य स[']वत्सरे १०¹(+*)४ पौषमास-दिवसे १०
अस्मिं दिवसे प्रवारिक-ह[स्थस्य]
- 2 भर्त्यं संचिला भगवतो पितमहास्य सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य स्वमतस्य³ देवस्य पूजार्थं
प्रतिमं प्रतिष्ठा-
- 3 पयति सर्व-दुःख-प्रहानार्थं ॥⁴

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १४(=चतुर्दशे) पौषमास-दिवसे १०(=दशमे) ।
अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रावारिक-हस्तिनः भार्या संचिला भगवतः पितामहस्य⁵ सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य
स्वमत[विरुद्ध]स्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमां प्रतिष्ठापयति सर्वदुःखप्रहणार्थम् ॥

¹ Sahni and Lüders both read the first symbol in the date in line 1 as 10. Various other readings have been proposed by scholars who have apparently not examined impressions of the inscription, but depended on the defective facsimile published. My doubts about the reading of the date were removed by the examination of an impression.

² The inscription uses the eastern type of ल, स (looped) and ह as well as the western type of ष and स. स found in the present inscription and ल, स and ह of the eastern type are generally found in the Alababad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. For a similar palaeographical vagary, see above, p. 277; cf. note 2 at that page.

³ See facsimile in the works cited.

⁴ There is an unnecessary horizontal stroke below ष.

⁵ The intended word may be स्वमताविरुद्धस्य (above, p. 295 and note 4).

⁶ The stop is indicated by a slightly carved horizontal stroke.

⁷ *Prācārika* means a maker of or dealer in *prāvāra* (cloaks for the Buddhist monks).

⁸ The Buddha is called *Pitāmaha* in Lüders' List, No. 910, and in an inscription from Kosam (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 147-48).

Bk. II, No. 72-A—Devnīmori Stone Casket Inscription of the time of Rudrasena I—Śaka year 127 (= 205 A.D.)

DEVNĪMORĪ, near Sāmājī, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat.

R. N. MEHTA and S. N. CHOWDHARY, *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, XII, pp. 173 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Middle Brāhmī.

Metre : Verse 1 चनुष्टुप् (श्लोक) ; verses 2-6 चार्या.

TEXT¹

(around the body of the casket)

1 नमस्सर्वज्ञाय ॥

ज्ञानानुकम्पा-कारुण्य-प्रभाव-निधये नमः (1*)

सम्यक्सं बुद्ध-सूर्याय परवादितमोनुदे ॥ 1

सप्ताविंशत्यधिके² कथिकनृपाणां³ समागते(ऽ*)ब्दगते (1*)

2 भ(भा)द्रपदपंचमदिने नृपतौ श्रीरुद्रसेने च (॥*) 2

कृतमवनिकेतुभूतम्महाविहाराश्रये महास्तूपं (पम् ।)

सत्त्वानेकानुग्रह-निरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां(भ्याम् ॥) 3

3 साध्वग्निवर्म्मनाम्ना सुदर्शनेन च विमुक्तरन्ध्रेण (1*)

काम्मान्तिकौ च पाशान्तिकप ठौ शाक्यभिक्षुकावत्⁴ (॥*) 4

दशबलशरीरनिलयशभग्नौलमयस्स्वयं वराहेण (1*)

(at the bottom of the casket)

4 कुट्टिम-क(कृ)ता कृतो(ऽ*)यं समुद्रकस्सेन-पुत्तेण ॥ 5

महासेन-भिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विश्रुतः समुद्रस्य (1*)

5 सुगतप्रसादकामो वृद्धार्थन्धर्म्मसह्यभ्यां(भ्याम्)⁵ ॥ 6

¹ From the photographs published in *Journ. Or. Inst.*

² The correct form of the word is सप्त^०.

³ The reference is to the era of the *Kathika* kings, the word *Kathika* meaning 'a preacher of the Buddhist faith'. Apparently the Kushāna kings of Kanishka's house, who were celebrated for their patronage of Buddhism and were the overlords of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas*, are alluded to. The Śaka era was the continuation of the regnal reckoning of Kanishka I.

⁴ भिक्षुक—भिक्षु (monk). The two monks Agnivarman and Sudarśana built the *Mahāstūpa*, attached to the *Mahāreihāra*, at Pāsāntikapāṭṭi (modern Devnīmori). They were also the कामान्तिक or supervisors of the construction.

⁵ The casket was made, for interring the relics of the Buddha under the *Stūpa*, by Sena's son Varāha, the maker of the *kuffina* (pavement), on behalf of the monk Mahāsena who wanted prosperity for himself as well as the Dharma and Saṅgha.

Bk. II, No. 88-A—Silver Coin of Vāsishthī-
putra Śātakarṇi (c. 159-66 A.D.)¹

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 247 ff.; cf. DINKAR RAO, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9ff.; A. S. ALTEKAR, *ibid.*, pp. 13 ff.

First Side

Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon, crest-jewel (offering a side view and looking like a flower to front) above the forehead; legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust; the right part beginning from XII and ending at IV reads:

रञ्जो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य),

and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads:

सिरि-सातकर्णिस्य (Sanskrit श्रीशतकर्णेः)

in the normal Prakrit language and the Middle Brāhmī script of the Southern Class.

Second Side

Ujjayinī symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above; continuous circular legend (in Dravidianised Prakrit and modified Middle Brāhmī) around, starting from and ending at XII.

चरदण्डय वाडिहि-माकणय तिरु-झातकणिस्य² (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीशतकर्णेः).

¹ This ruler was the brother and successor of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) and was also called Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī-Śātakarṇi on some of his coins. The coin under study belongs to the silver currency of the Śātavāhanas, which was imitated from the coinage of the Śakas of Western India and was meant for circulation in areas previously under the Śakas, e.g., the Nasik-Poona region and the Konkan. Formerly only coins of this type issued by Vaiśāṇa-Śātakarṇi were known, though the first word in the legend on their reverse (चरदण्डय) could not be satisfactorily read (cf. Rapson's *Cat. logue*, pp. xci, 45).

² The palaeography and language of the legend exhibit considerable Dravidian influence. चरदण्डय = Tamil *araṣan*, 'king'; वाडिहि = वासिष्ठी; माकण = Tamil *mākan* (also spelt *mākan* in early times); Tamil तिरु = Sanskrit श्री. Note the change of श and स to ङ and of ण to ञ. The forms of the letters म, ण and ङ are different from those in the ordinary Middle Brāhmī of the South.

Bk. II, No. 90-A—Nāgarjunikonḍa Inscription of
Vijaya-Śātakarṇī—Regnal year 6

NĀGĀRJUNIKONḌA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. SARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 273-74.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 3rd century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 नमो भगवतो अग्रपोगळस (१*)
- 2 रजो गौतमिपुत्तस सिरि-विजय सा-
- 3 तकणिस सव ६ गि-प ४ दिव वेसा-
- 4 ख-पुनिम² (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते अग्रपुद्गलाय (= अग्रपुरुषाय बुद्धाय) । राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य श्रीविजय-
शातकर्णेः संवत्सरे ६ (= पण्डे) ग्री[ष्म]-प[क्षे] ४ (= चतुर्थे) दिव[से] वैशाख-पूर्णिमायां
[कारितम् इदम्] ॥

¹ From official notices. The importance of the inscription lies in the facts that it is the only epigraph of king Vijaya-Śātakarṇī so far discovered and that, according to its evidence, the Buddhist establishment at Nāgarjunikonḍa owed its origin to the later Śātavāhanas and not to the Ikshvākus as is usually believed. The city of Vijayapurī in the Nāgarjunikonḍa valley was probably built in the year Vijaya corresponding to 213-14 and named after Vijaya-Śātakarṇī who was possibly the reigning monarch at the time.

² The date shows that the summer season began on Caitra-badi 1 and that the months were *pūrṇimānta* as in North India. The mention of the month is interesting.

Bk. II, No. 102-A—Nāgarjunikonda Pillar Inscription
of the time of Vīrapurushadatta—
Year Vijaya (273-74 A.D.)

NAGARJUNIKONDA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

J. PH. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 63-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं (॥*) महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटि[पदा]यिस
- 2 सिरि-चंतमूलस पुतस रंजो माडरिपुतस इखाकुन सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस
- 3 वस-सताय² सवकर['] विजय[']³ वास-पखं प्रथमं १ दिवस वितियं सग-गतस
- 4 रंजो अगिहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयसमेध-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
- 5 हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेसु अ[प]तिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुतस
- 6 इखाकुस सामि-सिरि-चंतमुलस सह(हो)दराहि मताहि म[ह]देविहि अनतसिरिय⁴
- 7 खंदसिरिय विज्ञबोधिसिरिय⁵ मितसिरिय⁶ ससुसिरिय⁷ नागवसुसिरिय
- 8 मंगुसिरिय⁸ खंदकोटिसिरिय महिसरसिरिय कोन्दमतिसिरिय⁹ मुलसिरिय
- 9 अयकोटु सिरिय मडुविसिरिय¹⁰ नागसिरिय कामसिरिय¹¹ गोळसिरिय

¹ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV.

² Vogel: दससनय.

³ Vogel: विंसयं = Sanskrit विंशकम् (twentieth). Vijaya is the name of a year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle. In the second half of the third century A. D., when Vīrapurushadatta flourished, the year Vijaya corresponded to 373-74 A.D. Cyclic years became very popular in South India in later days. Cf. above, p. 521, note 1.

⁴ Vogel: सुनीतिसिरिय (?).

⁵ Vogel: विभटविसिरिय.

⁶ Vogel: मिसिरिय.

⁷ Possibly समुदसिरिय was intended.

⁸ Vogel: नागसिरिय.

⁹ Vogel: रोटमतिसिरिय.

¹⁰ There seems to be a punctuation mark after this, probably suggesting that the ladies mentioned before this were the *sahodarās* of Śāntamūla I.

¹¹ The reading may also be रामसिरिय.

- 10 खडिसिरिय¹ बोधिसिरिय² खदसिरिय सतिलसिरिय³ पेरजतिसिरिय⁴
 11 पण्डितसिरिय सिवनागसिरिय समुदसिरिय⁵ वापिसिरिय नदिसिरिय
 12 अयसिरिय कंन्हसिरिय⁶ सिवनागसिरिय अभतरिकाहि⁷ च
 13 सरसिकाय [कु]सुमलताय च छाया⁸-थभो ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-प्रदायिनः श्रीशान्तमूलस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य वर्षशताय (=वर्षशतायुष्कामनया) संवत्सरे विजये वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे द्वितीये (=श्रावणकृष्णद्वितीयायां) स्वर्गगतस्य राज्ञः अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य ऐक्ष्वाकवस्य स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य सहोदराभिः मातृभिः (=माता विमातृभिः च) महादेवीभिः (=पत्नीभिः) अनन्तश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया विन्ध्यबोधि-श्रिया मित्तश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया नागवसुश्रिया मङ्गुश्रिया स्कन्दकोटिश्रिया महीसारश्रिया कुन्दमतिश्रिया मूलश्रिया आर्यकोटुश्रिया मृद्रीश्रिया—नागश्रिया कामश्रिया गोलश्रिया खलिश्रिया बोधिश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया सतिलश्रिया पेरुजातीश्रिया पण्डितश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया—वप्पीश्रिया नदीश्रिया आर्यश्रिया कृष्णश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया आभ्यन्तरिकाभ्यां (=अन्तःपुररक्षिणीभ्यां) च सरसिकया कुसुमलताया च छायास्तम्भः (=स्वर्गगतराज्ञः मूर्तिसनाथः स्मृतिस्तम्भः) [समुत्थापितः] ॥

1 Vogel : वेलिसिरिय,

2 Vogel : एधिसिरिय,

3 Vogel : सतिलिसिरिय,

4 Vogel : पर°.

5 There seems to be a punctuation mark here probably suggesting that the preceding names are of ladies who were the mother and step-mothers of Śāntamūla I.

6 Vogel : रतुसिरिय,

7 Vogel : सुभतरिकाहि which is meaningless.

8 Vogel : इयं. The word *chhāyā-stambha* (memorial pillar bearing the representation of the person in whose memory it is raised) occurs in many of the pillar inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikonda. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 25.

Bk. II, No. 104-A—Nāgarjunikoṇḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Rudrapurushadatta—Regnal year 11

Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, Guantur District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the middle of the 4th century A. D.

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटि-गोस-
- 2 तसहस-हलसतसहस-पदायिस स्वामि-सिरि-चंतमूलस
- 3 पसुन्हाय महाराजस स्वामि-सिरि-वीरपुरि[सदतस]
- 4 सुन्हाय महाराजस [स्वामि]-सिरि-एहवलचंतमूलस
- 5 पत्तीय रजो वासिटीपुतस इखाकूनं सिरि-रुद-
- 6 पुरिसदतस मातूय² महादेवीय महाखतप-धूतूय बह-
- 7 फल-सगोताय³ सिरि-वंमभटाय संवत्सरं एकारं १०(+*)१
- 8 वासापखं पथमं १ दिवसं अठमं ८ सग-गताय छाय-
- 9 खं[भो⁴ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस-हलशतसहस-प्रदायिनः
स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य प्रसुपायाः महाराजस्य स्वामिश्री-वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य स्नुपायाः महाराजस्य

¹ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

² Since the paternal *gotra* of the mother of Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta was Vāsishṭha, Varmabhaṭā whose paternal *gotra* was Bṛihatphala, was apparently the king's step-mother.

³ Varmabhaṭā, queen of Ehavala Śāntamūla, was the daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* who was apparently a Saka king of Ujjayinī. It is to be noted that Ehavala's father Virapurushadatta also married a princess of the same house (cf. Bk. II, No. 99). Another interesting fact is that the Sakas of Western India, after their Hinduisation, claimed to belong to the Bṛihatphala or Bṛihatphalāyana *gotra*.

⁴ Varmabhaṭā's representation on her memorial pillar shows her in the *udichya-vesā* i.e., the dress of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpatha.

स्वामिश्री-पुहवल्शान्तमूलस्य पत्न्याः राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीरुद्रपुरुषदत्तस्य मातुः
(= विमातुः) महादेव्याः महाक्षल्प दुहितुः वृद्धत्फलसगोलायाः श्रीवर्मभटायाः [रुद्रपुरुषदत्तराज्ये]
संवत्सरे एकादशे—११—वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे—१—दिवसे अष्टमे—८ (= श्रावणकृष्णाष्टम्यां)
स्वर्गगतायाः छायास्तम्भः [उत्थापितः] ॥

Bk. II, No. 104-B—Nāgarjunikonda Stone Inscription of Abhira Vasushena — Year 30 (= 278 A.D.)

Nāgarjunikonda, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

Language : Admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script : Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

सीद्धं ॥²

- 1 नमो भगवतो देवपरमदेवस्य पुराणपुरुषस्य नारायणस्य³ (।*) रजो वासेष्ठीपुत्रस्य
आभीरस्य वसुपेणस्य संवत्सर [३०]⁴ वा-पा [३]
- 2 [दि]वस १ महाग्रामिकेन⁵ महातलवरेण महादण्डनायक(के)न कौशिकसगोलेन
पेरिविडेहाणां शिवसेवेन संजयपुरीण⁶-यो(न*)राजि(ज)भि
- 3 आव[न्त]केन शकेन रुद्रदामेन वानवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-[सात]-
कर्णिना [स्था]ना(न)तो(ऽ*)पि न चालितो एष भगवां रु'वरभवो आष्ट'(अष्ट)-
(भु*)जस्वामि⁷

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

² This is in the left margin.

³ The passage shows that Nārāyaṇa was already identified with the god Viṣṇu.

⁴ The year seems to be referable to the era of 248 A.D., which is believed to be an Abhira institution. It appears that Vasushena occupied the Ikshvāku capital which remained in his possession for some years between the death of Virapurushadatta and the accession of Bhavala.

⁵ Mahāgrāma was a Pargana or group of villages.

⁶ Sañjayapurī may be identified with modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Maharashtra, where certain Yavana or Greek princes appear to have been ruling.

⁷ Aśṭabhujaśvāmin (a form of Viṣṇu) is known from a conch-shell inscription found at the same place as the present record. रु'वरभव = possibly उदुवरभव.

- 4 [सेड]गिरिय¹ स्थापितो (1*) पर्वतस्य च प्राकारो चितापितो (1*) वापि च महा[न]दा सोधिता (1*) तडागानि च २[सेड]गिरियं मुडेराय च खानितानि (1*) तलवनानि च
- 5 रोपितानि (1*) यो च ब्राह्मणार्थं मित्रार्थं च प्राण(म*)पि न परि(त्य*)क्षति गुणतश्च
 सर्वातिथि [सर्व-सख] कृतज्ञ[ः]
 सत्यव्रत शत्रुगणावमर्दि² (1*)
 ऋजु[र्वट]-न्यासन-प्रेम-नि-
- 6 [ष्टो]
 यो [धाम्]मिक साधु-जनाभिनन्दि ।(1*)
 [उल्लेखग]श्चास्य³ सैवक-वर्धमान[को] (1*) भरद्वाज-सगोलेण अमात्येन तिष्यसंमेण
 भगव[च्छकग]: कृतं (1*) स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ।³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवपरमदेवाय पुराणपुरुषाय नारायणाय । राज्ञः वासिष्ठोपुत्रस्य आभीरस्य वसुपेणस्य संवत्सरे ३० (= त्रिंशे) व[र्षा]-प[क्षे] ३ (= तृतीये) दिवसे १ (= प्रथमे) (= भाद्रपदकृष्णप्रतिपदि) महाग्रामिकेण (= महाग्राम-शासकेन, राज्यांश^०) महातलवरेण महादण्डनायकेन कौशिकसगोलेण पेरिविडेहानां (= पेरिविडेहाख्यकुलजेन) शिवशेपेन सञ्जयपुरीणयवनराजैः आवन्तकेन (= अवन्तिदेशवास्तव्येन ; यद्वा—उज्जयिनीनगरी-वास्तव्येन) रुद्रदाम्ना वानवासकेन (= वनवास-वास्तव्येन) च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-शातकर्णिना स्थानतः अपि न चालितः एष भगवान् उडुम्बरभवः (= उडुम्बरकाष्ठनिर्मितः) अष्टभुजस्वामी शेटगिरौ स्थापितः । पर्वतस्य च प्राकारः चित्रितः । वापी च महानन्दा शोधिता । तडागे च २ (= तडागद्वयं च) [तैः] शेटगिरौ मुडेरायां च खानिते । तालवनानि च रोपितानि । यः च ब्राह्मणार्थं मित्रार्थं च प्राणम् अपि न परित्यक्ष्यति (= विगणयति) गुणतः च—

सर्वातिथिः सर्वसखः कृतज्ञः
 सत्यव्रतः शत्रुगणावमर्दा ।
 ऋजुर्वटन्यासनप्रेमनिष्ठो
 यो धार्मिकः साधुजनाभिनन्दी ॥

उल्लेखकः च अस्य [स एव] सैवक-वर्धमानकः (सैवककुलज^०) । भारद्वाजसगोलेण अमात्येन तिष्यशर्मणा भगवच्छकगः कृतं (= रचितः श्लोकः) । स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ॥

¹ Sedagiri mentioned twice in the line is apparently the present Siddhaldhāri hill bordering the Nāgārjunikonda valley. It is mentioned in Bk. II, No. 86, text line 3.

² Sanskrit उल्लेखक which is probably used in the sense of 'the engraver'.

³ This peculiar *maṅgala* meaning 'Let there be good to the herds of cows' become³ intelligible only when we remember that king Vasusheṇa was an Ābhira, i.e., a member of the cowherd clan.

APPENDIX

I. Shar-i-kuna (Kandahar) Greek-Aramaic Minor Rock Edict of Asoka

This important record, definitely proving the inclusion of wide areas of Afghanistan in Asoka's empire, has been published by U. Scerrato and others in *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka* Rome, 1958, and by D. Schlumberger and others in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 1 ff. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 333ff.; XXXIV, pp. 1ff.

The Greek and Aramaic versions of the edict, apparently meant for Asoka's Yavana and Kāmboja subjects respectively, may be rendered into Prakrit (as used in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra edicts) as follows:

GREEK VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवपभिपितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन् जनस्मि धमनुशस्ति प्रवटित । तत्त च तु तेन मुनिश
वडतरं धमयुत कट प्रण च वडित हितसुखेन सवपुठवियं । रज च प्रणरंभो परितितजित सवेहि
च मनुशेहि लुडकेहि च सवेहि केवटेहि च रजो परितितजित विहिंस भुतनं । येषं च नसि
संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत यथ तेन तेन शकं । ते पि च मत-पितुपु वुडेपु च सुश्रुपंति यदिशं
नो भुतप्रवं । एवं च करमिन ते पच हितसुखेन वडिशंति वडं च वडिशंति ॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना जने धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता ।
ततः च तु तेन मनुष्याः वाडतरं धर्मायुताः कृताः प्राणाः च वर्धिताः हितसुखेन सर्वपृथिव्याम् ।
राज्ञा च तु प्राणाळम्भः परित्यक्तः सर्वैः च मनुष्यैः लुब्धकैः च सर्वैः केवर्तैः च राज्ञः परित्यक्ता
विहिंसा भूतानाम् । येषां च तु न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः यथा तेन तेन
शक्यम् । ते अपि च माता-पितृपु वृद्धेपु च सुश्रूषन्ति यादृशं नो भूतपूर्वम् । एवं च कुर्वाणाः
ते पश्चात् हितसुखेन वर्धिष्यन्ते वाडं च वर्धिष्यन्ते ॥)

ARAMAIC VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवपभिपितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन् [स्पमिकेन नो तद् धमनुशस्ति] प्रवटित । तत्त अपयस
हिनि जत्त सर्वस्मि च जनस्मि तेन दुप्रटिभग निवटित । अस्ति पि संति च प्रिति च
सवपुठवियं । एत च पि भुतं । सुपठय च रजो नो स्पमिकस लहुकं अरभियति । तस च
द्रशन सव-मनुश न अरभंति । एवं ये च केवट ते पि च नियमेन संयत । एवं पि येषं च
नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत । सवे च मतपितुपु सुश्रुपंति वुडेपु च सुश्रुपंति यदिशं

तस तस कटवं आरोपितं । धर्मयुतनं च खो परल नस्ति विचरण । सवे च मनुष
धर्मचरणेन अभुनत च अभुनमिषन्ति चेव ॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना स्वामिकेन नः तदा धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता । ततः अपायस्य हानिः जाता सर्वस्मिन् च जने तेन दुष्प्रतिभागाः निवर्तिताः । अस्ति अपि शान्तिः च प्रीतिः च सर्ववृथिष्याम् । एतत् च अपि भूतम् । सुपार्थाय च राज्ञः नः स्वामिकस्य लघुकम् आलभ्यते । तस्य च दर्शनात् सर्वे मनुष्याः न आलभन्ते । एवम् अपि ये च कैवर्ताः ते अपि च नियमेन संयताः । एवम् अपि येषां च न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः । सर्वे च मातापितृषु शुश्रूषन्ति वृद्धेषु च शुश्रूषन्ति यादृशं तस्य तस्य कर्तव्यम् आरोपितम् । धर्मयुतानां च तु खलु परल न अस्ति विचारणा । सर्वे च मनुष्याः धर्मचरणेन अभ्युन्नताः च अभ्युन्नमिष्यन्ति च एव ॥)

In connection with the edicts of Aśoka, reference may be made to the Sālihundām (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) stone slab inscription reading धर्मरजो षसीकसिरिनी (= धर्मराजस्य षशीकस्यः) in Brāhmi characters of about the second century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 85-86). The reference seems to be to a Buddhist structure believed to have been originally built by the Maurya emperor Aśoka who flourished in the third century B.C.

That Aśoka's was an inspiring name in later ages is indicated by the Ban Map Makham inscription (dated Śaka 1089=1167 A.D.) of Mahārāja Aśoka or Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Dharmāśoka, identified with king Adityarāja of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun and Chieng Mai in Northern Siam). See *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 2, pp. 130 ff. Note also Dharmāśoka mentioned in Kumāradevi's Sarnath inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 319ff.).

2. Some Inscriptions of the Kushāna Age

The most important of the recently discovered inscriptions of the Kushānas is the one found at Surkh-Kotal near Baghlān on the Kunduz river in Northern Afghanistan (ancient Bactria). Written in the Tokhārian (Bactrian) language and Greek characters, it refers to Kanishka (I) in relation to a shrine called 'the Kanishka-Nikator sanctuary' and is dated in the year 31 of the Kanishka reckoning or Śaka era, which would correspond to 109 A.D. The inscription was published by André Maricq in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 345-446 (with Plates), and commented on by W. B. Henning in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 47ff.

A Sanchi inscription of the year 22 of apparently the Kaniska era speaks of a *Rājan* probably named Vaskushāṇa (Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, pp. 278, 386, No. 829) who may be the same as Vāsishka or a local ruler under Kanishka I, while a Mat (Mathurā) inscription mentions a *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* whose name may have been Vamataksha (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 124; *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, pp. 191 ff.). Vamataksha was a *Kushāṇaputra* (scion of the Kushāṇa clan; cf. *Sibiputta* and *Bhojaputta*, above, p. 17, note 2) and probably one of the successors of Vāsudeva I.

A Buddha-pāda slab of the first century A.D. from Kosam speaks of the celebrated Ghoshitārāma which is known to have been situated at Kauśāmbī, the location of the ancient city at Kosam thus being settled beyond dispute (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 14 ff.). The inscription reminds us of another inscribed Buddha-pāda slab from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which belongs to the third century A.D. (*ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 247 ff.).

Two other inscriptions belonging to the age of the Kushāṇas were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff., and XXXII, pp. 82 ff. The first of these is the Kailvan (Patna District, Bihar) stone bowl inscription of the time of king Ārya-Viśākhamitra, dated in the year 108 apparently referable to the Kanishka era and corresponding to 186 A.D. The inscription points to the expansion of the use of the Kanishka reckoning to Bihar. Its language and paleography suggest that the era in question started in the first century A.D. rather than later. The word *Ārya* prefixed to the king's name reminds us of a similar epithet of Khāravela and other rulers.

The second epigraph is the Velpuru (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of the time of *Mahārāja Hāritīputra Mānasada* called *Aira (Ārya)* and *Gālaveya* (i.e. belonging to the Gālava-gotra). The inscription has been assigned to the first half of the second century A.D.

3. Two Vaishnava Inscriptions

There is an inscription in one line on the flat shaft of the *gadā* (mace) held by a four-armed standing male figure of stone at Burhikhār near Malhār in the Bilāspur District, Madhya Pradesh. The figure, known locally as Chaturbhujī Bhagavān, holds the *cakra* (discus) in the upper left hand and the top of the *gadā* by the upper right, while the palms of the lower two hands are folded in the *añjali* pose. He wears *kuṇḍalas* in the ears and the conical crown, called *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, usually found on the heads of subordinate deities. The image has characteristics of the god Viṣṇu; but the *añjali* pose clearly suggests that it is not Viṣṇu but

a *parivāra-devatā* or attendant of the god. The line of writing, in Brāhmī characters of about the close of the first century B.C., begins in the upper part of the *gadā* and comes downwards.

The inscription reads—पञ्चवर्ष [दिन] भारदयिवृत्कारित ति (Sanskrit प्रजावत्याः दानं भारदय्या कारितम् इति)। The image was the gift of Prajāvatī, but was caused to be made by Bhāradvājī. Its importance lies in the fact that it points to the existence of a Viṣṇu temple at Burhikhār before the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription was published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Culture and Heritage Number, 1956, pp. 221-24 and Plate; cf. also *Proc. I.H.C.*, Waltair Session, 1953, pp. 39-41.

The other Vaishṇava epigraph is the Umāchal rock (on the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, Assam) inscription of the time of *Mahārājādhīrāja* Surendravarman, probably identical with the Bhauma-Nāraka monarch Mahendravarman (c. 470-95 A.D.) of Prāgjyotiṣa. It records the construction of a *guhā* or cave-temple for the god Balabhadrasvāmin (*i.e.* Balarāma). The importance of the inscription, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 67 ff., is that it points to the prevalence of the independent worship of Balarāma as late as the close of the fifth century A.D.

4. Jayrāmpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 1

This inscription was discovered at Jayrāmpur under the Bhogarai Police Station of the Balasore District, Orissa. It has been published with facsimile by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XI (1963), No. 4, pp. 206 ff. Unfortunately the published transcript and illustration of the epigraph are both useless, the former being full of palpable misreadings and wrong emendations. The essential parts of the record pointing to the inclusion of Daṇḍabhukti in Gopachandra's empire appear to read as follows in a slightly emended form.

स्वस्ति । चतुर्दधिसल्लिखीमान्तायाम् ..पृथिव्यां चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तयशसाम¹....
...इतीमतो धनचन्द्रात्...श्रीगिरिदेव्या वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थाहेतु साक्षाद्भूमं इवोपात्तजन्मा²...
रारोपिताधिराज्यः...पोषगताशेषराजमण्डलः² परममाेश्वरो² महाराजाधिराजश्रीगोपचन्द्रे

¹ The genitive plural seems to refer to the members of a dynasty.

² If these words refer to Gopachandra, they should properly be in locative singular. Otherwise either they would refer to Vijayavarman or गोपचन्द्रे should be गोपचन्द्र.

राज्यं प्रशासति प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे प्रथमे फाल्गुनमासे विंशतितमे दिवसे श्वेत-
वालिकावीथिसमुपागतान्वत्तमानभविष्यत्कालीयान्कार्त्तकृतिकौपरिककुमारामात्यराजानकविजय-
वर्मा विषयपति-तदायुक्तकानन्यांश्च राजपादप्रसादोपजीविनो यथार्हं^१ मानयित्वा शिरोभिश्च
प्रगम्यास्मदधिवास-विंशत्यग्रहार-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासन-हिरण्यलाभ-सामुदयिक-ग्रामवाटकेभ्यो महा-
महत्तर-प्रधान-अधिकरणञ्च विज्ञापयन्ति^२ । अस्तु वत्संविदितम् । प्रार्थिता वयं
श्रीमहासामन्तमहाराजाच्युतेन युष्मदीश्यां साधुभिरनेकेराचन्द्रार्ककालीन-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासन-
स्थित्या सता मूल्येन ग्रामक्षेत्रवास्तुनि युष्मत् क्रीत्वा देवद्विजमठविहारावसथेभ्योतिसृष्टान्यति-
सृज्यमानानि वीथ्यैव सम्यक्प्रतिपाल्यमानानीति समीक्ष्य-ममापि धर्मनिमित्तमुत्साहो जातः ।
सोहमिच्छे रत्नचेत्योद्भव ख्यापिताशेषलिभुवनप्रतापमाहात्म्यातिशयभगवदार्यावलोकितेश्वराद्ग्रा-
सित-श्रीबोधिपद्रक-महाग्रहारे विहारकरणाय तस्मिंश्च बलिचरुगन्धपुष्पप्रदीपादिक्रिया-
प्रवर्त्तनायार्थसङ्गस्य च यथाकालं हविष्यपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्य-परिष्काराया-
तिस्रष्टुम् । तदहं श्वेतवालिका-ग्रामं क्रयेण दातुं ताम्रशासनीकृत्येति । यतोस्माभिर्युक्तमयं
प्रार्थयति स च ग्रामः समुद्रोपसर्पितप्रत्यन्त-परमभट्टारकस्यापि धर्मपद्भागोपचयो-पुस्तपाल-
भोगिभटावधारणया अवष्टृत्य दण्डभुक्तप्रधिकृत-श्वेतवालिकावीथिव्यवहारि-श्वेतवालिका-
ग्रामस्सकलसमुदयः क्रयेण विषयाधिकरण-महामहत्तर-गृहस्वाम्यादिभिः यत्-महत्तरधर्मस्वामि-
महत्तरदेवस्वामि-महत्तरेन्दुस्वामि-क्रीत्वा मातापितोरात्मनश्च सर्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये-
महायानिकेभ्यो भिक्षुसङ्घाय प्रतिपादितः । यत् सर्वंदायवर्जितः प्रतिवर्षञ्चाख्यपिण्डकं
चूर्णिकाशतैकं^३ देयमुपनिबद्धः श्रीमहासामन्ताच्युतस्य दत्तः । अस्य च ग्रामस्य सीमालिङ्गानि
पुनश्च शासनं तापितं पुस्तपालभोगभट्टेन लिखितं कायस्थमानदत्तेनेति । संवत्सरे
१ फाल्गुन-दि २० । ...चिल्लुकेन ।

^१ If the subject is विज्ञापयन्ती, it should be विज्ञापयति.

^२ The annual tax fixed at 100 *chārnikās* (*purāṇas*) is called *ārya-piṇḍaka* (lump sum payable by the Buddhist establishment or by Achyuta on its behalf).

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Addenda et Corrigenda

N.B.—The readers may not find great difficulty in rectifying minor misprints and inaccuracies. From the beginning up to p. 208, wherever the name 'Bombay State' occurs, it should now be either 'Maharashtra' or 'Gujarat'.

Page 17, foot-note 2.—

Add—The Erragudi version has *Satika-puto* for *Satiyaputo* or *Sātiyaputo*. The name *Satika* = *Satiya* = *Sātiya* has been regarded as the same as *Sadaka* (*Sātaka* = *Sātika* = *Sāntika*) of *Sadakana Kalalāya-Mahārāṭhi* of the coins from the Chitaldrug District, Mysore (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 73, note).

„ 22, text line 4.—

Add note—Pāli *pettanika* means 'one who enjoys fortune or power inherited from his father,' so that *Raṭhika-petenika* and *Bhoja-petenika* of Aśoka records may be the Raṭhika and Bhoja peoples described as 'hereditary' and distinguished from the ordinary *Raṭhika* (*Rāshṭrika*, the governor of a *rāshṭra* or Pargana) and *Bhoja* (*Bhojaka*, usually a *Jā'gīrdār*). The official designation *Raṭhika* occurs in the Erragudi MRE and the Raṭhika and Bhojaka peoples in the Hathigumpha inscription. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 30.

„ 41, text lines 13-14.—

Add note—Ludwig Alsdorf understands the sentence as *evam = eva yaḥ paśyet yushmākam, tena vaktavyaḥ any-ānyaḥ* —'paśyata, evam cha evam cha Devānām-priyasya anuśastiḥ' (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Litteratur—Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1962, No. 1, p. 237).

- Page 43, line 11.— Read—*yushmabhyah*
- „ 50, note 1.— Add—*Vyūtha* = *vyūtha* = *vivutha* stands for Sanskrit *vyushita* and not for *vyushṭa* (see p. 516, note 2).
- „ 63, note 3.— Add—As shown by K. L. Janert, the correct reading of the word is *nisidiyā* = Sanskrit *nishadyā*, for which see p. 218, text line 15. For Janert's paper, see *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen*, I—*Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1959, No. 4, pp. 47ff.
- „ 65, line 15.— For—*niḥśliṣṭakāḥ* (= *sopānāni*), read—*nishadyāḥ* (= *upāśrayāḥ*)
- „ 67, foot-note 1.— Add—See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 436 ff.
- „ 81, line 6.— Read—*Z.D.M.G.*
- „ 82, foot-note 5, line 4.— Read—*madhu*
- „ 107, foot-note 3.— Add—Since, in the joint representation of Agathokleia and Strato, the former is shown to the left of the latter, it is now suggested that Agathokleia was the queen of Strato.
- „ 136, line 9.— Omit—C.
- „ 144, text line 2.— Read—*Kaṇishkasya*
- „ 145, text line 2.— Read—*trepitakasya*
- „ 146, foot-note 4, line 2.— Read—*vahārisya*
- „ 147, line 2. Omit—C.
- „ 150, foot-note 3, line 2.— Read—*Rājatar.*
- „ 160, foot-note 5, line 2.— Read—(Skanda-Kumāra)
- „ 170, foot-note 2.— Add—Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, XV.1, explains *charaka* as *chakradhara* probably meaning the bearers of the Vaishṇava emblem of the discus.
- „ 173, line 11.— Read—*Rudradāman I*
- „ 178, foot-note 4, line 3.— Read—Dist.) according to the *Raghuvarṇṣa*, VI. 43 ; cf. verse 37.

Page 217, foot-note 6.—

Add—Allan thinks that the reading is doubtful and that no Magadhan king named Brihaspatimitra is mentioned in the inscription. See his *Catalogue of Coins* (Ancient India), p. xcvi.

„ 229, foot-note 9, line 3— *Read*—*Āṅguttara*.

„ 245, line 9.— *Read*—BKS

„ 251, line 12.— *Read*—*Namīlgaṇḍayā*

„ 262, line 19.— *Add*—For some recent suggestions on the reading and interpretation of a few passages, cf. B. Ch. Chhabra in *Ind. Cult.*, XIV, pp. 141-50; V. Raghavan in *Journ. Or. Res.*, XVI, pp. 159-62; S. V. Soboni in *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXXIX, pp. 34-36.

„ 265, foot-note 2, line 14—*Read*—*Āryāvarta*

„ 266, foot-note line 1.— *Read*—*Yamunā-Kolang*.

„ 267, foot-note 6.— *Add*—Even if the identification is accepted, it scarcely proves that Śrīgupta, founder of *Stūpa* in Varendrī, had his home in North Bengal as is sometimes supposed (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, I, pp. 69-70) because his kingdom may have included the neighbouring tracts to which his family, may have belonged.

„ 282, line 5.— *Read*—409-10 A.D. + x.

„ 283, line 4.— *Read*—No. 1543

„ 295, foot-note 7.— *Add*—See No. 26-A (pp. 317-18).

„ 328, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read*—since Bhadra

„ 329, foot-note 1.— The sentence “Nalanda seals”, etc., should be transferred to foot-note 7.

„ 346, foot-note 5.— *Add*—A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculpture representing the performance of penances by a *tapasvinī* has been wrongly interpreted as a *Satī* burning herself (*Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, XI, pp. 201 ff.).

Page 368, text line 14.—	Read— <i>kulyavāpena</i>
„ 378, line 3.—	For—No. 48, read—No. 47
„ 384, line 3.—	For—Stone, read—Rock
„ 386, foot-note 1, line 4.—	Read <i>śāśvatāḥ</i>
„ 387, line 10.—	Read— <i>khedaṁ</i>
„ 388, foot-note 1.—	Add—See <i>J.I.H.</i> , XLII, i, pp. 127 ff.
„ 426, line 17.—	Read—Bhamodrā
„ 430, foot-note 1.—	Add—See No. 63A (p. 456).
„ 456, line 12.—	Read— B—The Pallavas
„ „ line 13.—	Read—63-B
„ „ foot-note 4, line 5.—	For— <i>ibid.</i> , read <i>Suc. Sāt.</i>
„ 490, line 4.—	For—J, read—l
„ „ line 5.—	Read—Prithivivigraha
„ 502, line 3.—	Read—Pūrṇavarman
„ 507, line 1.—	Read—Stele
„ 515, foot-note 1.—	Add—For a fragmentary pillar inscription of Aśoka from Amarāvati, see <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , Vol. XXXV, pp. 40 ff.

PLATE II

A

i p t i y m^a n v a h i y
 yadipatiy man(i)yāh(a)iy
 y k r m^a a v^a a d^a h v a v^a
 ciyahkaram avā dahyāva
 a d a r y v^a u s x s a y o i y
 ā dārayava(h)uś xśāyaṭiya
 a r y p t i h r m^a d i d i v
 lāraya paliharam dīdiy
 i y m n a g a o u m^a
 yatīy manā gāṇum
 t i y a v d^a a x s n a s a h
 ira(n)tiy avadā xśnāsah(i)diś
 s a d^a t i y a z d^a a b v a t
 adataiy azdā bavātiy
 p a r s h y a m^a r t i y h
 pārsahyā marṭiyahyā
 a d^a u r i y a r s t i s
 dūraiṭy arṣtiś
 a g m^a t a a d^a t i y
 parāgmatā adataiy
 d^a a b v a t i y p a r s
 adā bavātiy pārsa
 t i y d^a u r y p i y
 narṭiya dūrayapiy
 c a p a r s a p r t r m^a
 acā pārsā prṭaram
 i y t a
 patiṭajata

Specimens of Cuneiform Writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—A

Iranian Inscriptions by S. Sen.

B
































































WORD-DIVIDBR




IDEOGRAMS























NUMERALS































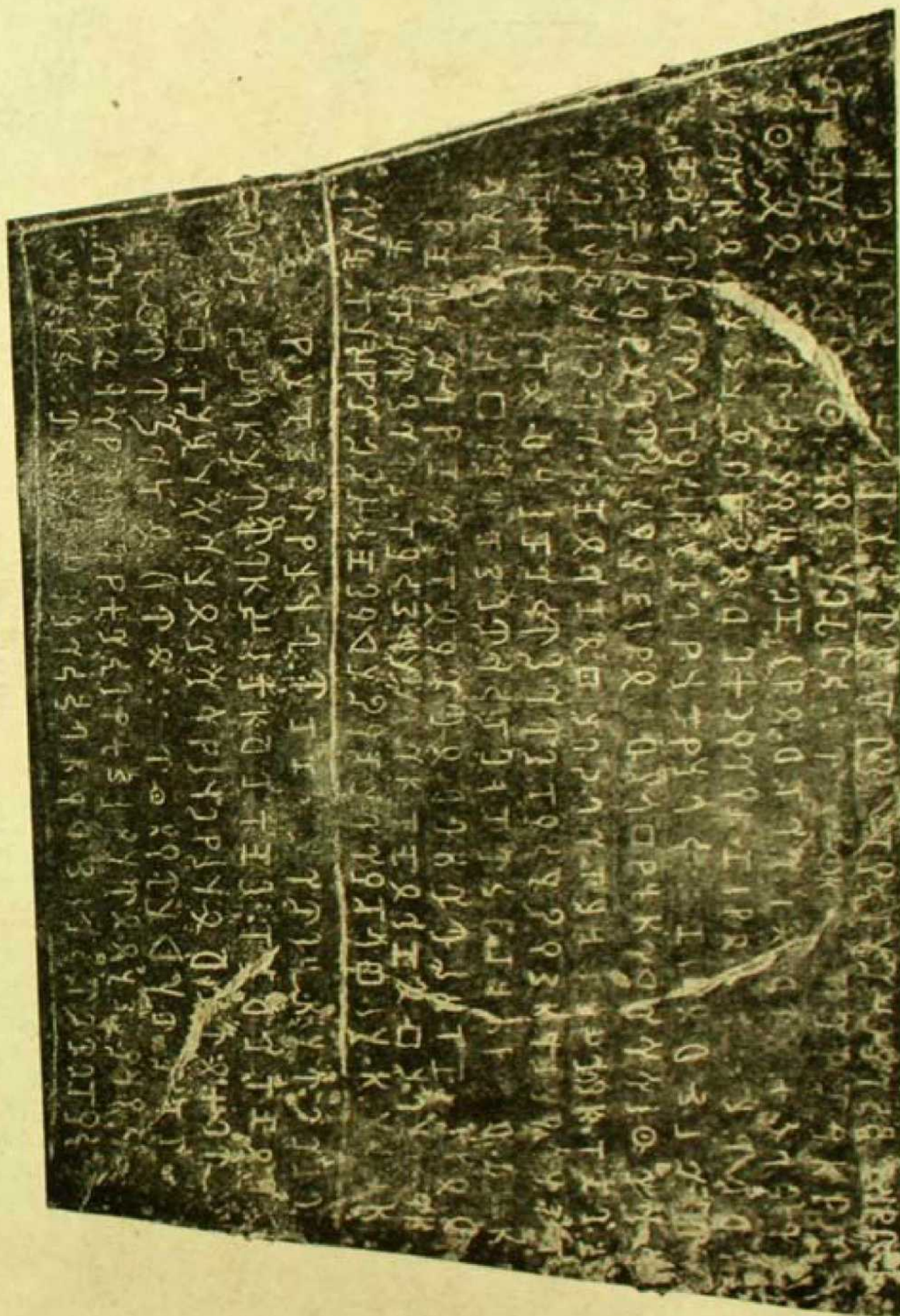


Specimens of Cuneiform Writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—B.

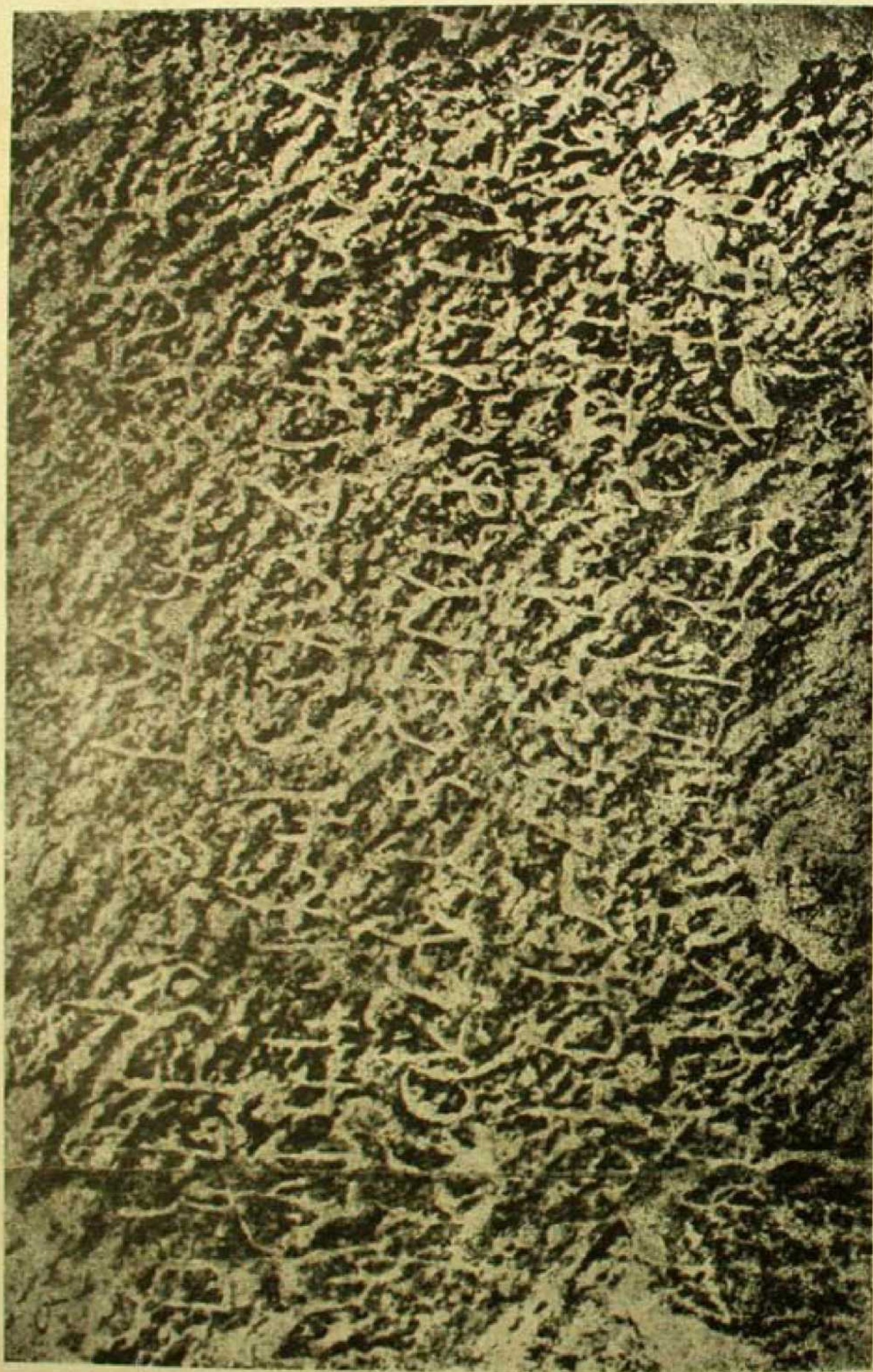


Girnar Rock Edicts I and II of Aśoka (Blk. I, Nos. 6-7).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., I).



Gurnar Rock-Edicta III and IV of Asoka (Bk. I, Nos. 9-10).

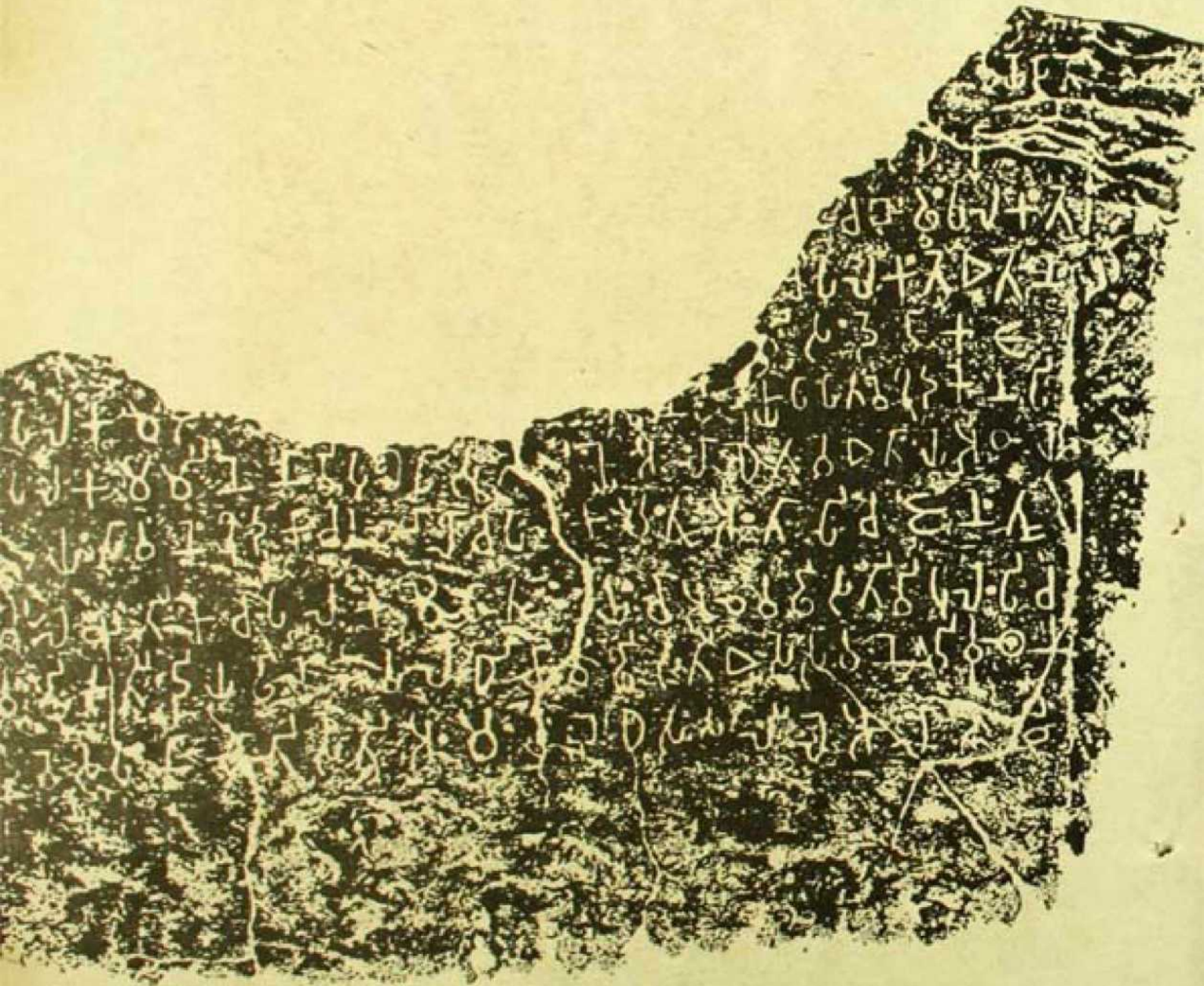


Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict VII of Aśoka (Bk. I, No. 12)



Shāhbāzgarhi Rock Edict XII of Aśoka (Bk. I, No 17)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., I)



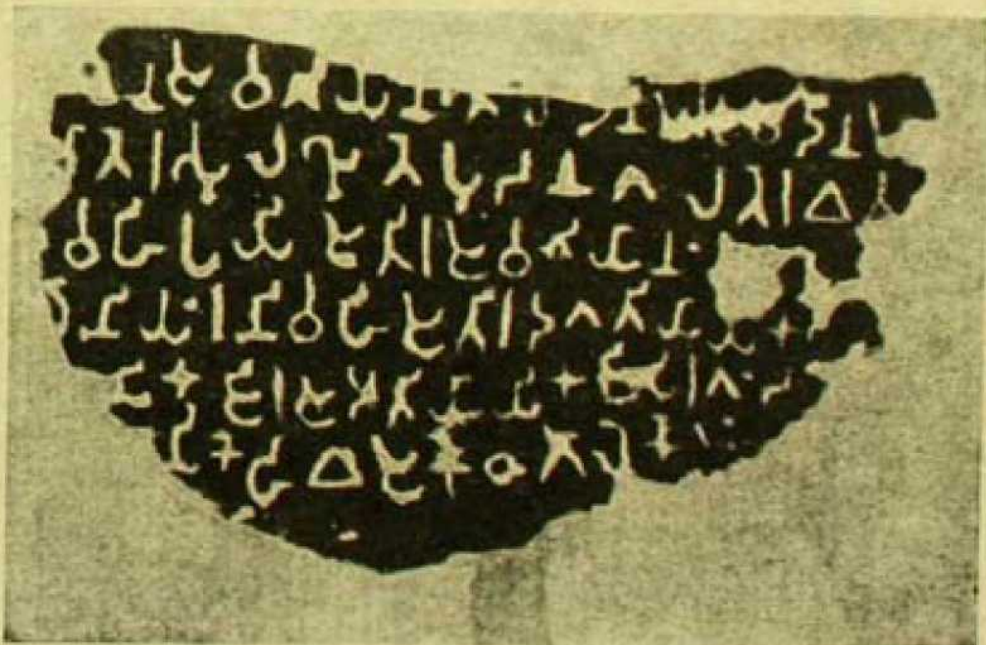
Ahraurā Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka (Bk. I, No. 23-B).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. and Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad.

PLATE IX



(Photographic Print)

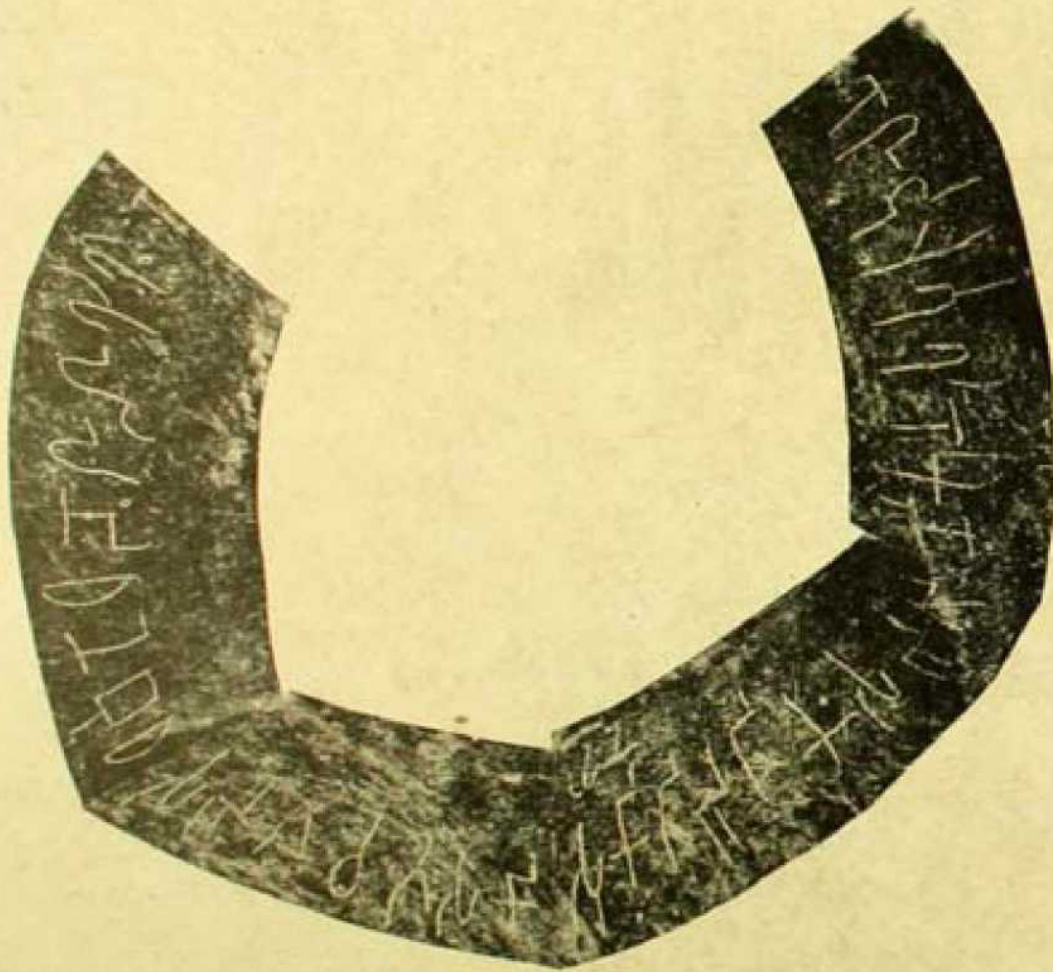


(Rubbing)

Mahasthān Stone Plaque Inscription (Bk. I. No. 45).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXI).

PLATE X



Piprahvā Vase Inscription (Bk. I, No. 46).

From Journ. Dep. Let., IV.



Shinkot (Bajaur) Relief Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).

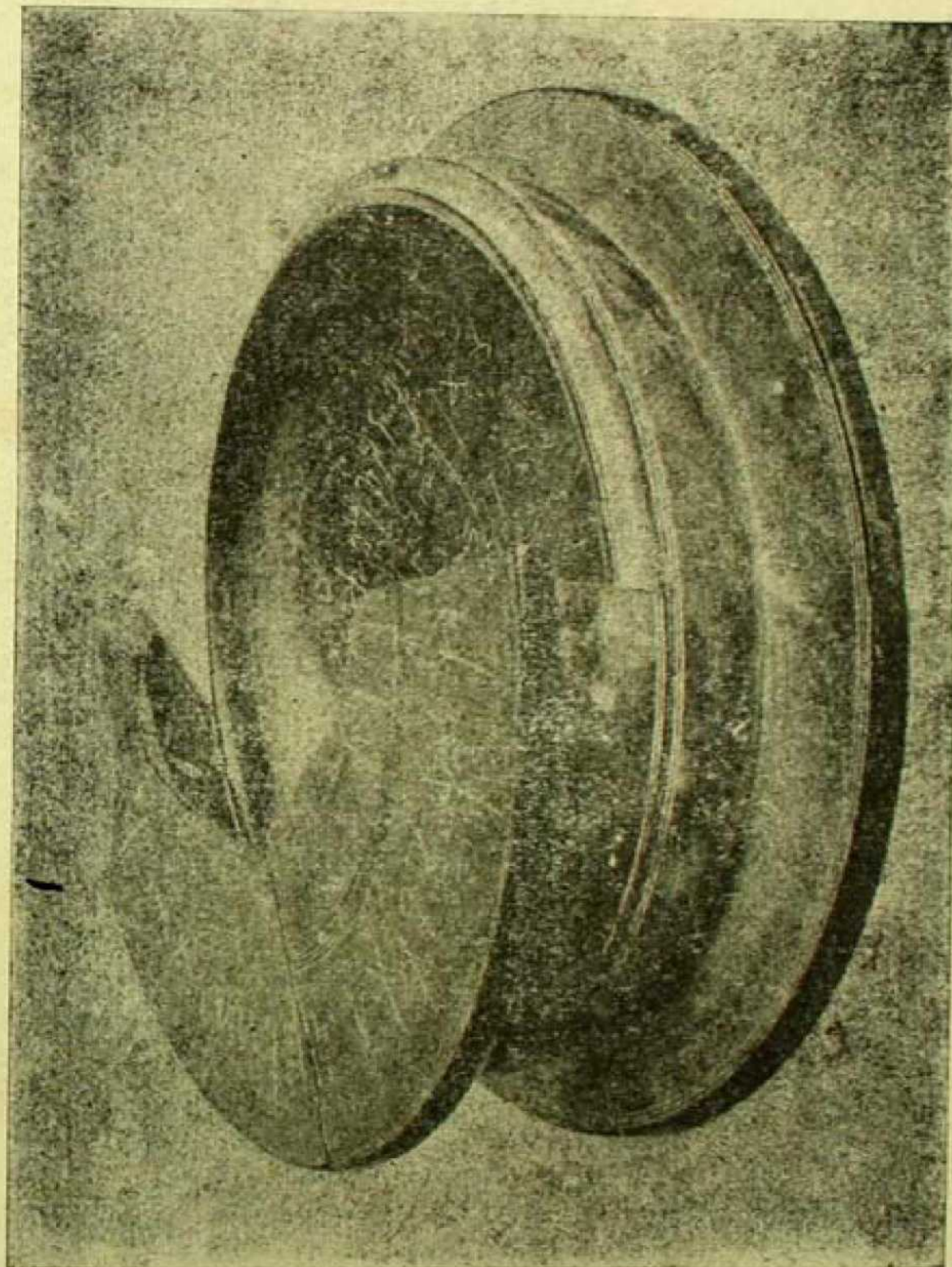
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).



Ayodhya Inscription of Dhanadeva (Bk. II, No. 9).

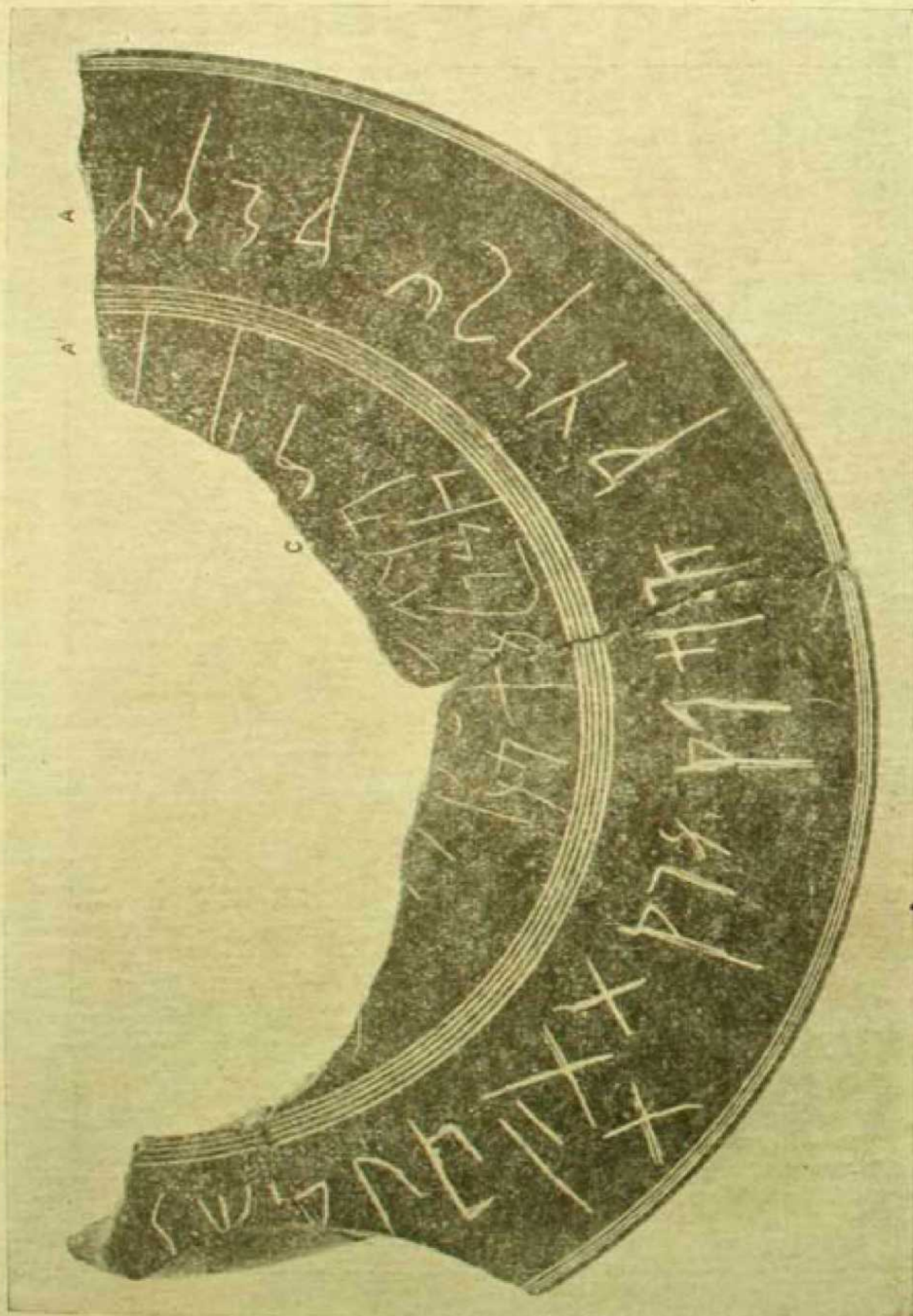
Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (J. B. O. R. S., XI).

PLATE XIII



Shinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).

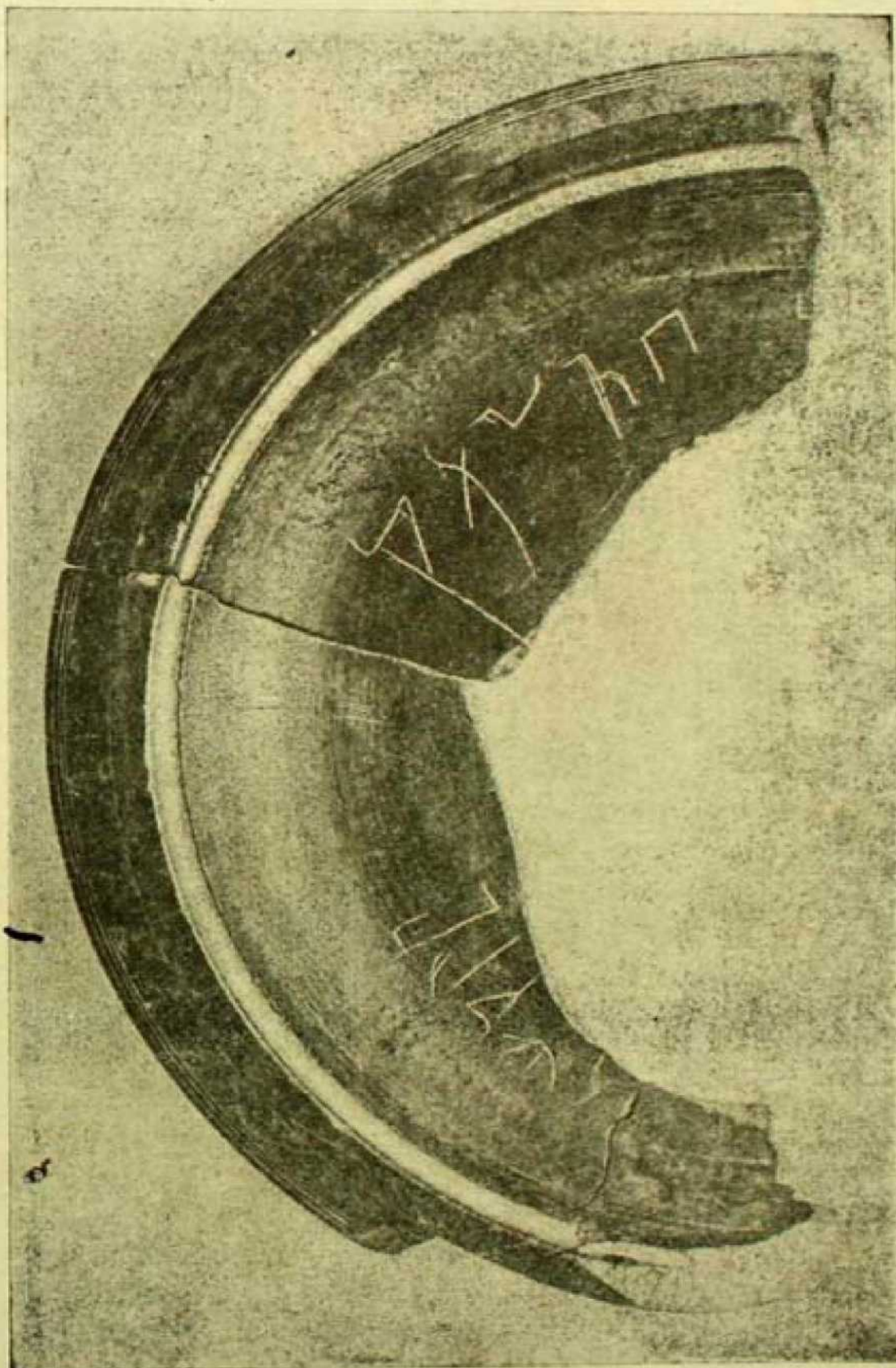
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14), Sections A, A' and C.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

PLATE XV



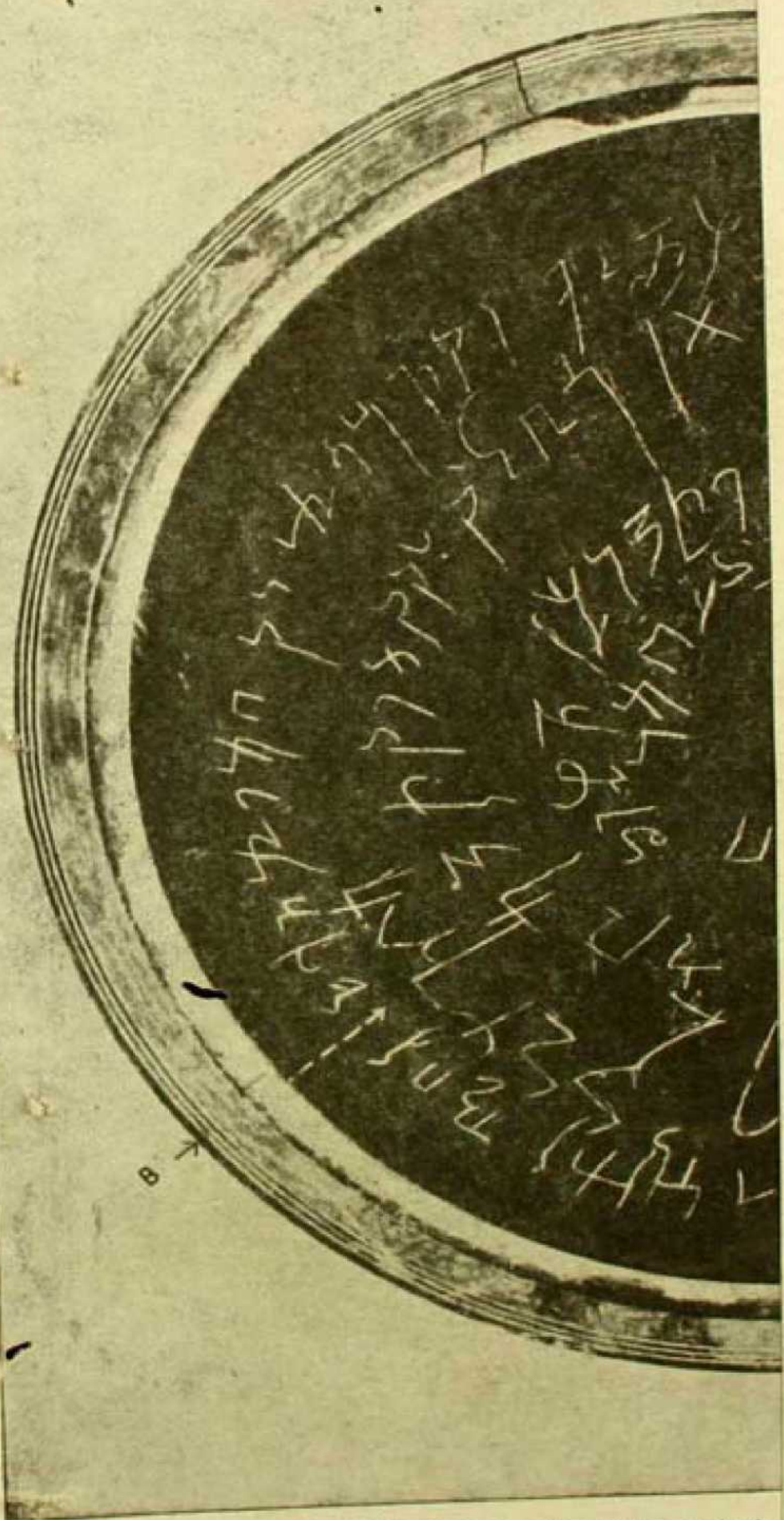
Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14), Section A².

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).



Shinkot (Bajaur)asket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14), Section E.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription

PLATE XVIII

A (lines 6-16)



A (lines 1-5)



E (lines 1-2), E'



E''



E (lines 3-4)

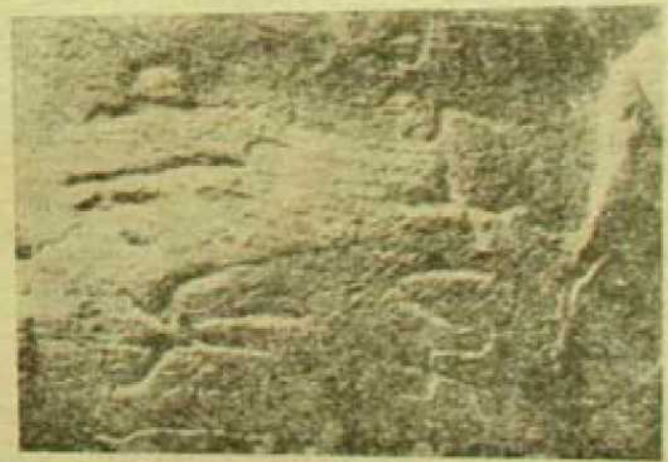
Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections A, E and E'.

courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II, i).

B, C, D



M



J

Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections B, C, D, J and M.

F (line 1)



K, L



G



F (line 2), G, J (line 3), K, L (line 3)



Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Blk. II, No. 24), Sections F, G, J, K and L.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind., (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

I, J, M (line 3), Q (line 2)



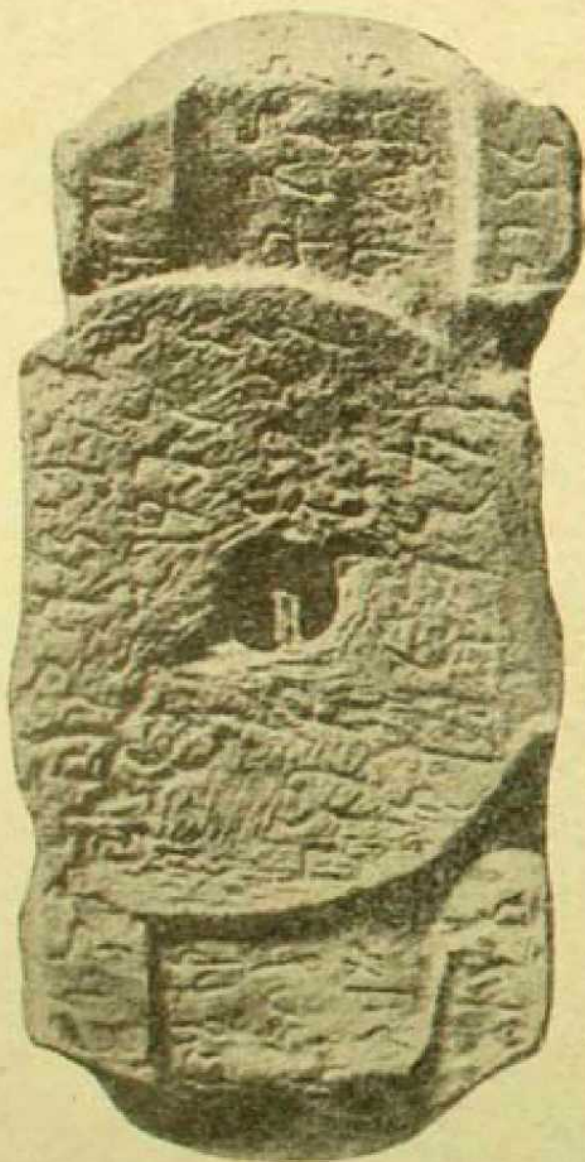
Mithila Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections I, J, M and Q.

PLATE XXII

P

N, O, P, Q, R

O



J'

Q (line 2)

Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections J', N, O, P, Q and R.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).



Mathura Votive Tablet Inscription (Bk. II, 25).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, II).

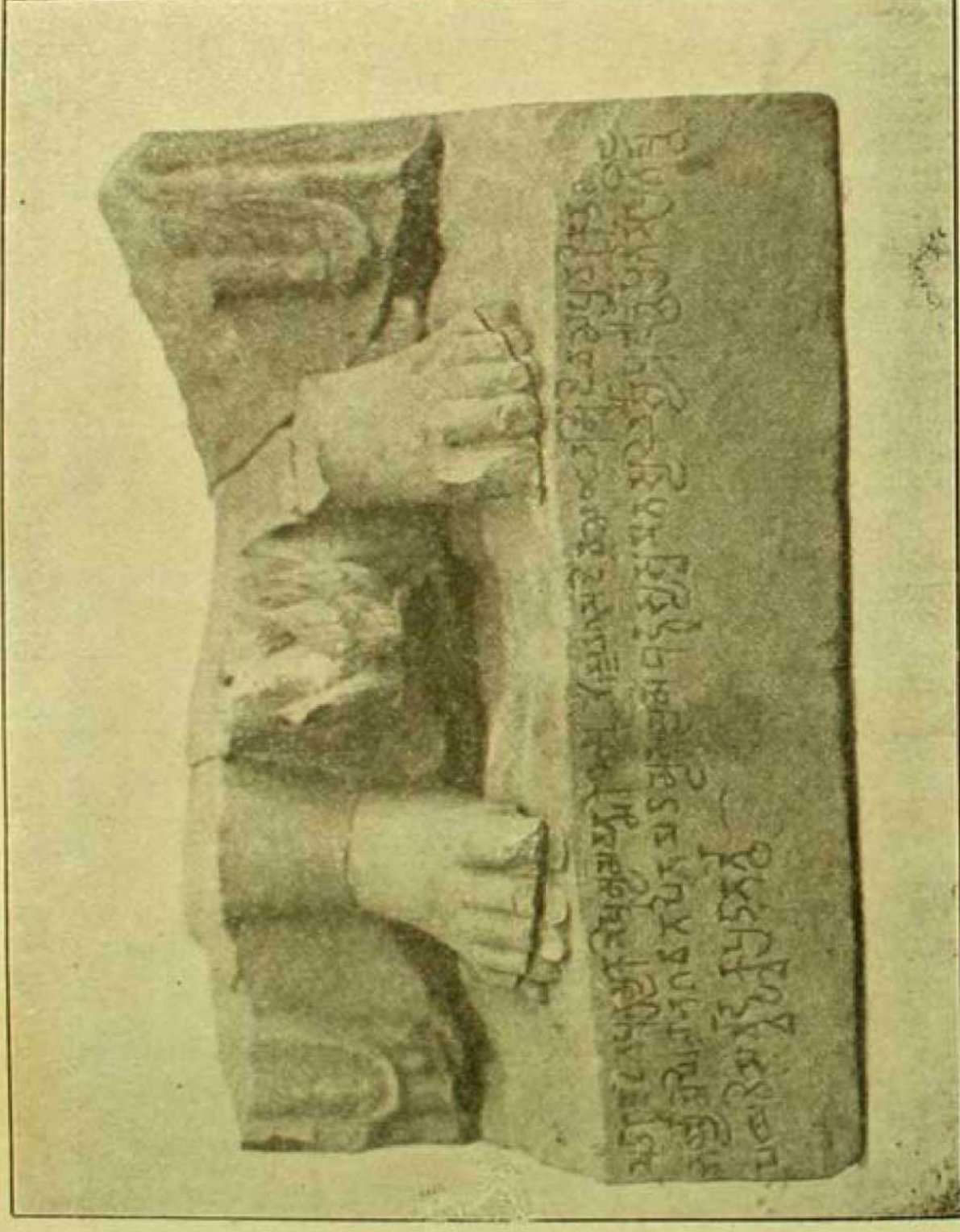


Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Kawi, inscribed on a copper plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is finely etched into the metal surface. A small red mark is visible at the top right of the inscription.

Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. II, No. 33).



Kosam Inscription of Kanishka I (Bk. II, No. 36-A).



Mathurā Inscription of Kanishka I (Bk. II, No. 42-A).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX).

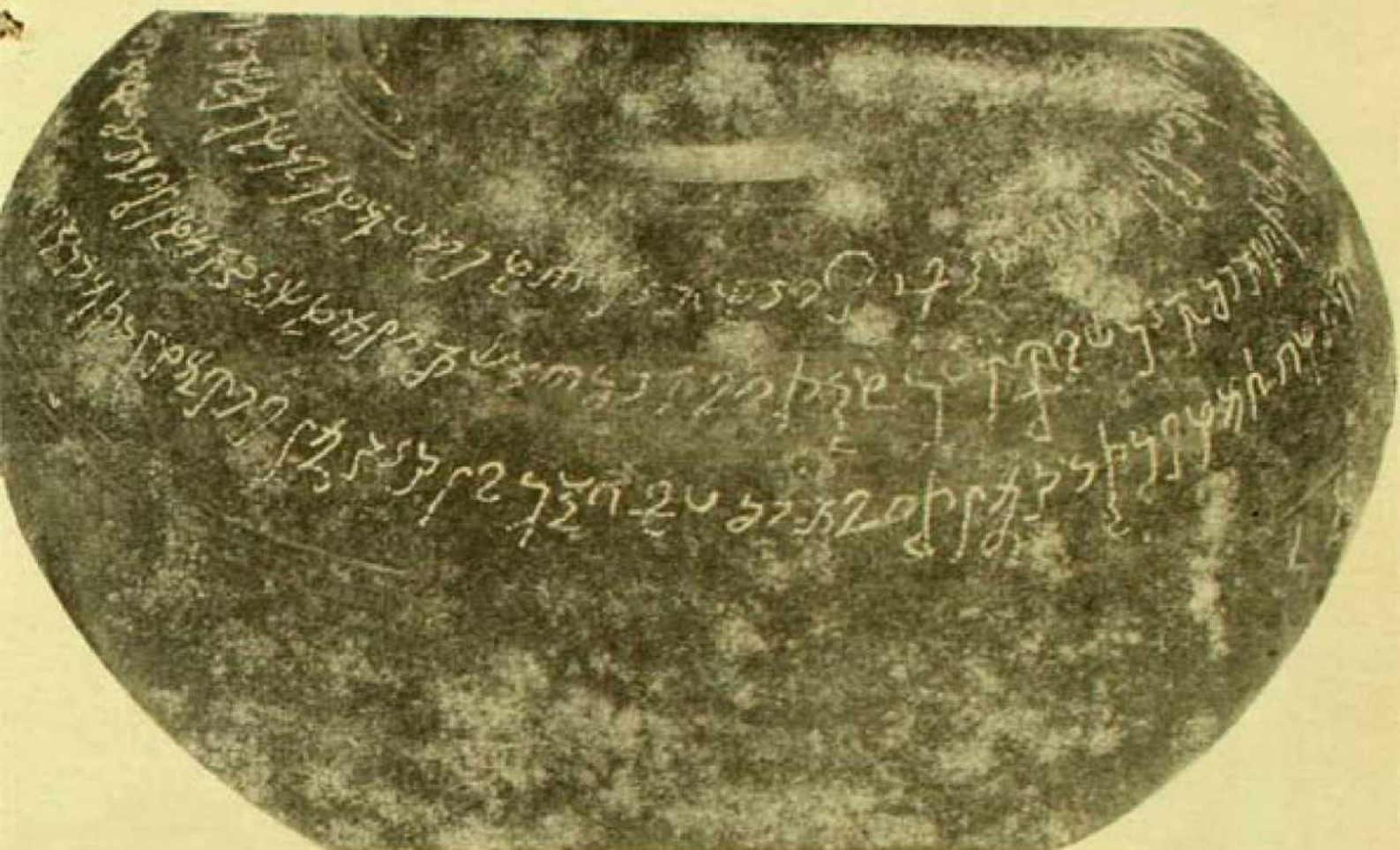
Courtesy : B.O.R.S. (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII).

Side A



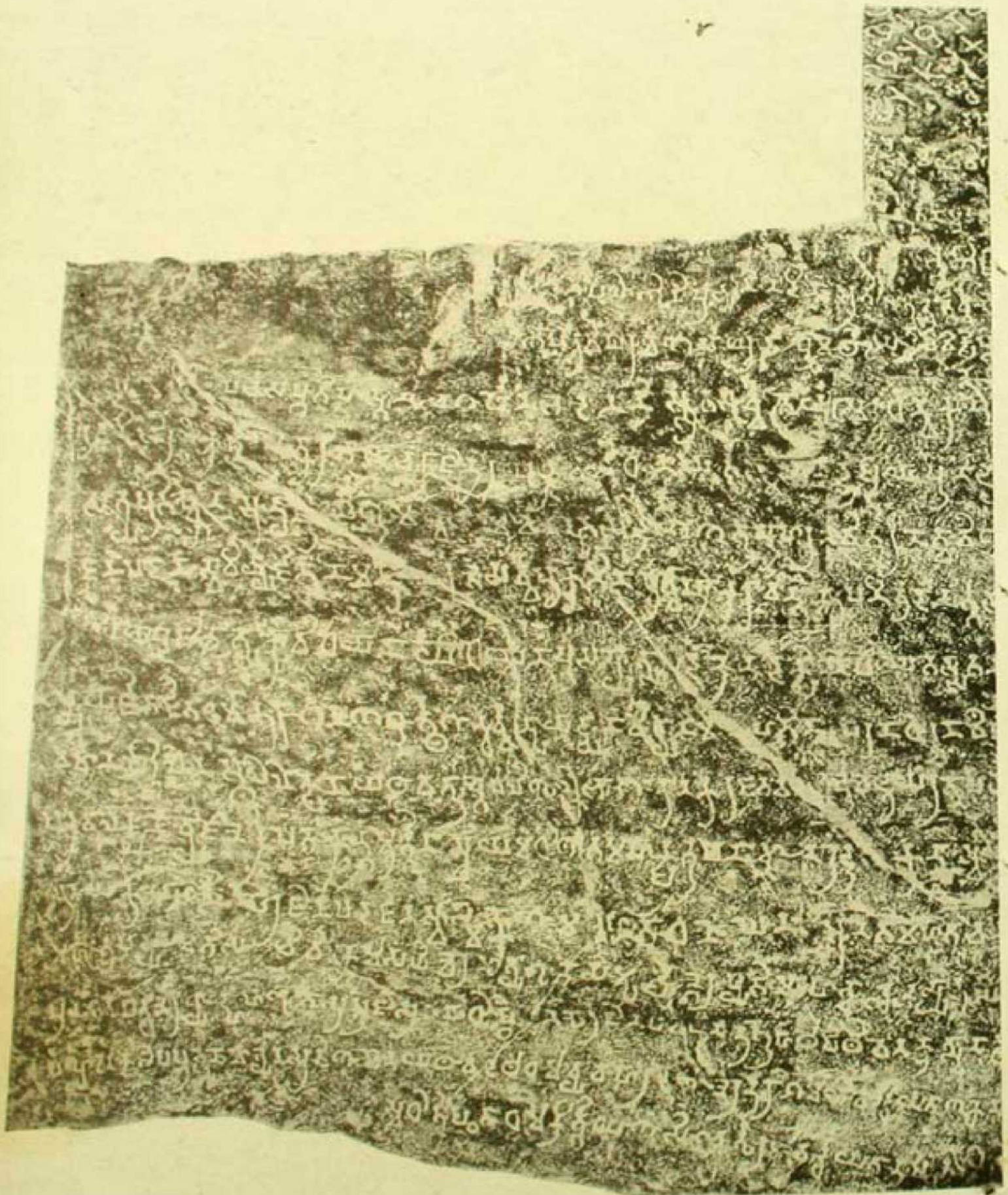
Side B



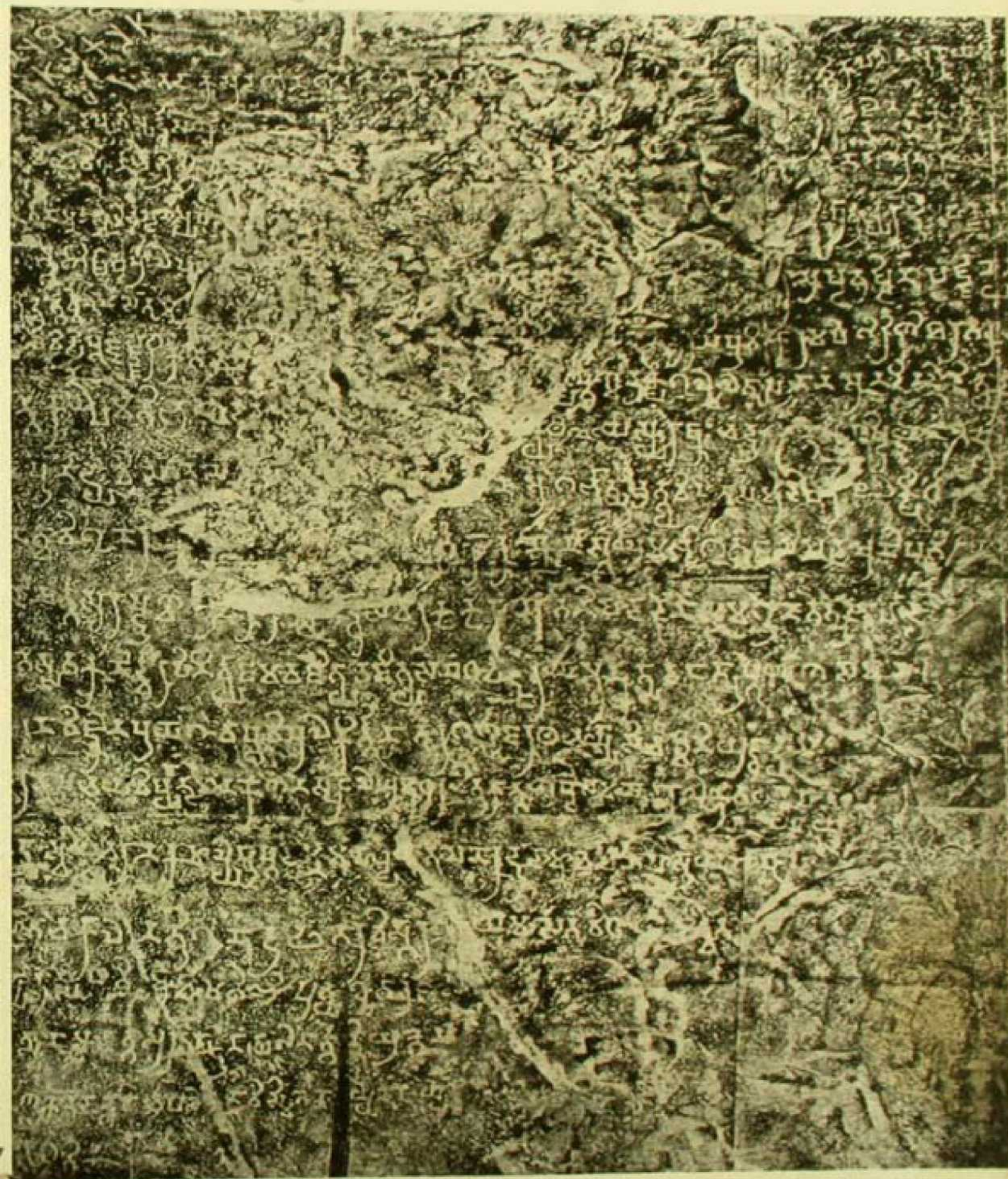


Side D



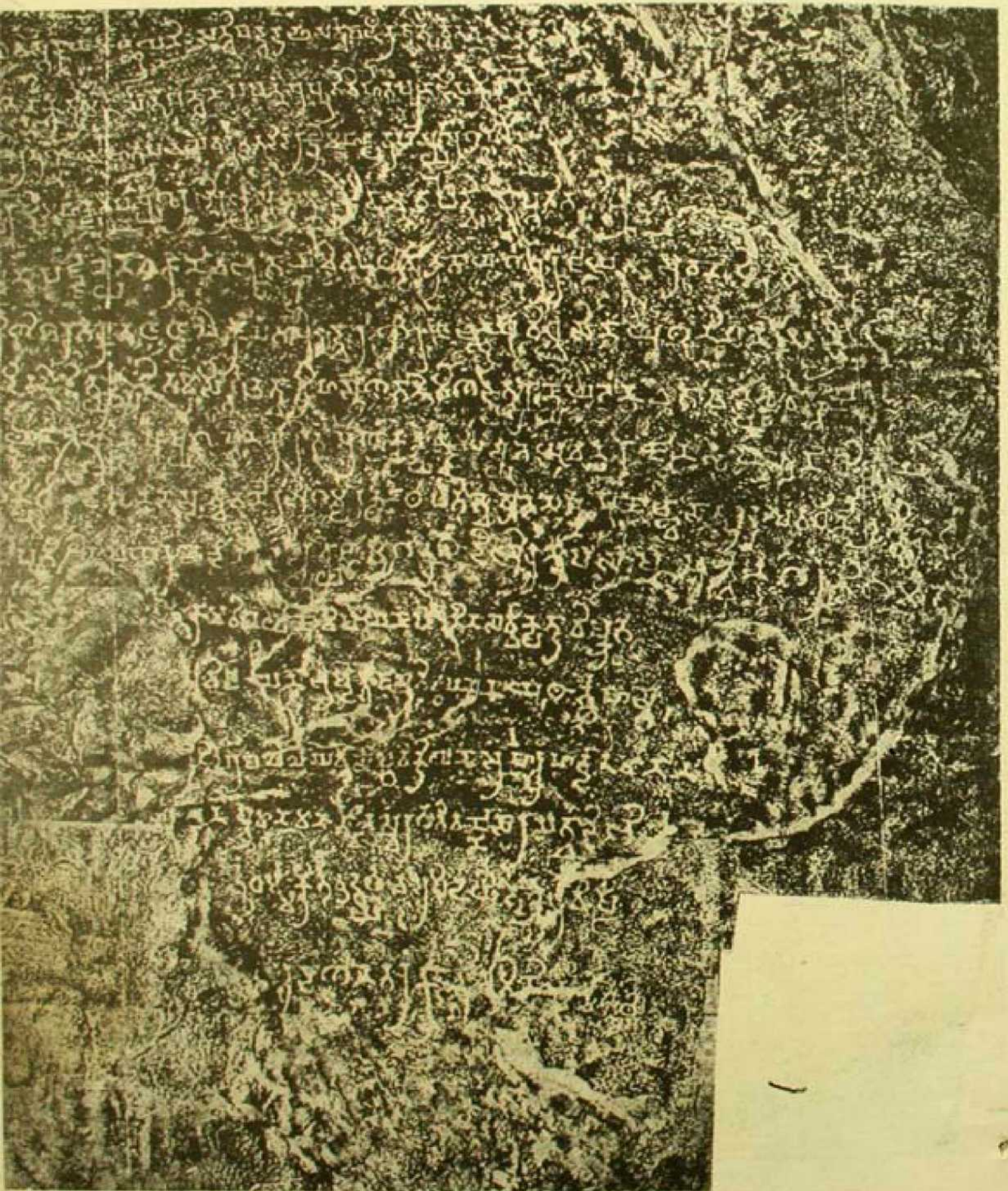


Junāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section I (left part).



Junāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section II (central part).

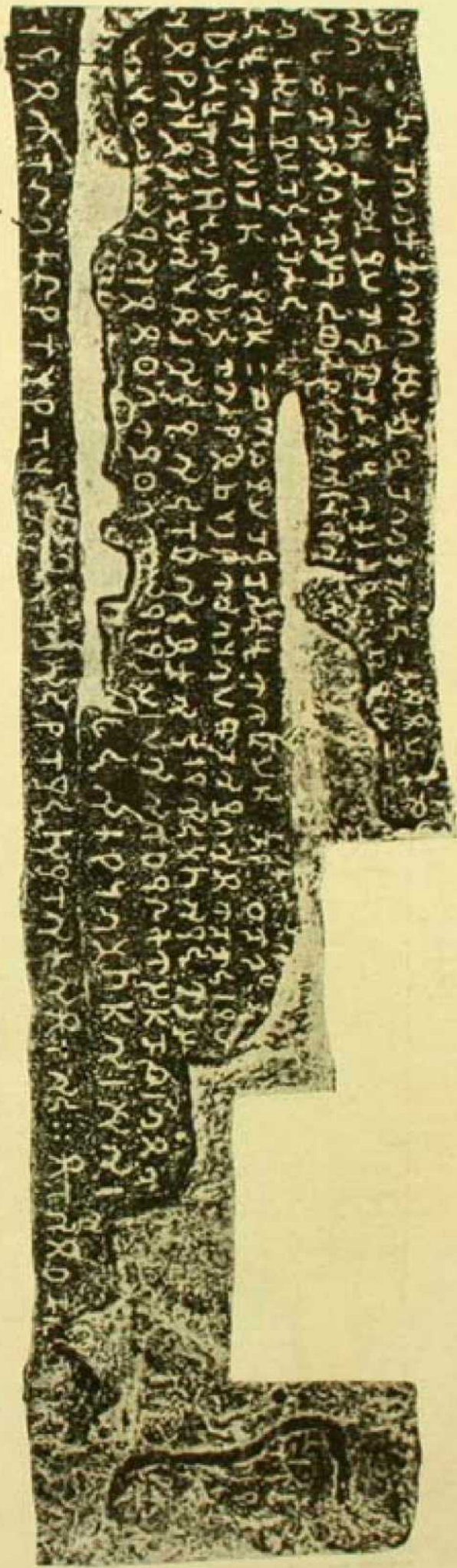
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).



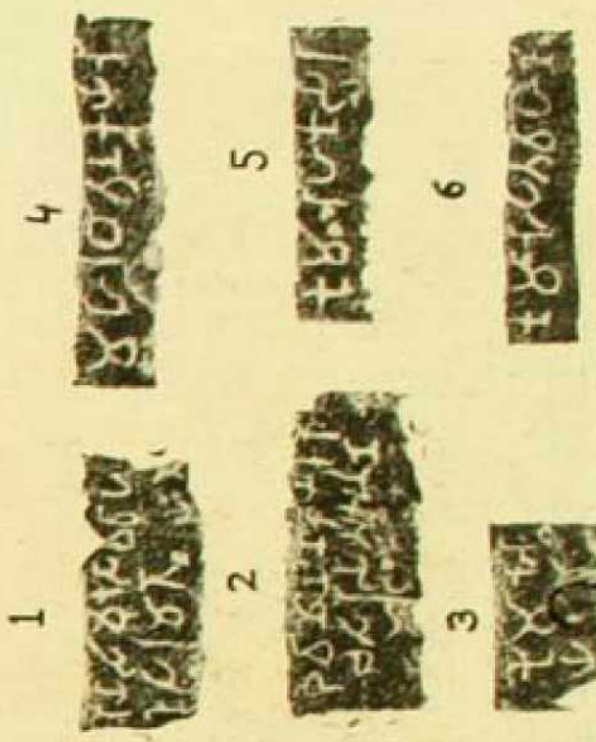
Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section III (right part).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).

I

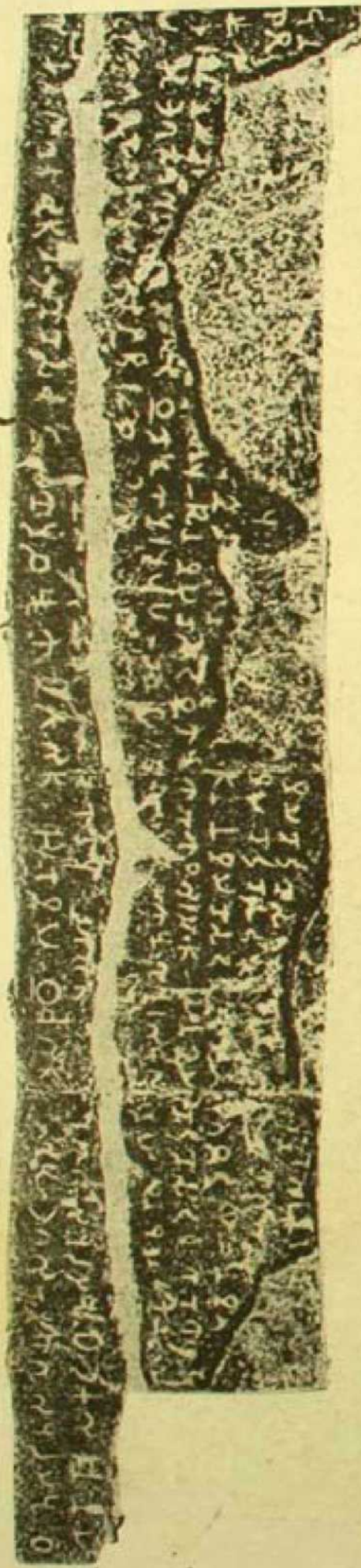


II

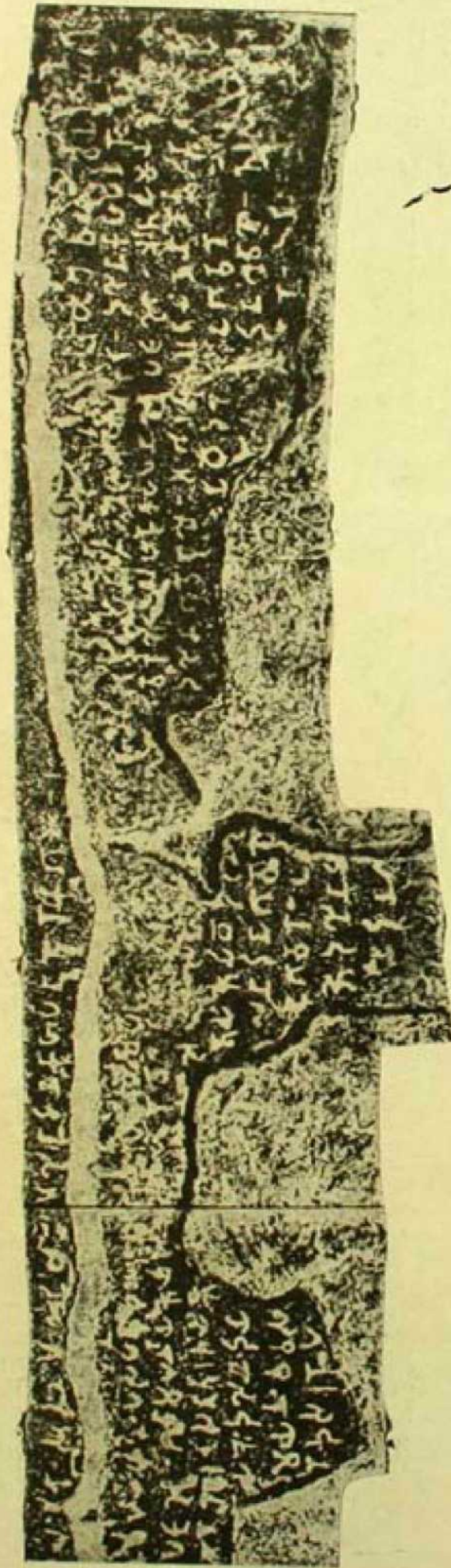


1. Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription (Part I) o. Nagamika (Bk. II, No. 82), Sections I and II.
2. Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-label Inscriptions (Bk. II, Nos. 76-81).

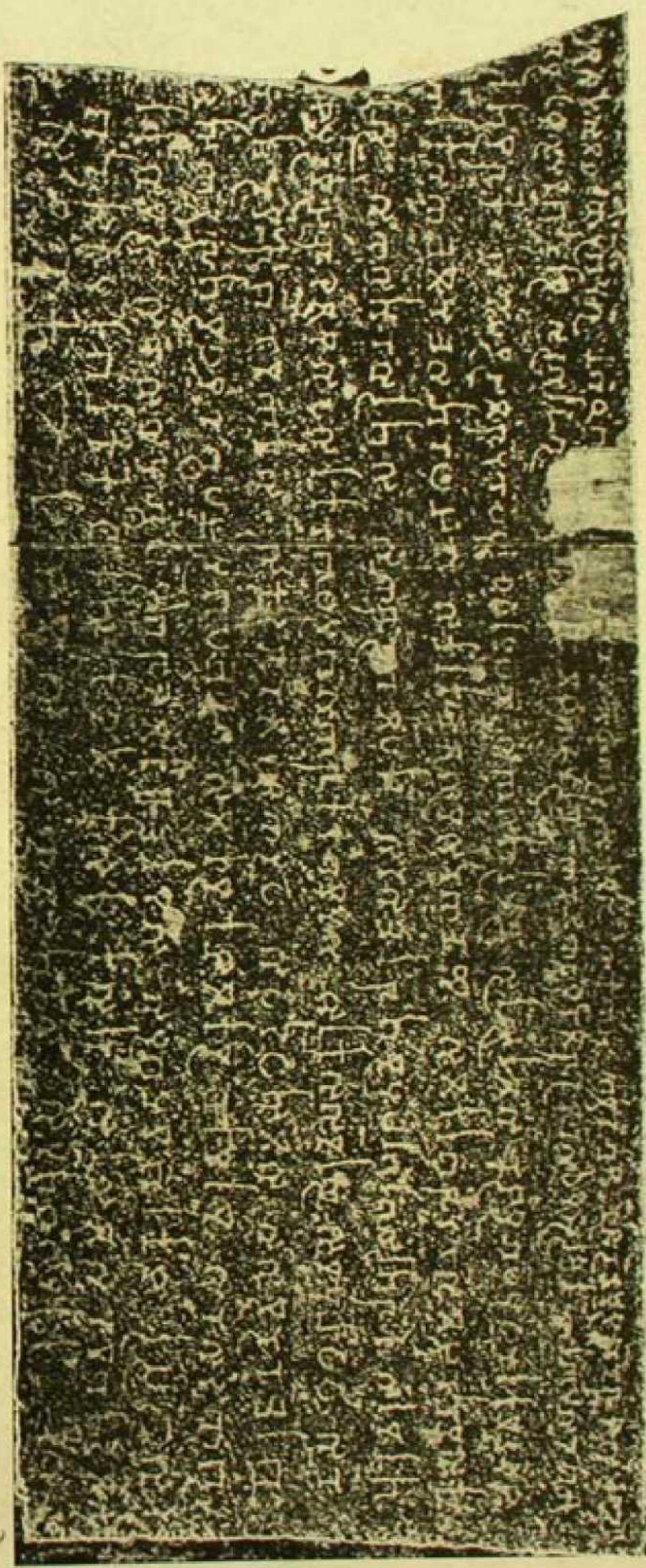
III



IV

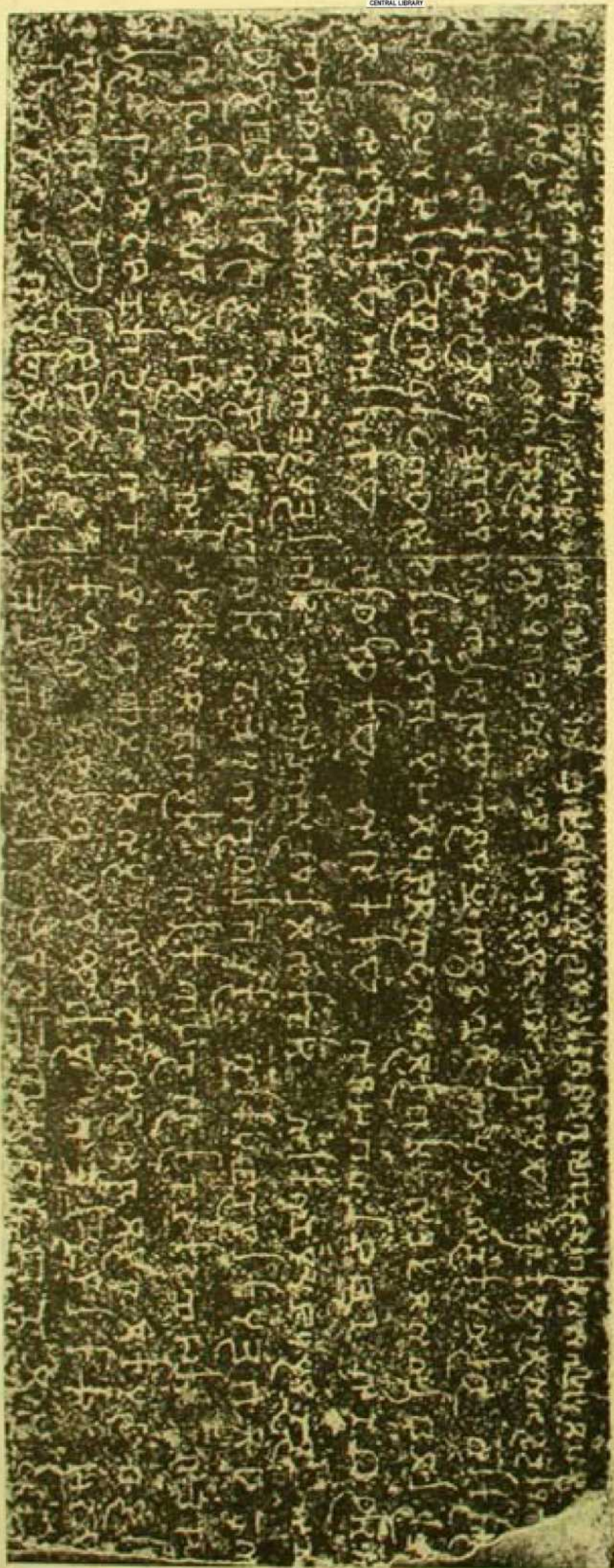


Nanaghaj Cave Inscription (Part II) of Nagannika (Bk. II, No. 82), Sections III and IV.



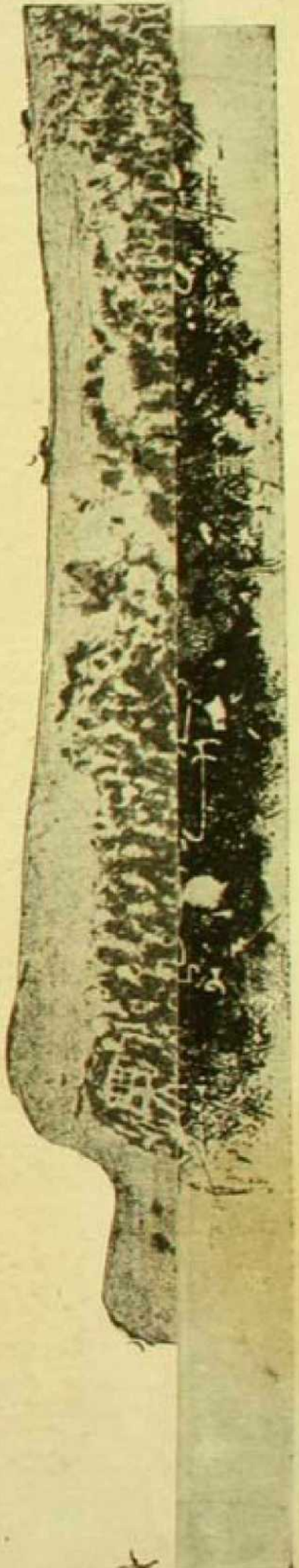
Nasik Inscription of Pulomavi (Blk. II, No. 86), Section I (left half).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

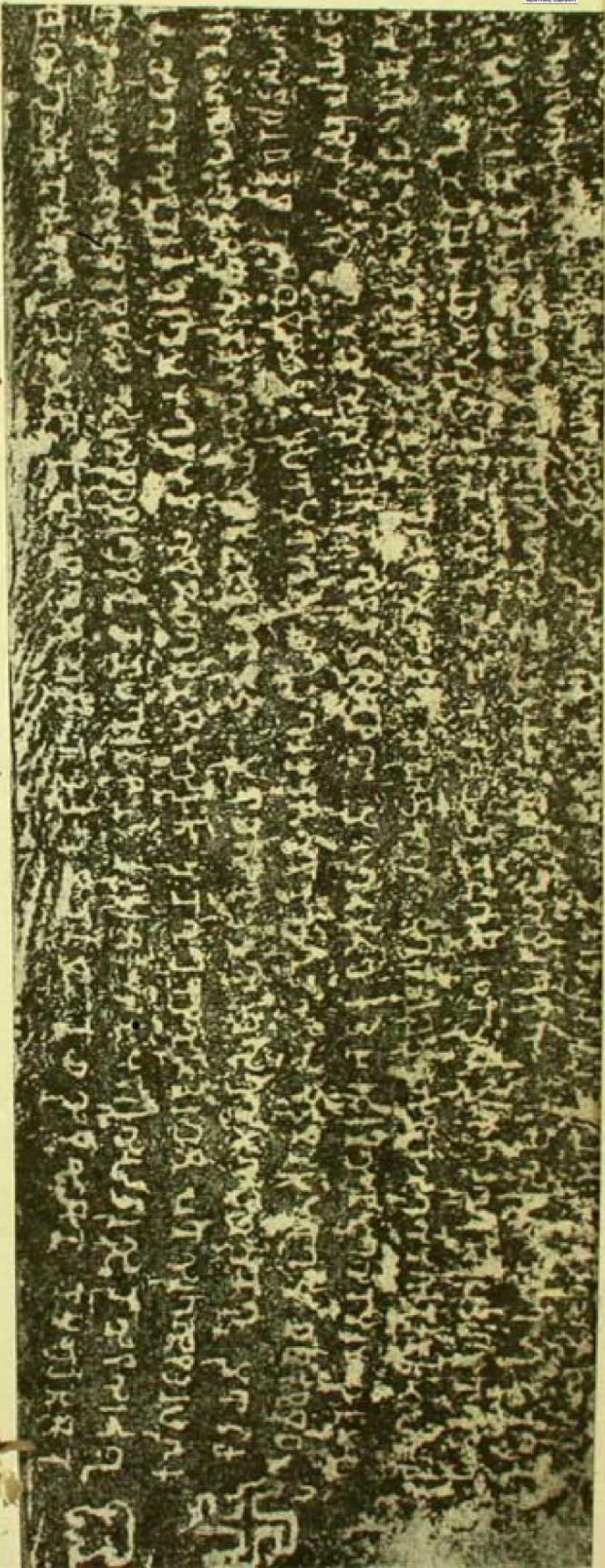


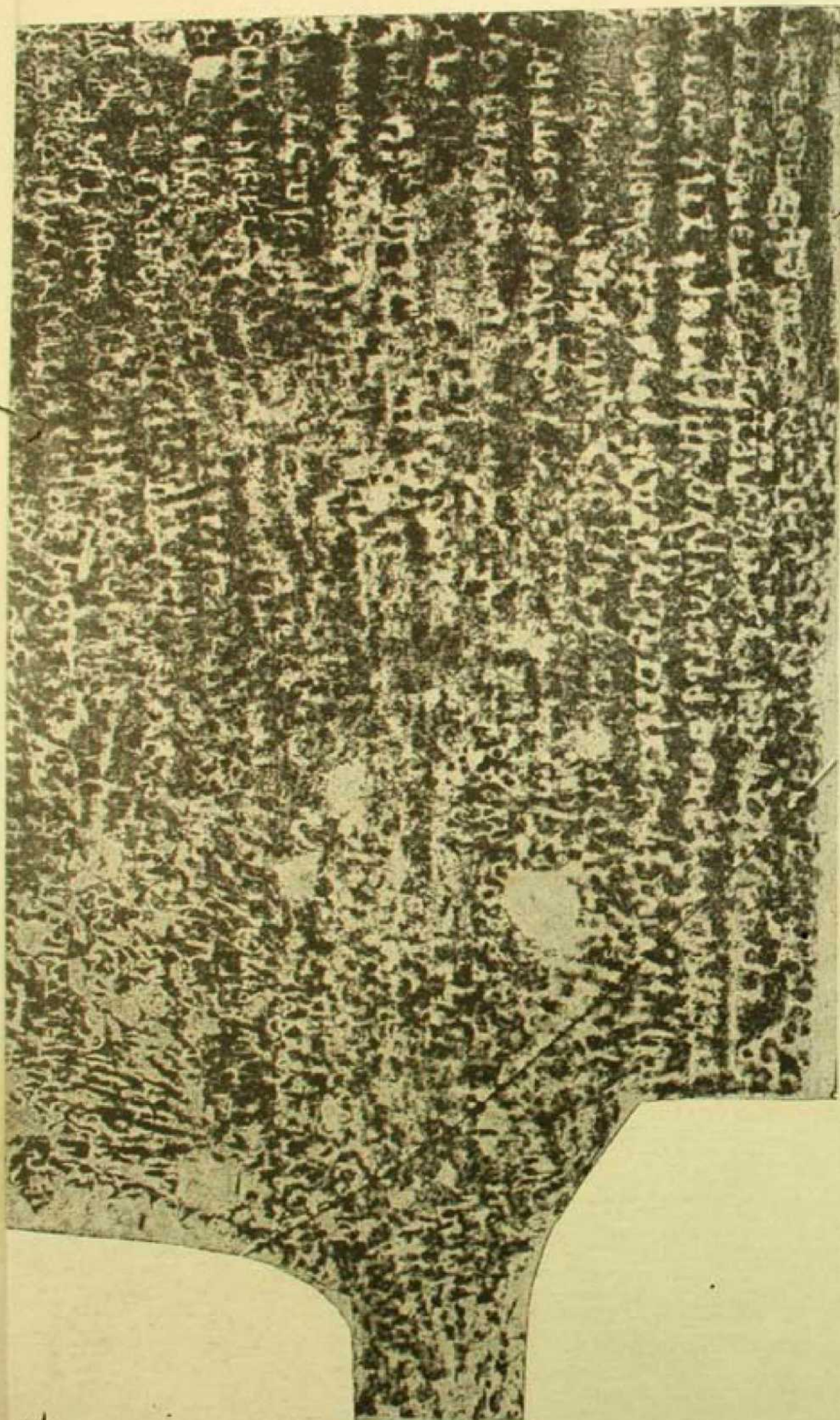
Nāsik Inscription of Puṣumavi (Bk. II, No. 86), Section II (right half).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).

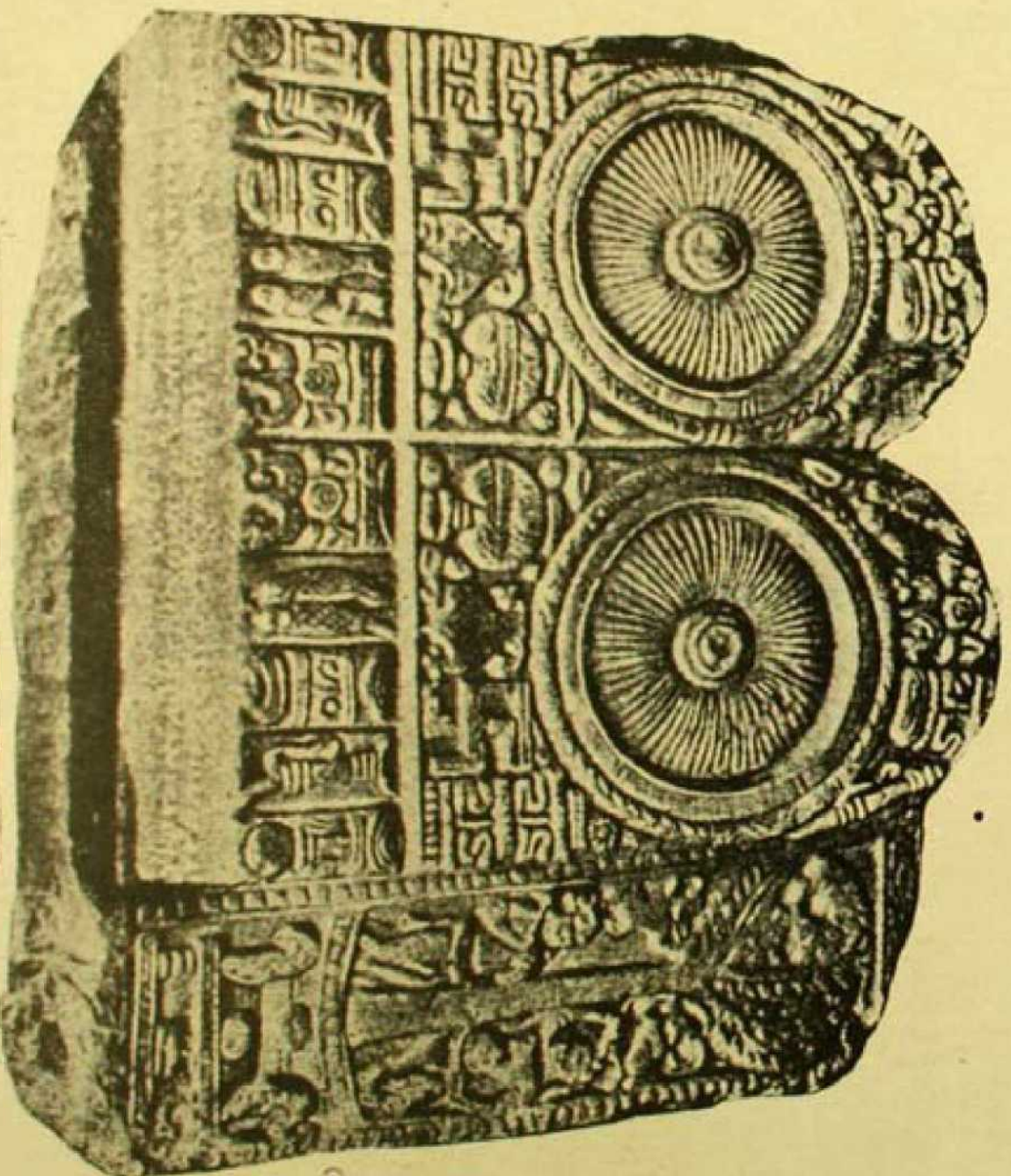


Hathigumpha Inscription of Khuvavala (Bk. II, No. 91), Section II (right half).
 Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (J. B. O. R. S. I., II).





Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pāli, inscribed on a dark, heavily damaged surface. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The inscription is heavily obscured by dark, irregular markings and stains, particularly along the right edge and bottom. The characters are light-colored, possibly gold or silver, and show signs of wear and fading. The overall appearance is that of an ancient manuscript or inscription on a dark, textured material.



Nagarjunikonda Buddha-pada Slab Inscription—A (see p. 329).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ej. Ind.*, XXXIII).



Nāgarjunikonda Buddha-pāda Slab Inscription—B (see p. 529).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXIII).



Agdiya-Kanda Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 105).

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

PLATE XLIII



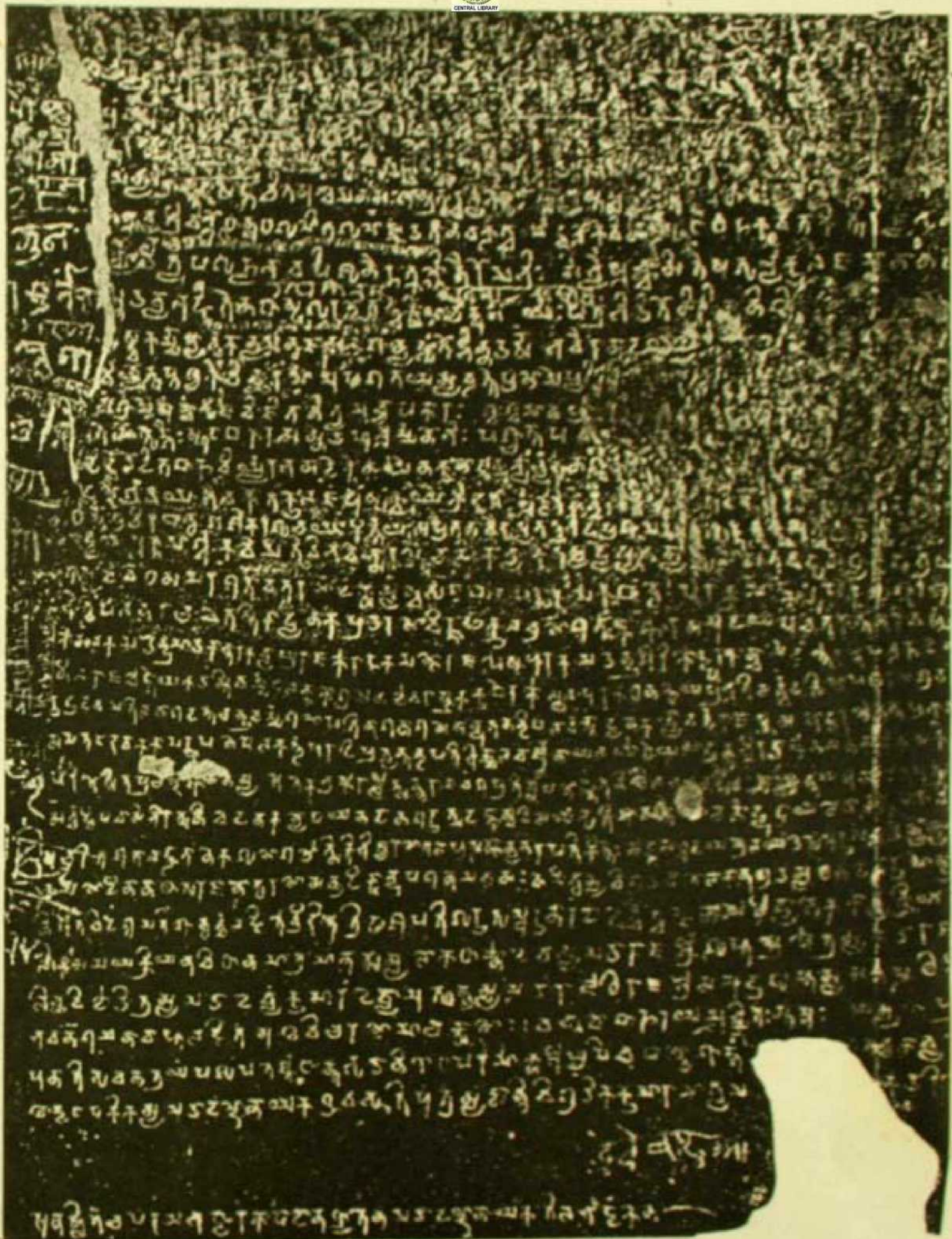
Dawḡ Gala Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 106).

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

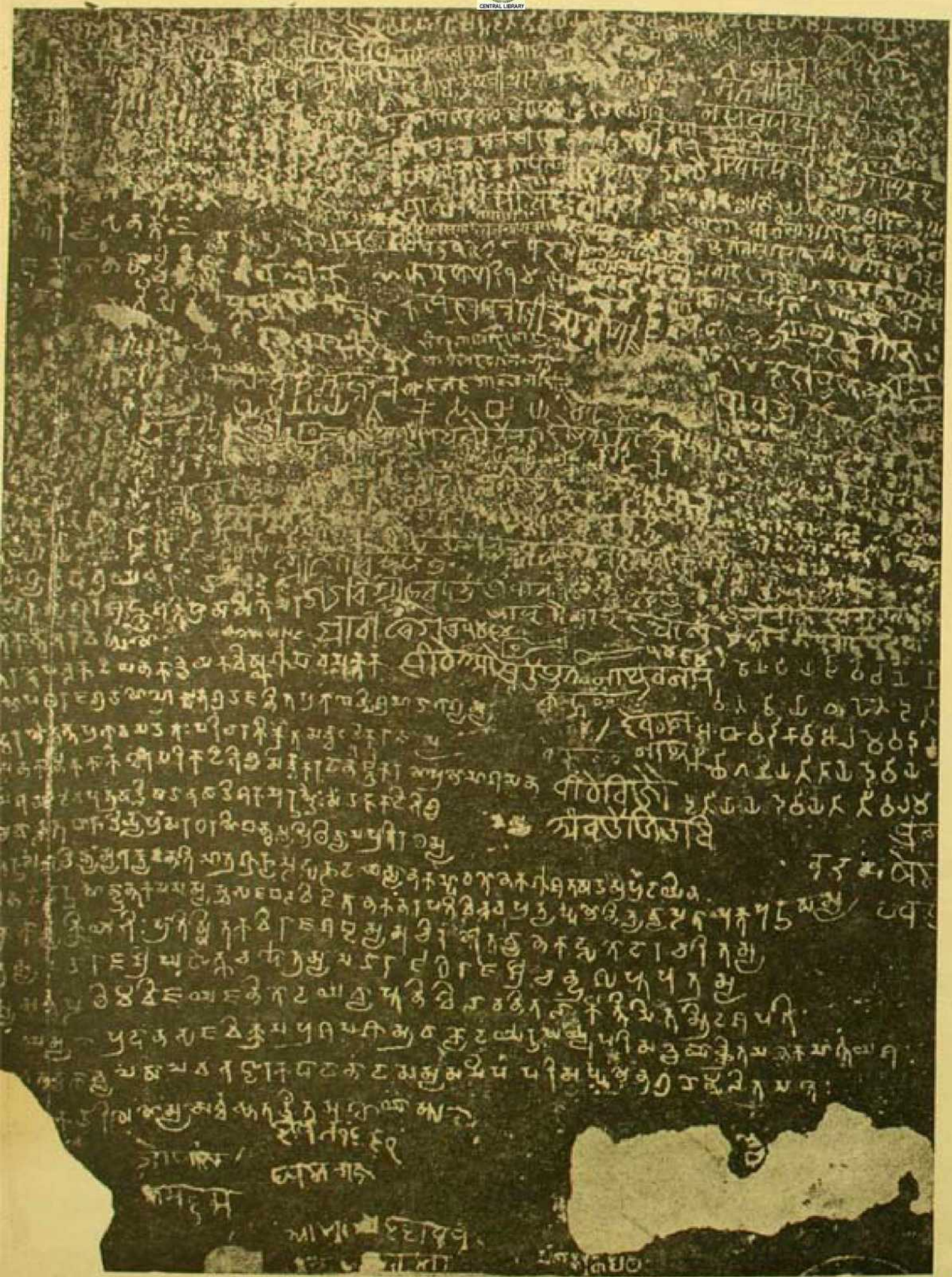


Central Asian Document (Bk. II, No. 110).

Courtesy : Cambridge University Press (Khar. Inc., II).

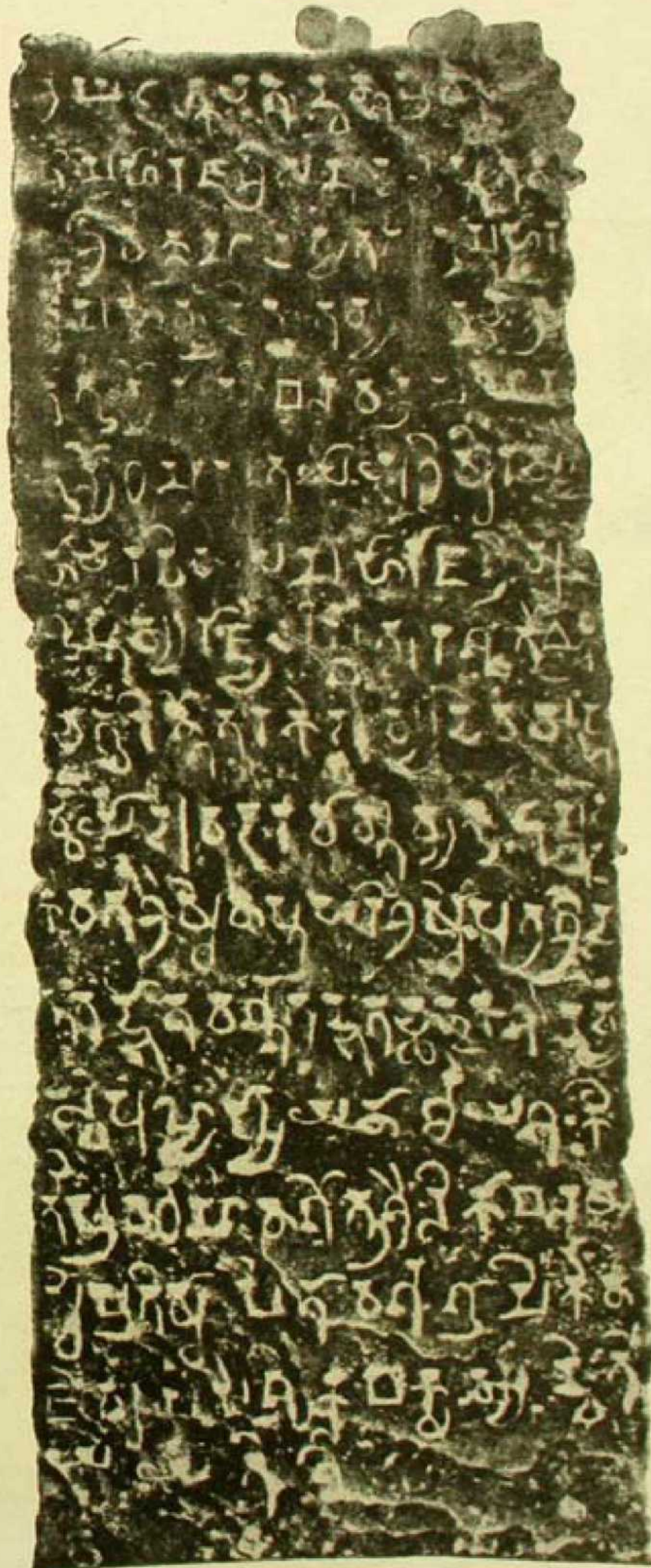


✓ Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Bk. III, No. 2), Section I (left half).

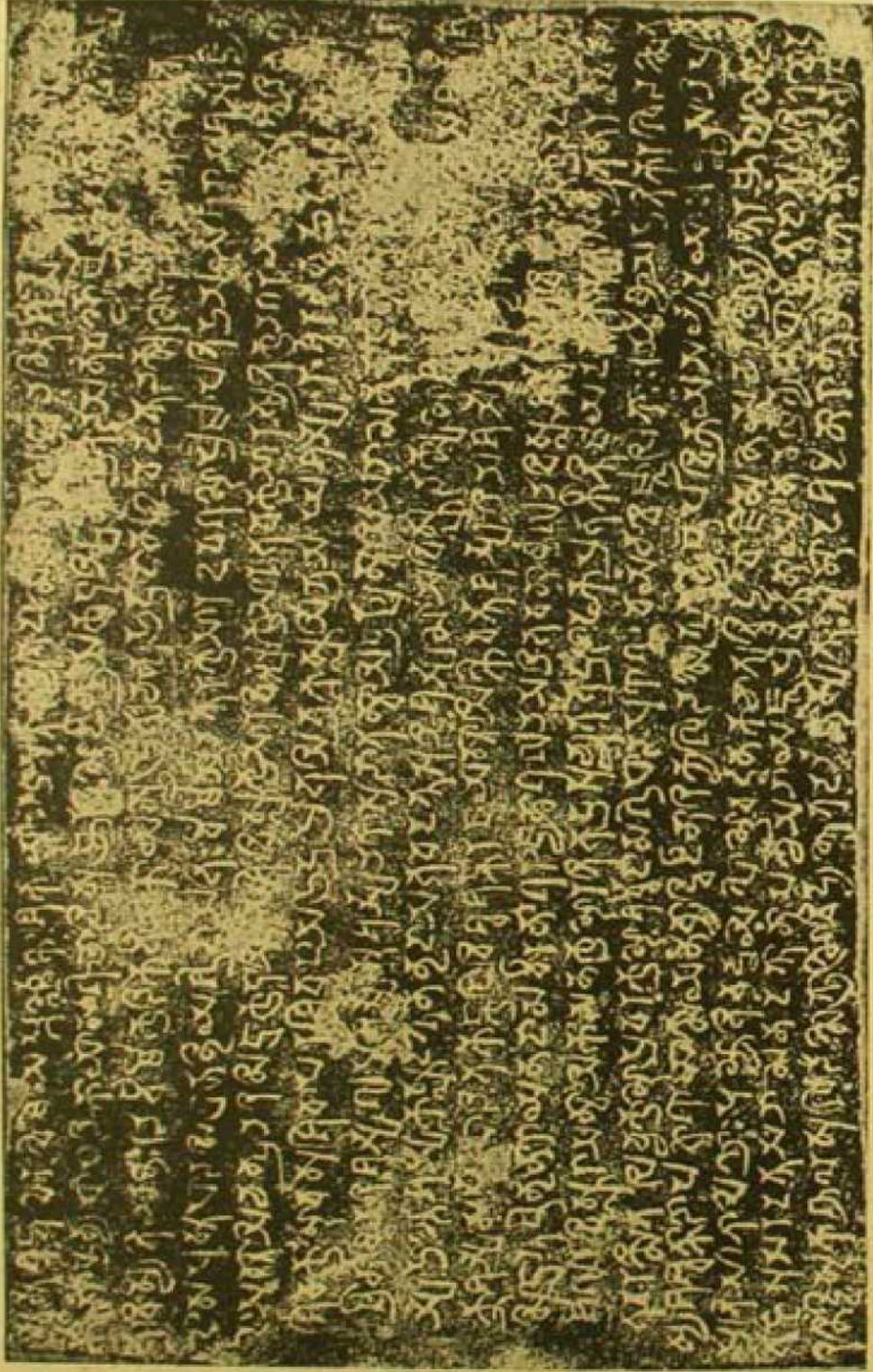


Allahābād Pillar Inscription (Bk. III, No. 2), Section II (right half).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., III).

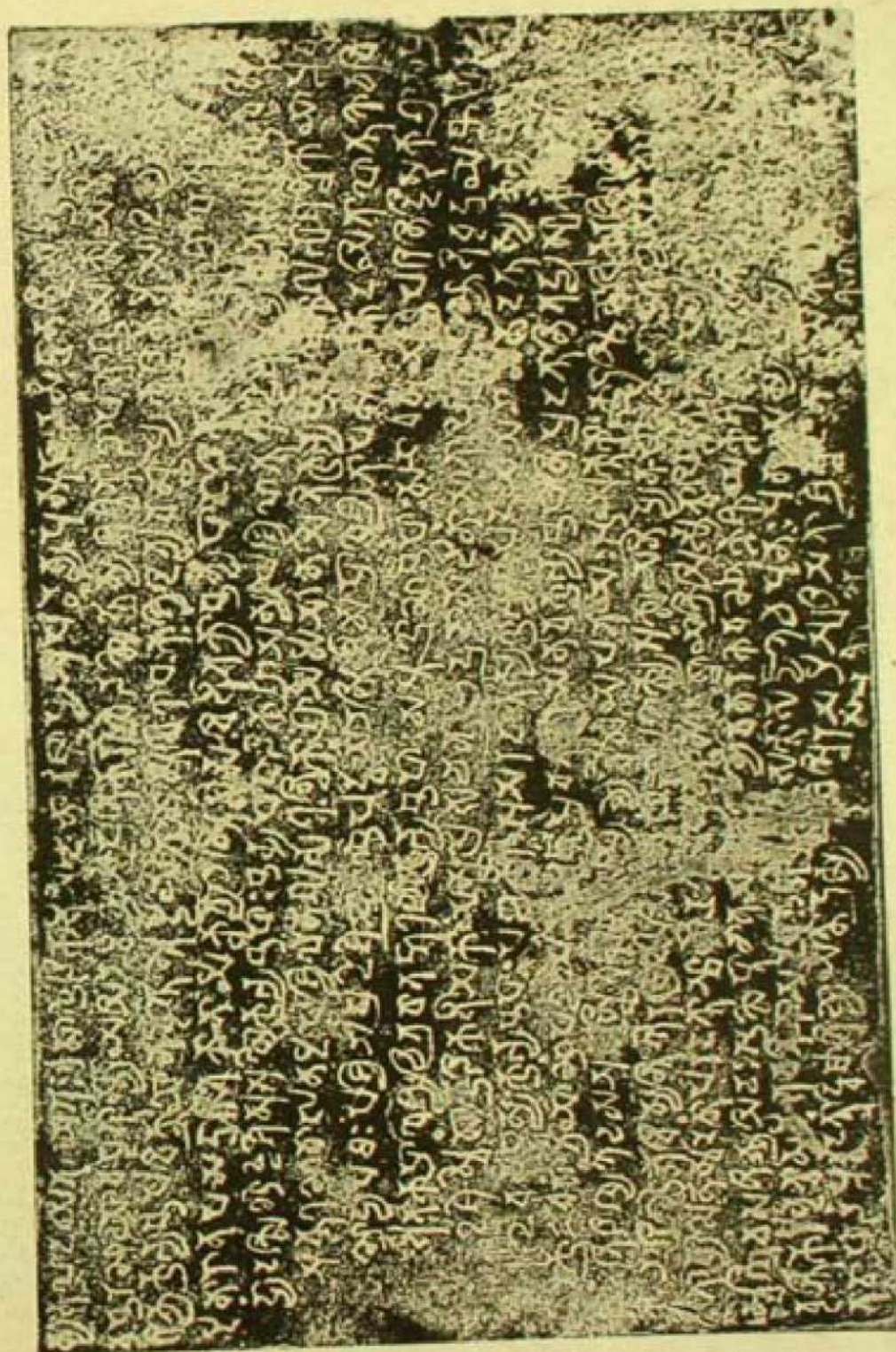


Supia Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Bk. III, No. 26-A).



Kalaikuri-Sultānpur Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), First Side.

Courtesy : Ind. Hist. Quart., XIX.



Kalaikuri-Sultampur Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), Second Side.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage. The script is written in a traditional style, with some characters showing signs of wear or fading. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines across the page.

Side I

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Side II A

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

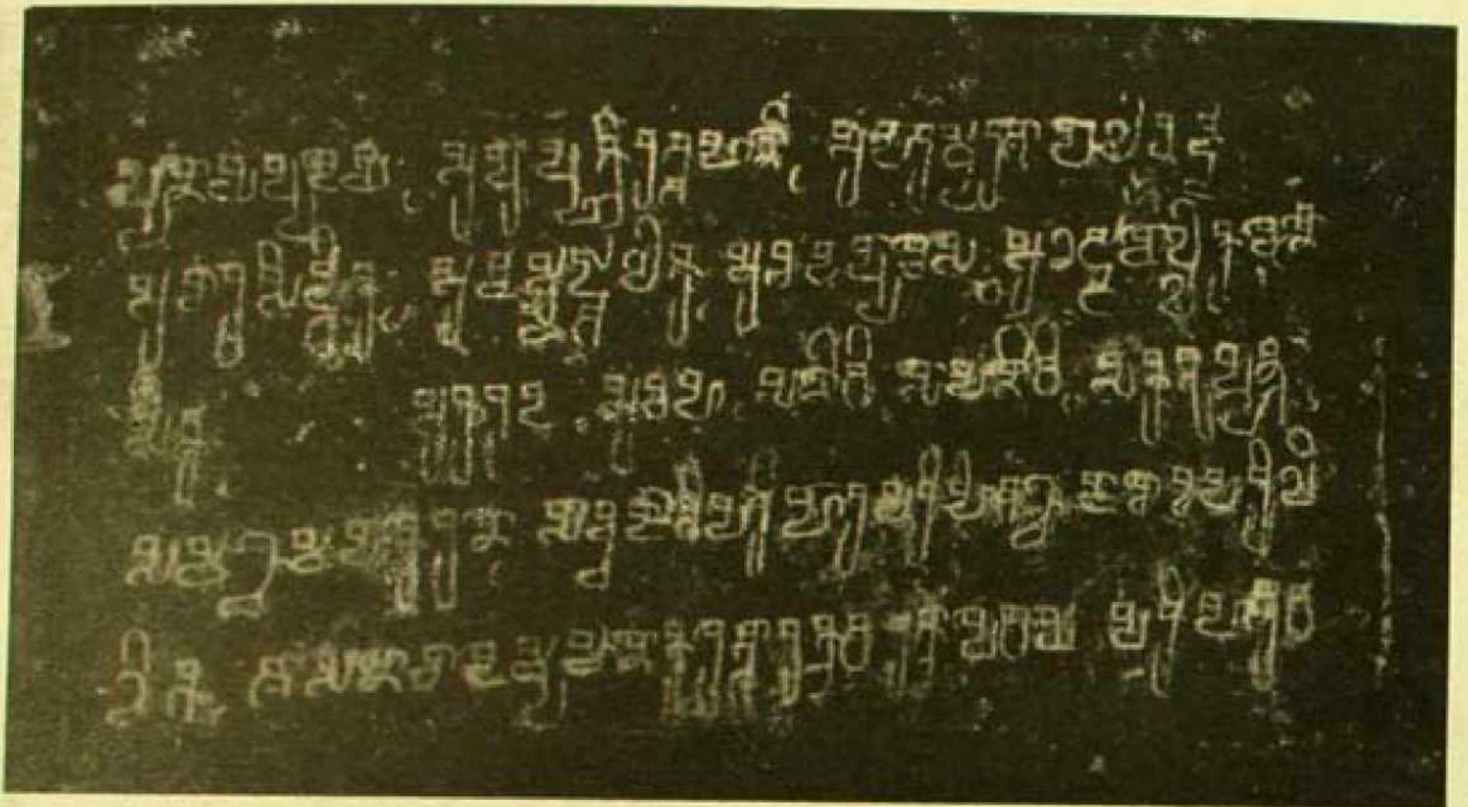
Side II B

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १० ॥

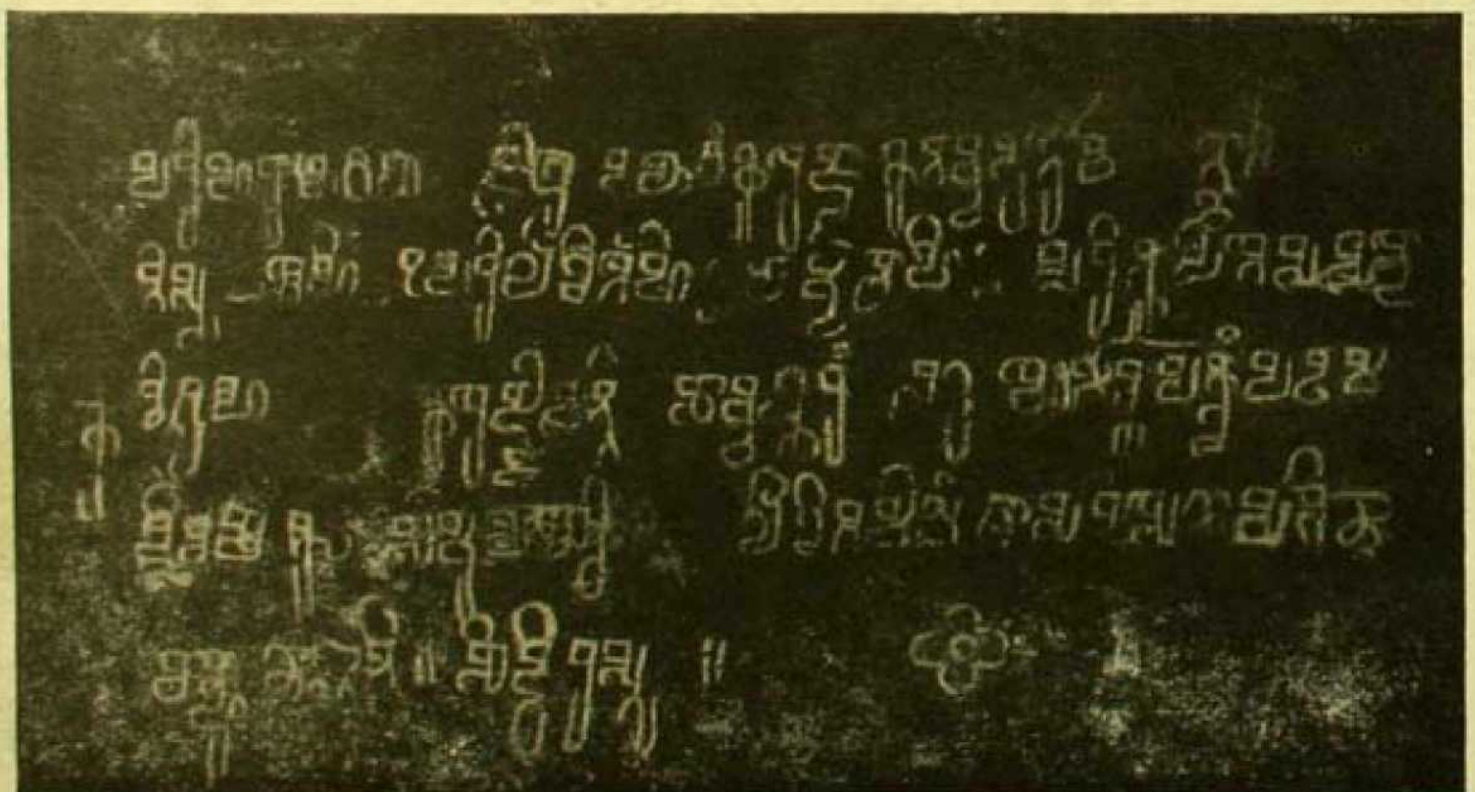
Side III A

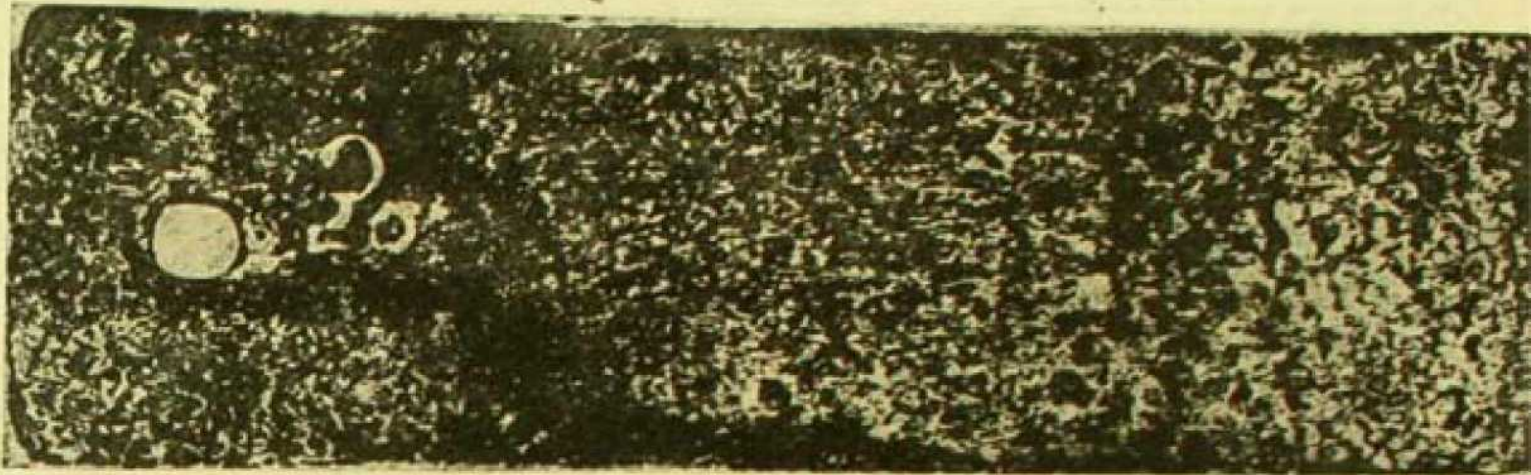
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १० ॥

Side III B



Side IV





Side II B



Side III A



Side III B



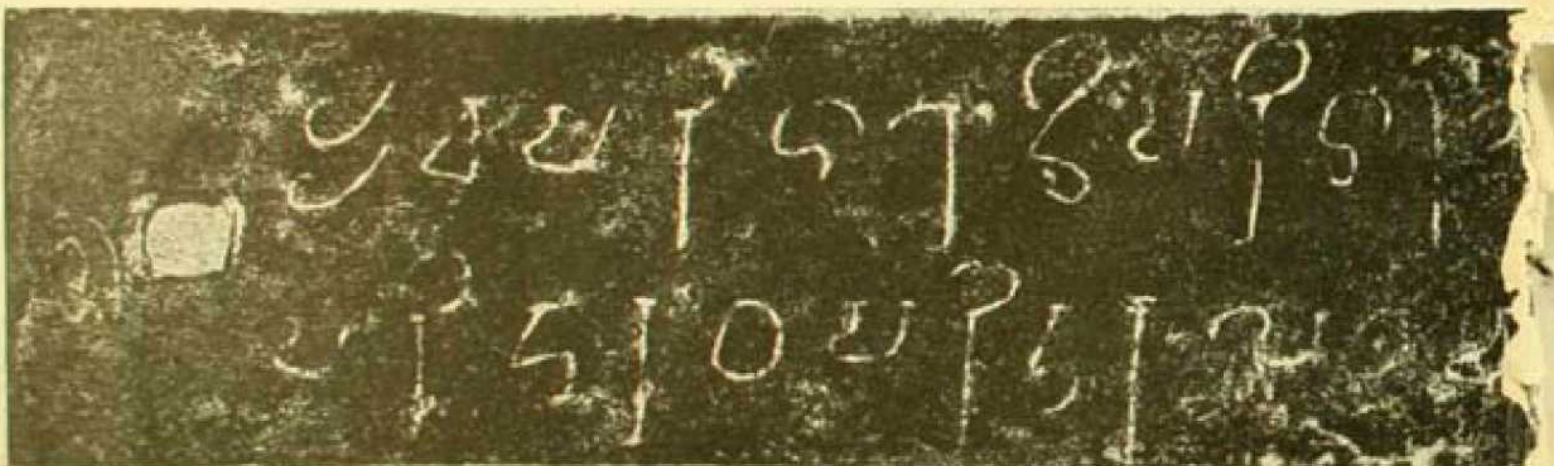
Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides IIB—IIIB.
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VI).

de IV A


de IV B


de IV C


Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Blk. III, No. 64). Sides IVA—VA.



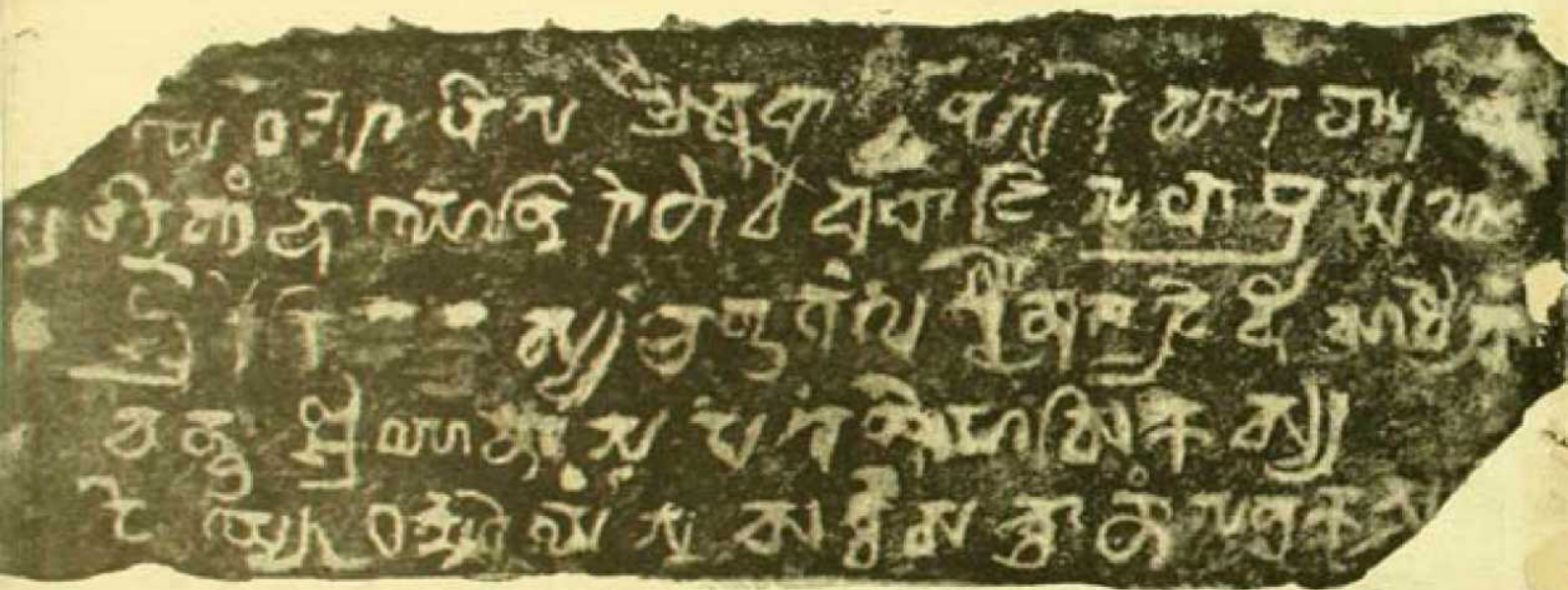
Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VB—VIB.
 Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).



Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VIIA—VIII.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

१



Vesali Stone Inscription of the time of Nitichandra (Bk. III, No. 72-A).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXII).

3



Vesali Stone Slab Inscription of Virachandra (Bk. III, No. 72-B).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXII).



Ci-Arutōn Inscription (see p. 501, note 4).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII).

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